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Letters of Members of the Continental Congress

EDITED BY
EDMUND C. BURNETT

VOLUME V

January 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781



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WASHINGTON, D. C.
PUBLISHED BY CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON
1931

CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON
PUBLICATION NO. 299, VOL. V

PAPERS OF THE DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

PREFACE.

In the present volume, as in the preceding, much the larger proportion of the materials has not hitherto been printed. One group of letters, which bulks rather large in the total and but little of which has ever been printed, is the correspondence of the committee which sat at headquarters from April to August, 1780, a correspondence which it was necessary largely to include in order to an adequate comprehension of the activities of the period and of the proceedings of Congress in relation thereto.

One exceedingly valuable body of materials, only brief extracts of a few of which have heretofore been printed, has been derived from the papers of General Nathanael Greene, and another, principally intercepted letters, from the papers of Sir Henry Clinton. For the letters from both these sources we are indebted to the courtesy of the William L. Clements Library and its custodian, Dr. Randolph G. Adams. Another considerable group of letters has been derived from the Gratz Collection in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for which, as well as for permission to make use of a letter of Thomas Burke, found in the Wayne Collection, cordial thanks are extended to the society and to its librarian, Mr. Ernest Spofford.

To many other historical societies and libraries and their custodians renewed obligations have been incurred. Particular acknowledgments for materials furnished are due to Mr. Otis G. Hammond, director of the New Hampshire Historical Society; to Mr. F. W. Cook, secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society; to Mr. Alfred C. Potter, librarian of Harvard College Library; to Mr. Howard W. Preston, director of the Rhode Island State Bureau of Information; to Mr. Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society; to Mr. George S. Goddard, librarian of the Connecticut State Library; to Mr. A. J. Wall, librarian of the New York Historical Society; to Mr. H. M. Lydenberg of the New York Public Library; to Miss Belle da Costa Green, librarian of the Pierpont Morgan Library; to Mr. Charles R. Bacon, librarian of the New Jersey State Library; to the officials of the American Philosophical Society; to Dr. R. W. Kelsey, curator of the Haverford College Library; to Mr. Charles Fickus, librarian of the Maryland Historical Society; to Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, librarian of the Virginia State Library; to Dr. W. G. Stanard, secretary of the Virginia Historical Society; to Mr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission; and to Miss Mabel L. Webber, librarian of the South Carolina Historical Society. To the Library of Congress and its ever courteous and helpful officials and assistants, in particular to those of the Manuscript Division, the debt of obligation is unceasing.

The editor desires also to express his thanks to Professor S. E. Morison of Harvard University for his generous kindness in furnishing photostat copies of a number of letters in his possession; to Mr. Edmund C. Gass for extensive investigations in repositories in Philadelphia; and to Mr. David M. Matteson, whose indexes to the several volumes of this series, unsurpassed in their intelligent analyses, constitute the best of guides to their contents, and whose accurate scholarship has in other ways been of great service to the editor.

To Miss Cornelia M. Pierce, whose co-operation at all stages of the work has been exceedingly helpful, and whose efficiency in seeing all the volumes of the series through the press can not be overestimated, the editor would particularly extend his grateful appreciation.

The year 1780 was in many respects the most critical period of the war. Though perhaps seldom fully aware how dangerously serious the situation at times became, Congress undoubtedly entered the year troubled with deep perplexities, weighted with crushing anxieties. Three major problems, all clamoring for immediate attention, confronted them: that of feeding the existing army; that of building an army for the next campaign; and, dominating everything, that of saving, if possible, the national finances from complete wreck.

The financial structure on which the conduct of the war had chiefly been based had virtually collapsed. Yet it was no sudden catastrophe; the possibility of disaster had long been foreseen—unless, perchance, by some fortunate stroke the war should sooner be brought to a victorious end. Throughout the year 1779 the anxieties of Congress over the depreciation of its money, the corresponding rise in prices, and the consequent aggravation of difficulties in obtaining supplies for the army had been acute, and as the year approached its close this decline in the purchasing power of its money became alarming. Something would have to be done about it. Several things had from time to time been done, but the remedies applied had not been effective. Perhaps the diagnosis had been wrong. Moreover, such other financial devices as had been tried for supplementing paper money, known as bills of credit, had produced upon the whole but inconsiderable results. Now, in addition to the excessive quantity of the circulating medium, which financial experts, or those who were thought to be such, maintained was the chief cause of depreciation, another factor was thought to be giving a powerful impetus to the downward movement, namely, the uncertainty whether Congress would be able to keep the faith that it had pledged for the ultimate redemption of its paper at par. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick", and the hope of vanquishing the enemy had been a good many times deferred.

Anyway, if many more millions were added to the millions already issued it looked as if the country would be crushed with the weight of its paper money. If anyone knew how much had already been issued and made a

simple calculation, he discovered that the Continental bills of credit alone, to say nothing of other national or of state obligations, would at the present rate soon amount to at least one hundred dollars for every man, woman, and child within the boundaries of the thirteen states. There arose a vociferous demand that the issues be stopped—at least that a definite limitation be fixed. Accordingly, on September 1, 1779, Congress resolved that it would, “on no account whatever, emit more bills of credit than to make the whole amount of such bills two hundred millions of dollars”. The state governments and the people were informed of this virtuous resolution, with the further necessary enlightenment that up to that time the total issues amounted to 159,948,880 dollars, although precisely how those figures were derived no one has since been able to learn. Furthermore the public mind must be relieved of its fears that Congress would not be able to make good its pledge of redemption, and the learned and persuasive pen of John Jay, then president, was drafted to marshal the convincing arguments, that “the independence of America is now as fixed as fate”, that “the natural wealth, value, and resources of the country” would be abundantly equal to the payment of the debt in a reasonable period of years, that there was not the least reason “to apprehend a wanton violation of the public faith”; and to add to all this forceful logic an exhortation “to finish the contest as you began it, honestly and gloriously”.

But merely to stop the press handle was not enough. The war must go on; the army must be fed and clothed. Hitherto the purchasing agents of Congress could go into the country and buy, and, though their saddle pockets necessarily bulged more and more as the money depreciated, they could still buy somehow. Now all that was bound to be changed. True these agents could give certificates for their purchases; they had been doing so to some extent, and they afterward pursued that method until so many millions of these certificates were outstanding and clamoring for redemption that they soon constituted of themselves a serious financial problem.

In the preceding year, when the financial situation was by no means so acute as it had now become, Congress had timidly approached the question of taxation, and during the year 1779 had devoted a good deal of time to doubting and debating and to forewarning the states of the possibility of the distasteful measure, and finally, on October 6, 1779, had determined to call upon the states for their respective quotas of taxes to the amount of fifteen millions a month, payment to begin February 1, 1780. If these payments should be made promptly and fully, all would be well. But it was a large IF.

And what of the intervening months? Early in December the treasury became exhausted, streams of supply were drying up, magazines were empty or fast emptying, hunger began to stalk through the army, and mutiny and dissolution to threaten. Something more must be done. “Congress are at their wit’s end”, one member confessed; but he was in error.

There was never a time when there was not some member with wit to devise a plan which he at least believed to be potent. For the problem which now confronted Congress a happy solution presented itself right under their eyes. If individuals could carry on their transactions by barter, as was then to some extent being done, why not Congress? What could be easier than for the states to furnish direct, without the intervention of money, the actual supplies that were needed? It was so resolved. Of course it would require some time to determine just what specific supplies should be asked of the several states, in what quantities, and at what prices, but the situation was critical, and if in the meanwhile the states would generously comply with the requisitions made upon them, wherein "due care shall be taken to suit the convenience of the several states", Congress would see to it that "the accounts shall be finally compared and adjusted so as to do equity to all the states".

This was in mid-December. The new year found nearly every department of the government all but overcome with paralysis. The army was living from hand to mouth on restricted rations, a good many days at a time without meat and other days without bread. Emergency requisitions had been made upon near-by states, but while the responses had been generous they had not been sufficient, and Washington was finding it necessary to resort to impressment or the threat of it. "Of the scanty pittance we have distributed to the army", he wrote to General Irvine January 4, "the last is nearly exhausted, and without a prospect of any adequate and immediate succour." On the 9th he added: "Our affairs are in so deplorable a condition (on the score of Provisions) as to fill the mind with the most anxious and alarming fears . . . men half starved, imperfectly clothed, riotous, and robbing the country people of their subsistence from sheer necessity." Explaining to the magistrates of New Jersey the necessity of his requisitions upon the counties of the state for supplies of grain and cattle, he wrote (January 8):

The present situation of the army with respect to provisions is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the war. For a Fortnight past the Troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without Bread or Meat the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either and frequently destitute of both. They have borne their sufferings with a patience that merits the approbation and ought to excite the sympathy of their countrymen. But they are now reduced to an extremity no longer to be supported.

About the same time General Green, quartermaster-general, laid before Washington a picture of the situation as it affected his department. "The cloud thickens", he wrote, "and the prospects are daily growing darker. There is now no hope of cash. The agents are loaded with heavy debts, and perplexed with half-finished contracts, and the people clamorous for their pay, refusing to proceed in the public business unless their present demands are discharged. . . . I see nothing therefore but a general

check if not an absolute stop to the progress of every branch of business in the whole department." "It is a folly", he continued, "to expect that this expensive department can be long supported on credit. A further attempt would only bring ruin and distress upon ourselves, without affording any substantial advantage, either to the public or the army." The recent resolution calling upon the states for certain species of supplies, he declared, "falls far short of the general detail of the business, the difficulty of adjusting which, between the different agents as well as the different authorities from which they derive their appointments, I am very apprehensive will introduce some jarring interests—many improper disputes as well as dangerous delays". "There appears to me", he continued, "such a maze, from the mixed modes adopted by some States, and about to be adopted by others, that I cannot see the channels, through which the business may be conducted, free from disorder and confusion." Maze there was a-plenty, and confusion grew worse confounded.

There was no deficiency in the resources of the country, Greene asserted. "On the contrary I have authentic reasons to conclude that the country is more plentifully stored with every material necessary for the provision and support of an army, than it has been for three years past. The defect lies in the want of a proper means to draw them into public use." In a circular letter despatched by order of Congress, January 12, to the states of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, urging them "in the most pressing manner, to send immediate supplies of provisions to the army", President Huntington voiced the same opinion. "The Country abounds with the necessary Resources", he declared, "but private gain seems the only Object of too many Individuals, without any Concern for the public safety." Unless these necessities were speedily supplied, he said, the army must disband. In despair over the situation Greene had already offered his resignation as quartermaster-general. The resignation was the beginning of a controversy between Congress and their quartermaster-general which dragged through several months, a controversy which itself scarcely fell short of being a chapter of calamities.

It was well enough understood that the general requisition of December 14 calling upon the states for specific supplies would have to be brought down to particulars. It was a complicated task, requiring extensive knowledge of the existing or probable supplies in the several states, and particularly called for a delicate balancing of requirements to accord with the respective capacities of the states and their equitable proportions of the general burden. The simple rule that quotas should be apportioned in accordance with population would scarcely be a fair one. Necessarily this adjustment stirred no little controversy and produced almost endless manoeuvring and dickering among the delegations. It was not until near the end of February that agreement was reached, and before that time one member, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, had become so infuriated over

what he termed injustice to his state that he quit Congress in a huff. Congress readily recognized that inequities might, probably would, result, and so provided for subsequent adjustment of these differences.

The majority of members however were so strongly impressed with the urgent necessity of some such measure that they urged upon their states a full and liberal compliance. The North Carolina delegates, for instance, wrote their governor that though the quotas assigned to North and South Carolina were "far beyond what is their supposed proportion", yet for various reasons they had been induced to agree to them, for they regarded it as a most necessary, in fact an indispensable, measure. A failure in any state, they argued, "might be attended with consequences in the last degree ruinous to the Cause we are engaged in; and which is now happily drawing to a glorious conclusion. "In a word, Sir", they continued, "the exertions of Congress are no longer competent; and, unless the States exert themselves the Cause is utterly lost; and we shall be left in a situation the most wretched among human beings—that is, exposed to all the Oppressions and Insults of enraged, Victorious, and avaricious Tyranny." John Collins of Rhode Island was anything but hopeful of results. "I must confess", he wrote to General Greene, "it appears to me like taking a leap in the dark—and Crouding the Ship through a Strait amongst Rock and Shoals in a thick fog. we may Run the Ship a Shoar. she may *poke* through." As a matter of fact the thick fog was already gathering as the measure was adopted; the ship directly found itself in the treacherous strait, amongst rocks and shoals, and it became a serious question whether it would be able even to poke through.

Expectations that the "stoppage of the press" would effectually stop the depreciation of the money were sorely disappointed. At best it touched only the negative phase of the problem. Some positive remedial measure was essential, and several minds and pens in and out of Congress busied themselves with plans. Some members of Congress professed to believe that in good time the troubles would blow away. "The failure of that great resource, the press", Oliver Ellsworth wrote to Governor Trumbull (January 14), "gives as was expectable a violent shock, but it is hoped will prove a salutary one." John Armstrong, on the other hand, was not one to put his trust in uncertain economic winds and weather. "On the necessity of some different measures from any yet adopted", he exclaimed, "what man can shut his eyes? To say nothing of the various aireal schemes that have been thrown out, one thing is clear, that even such as have been tryed from their show of more reason and solidity, either from their being inadequate in their nature, or too late in their application have palpably failed of the effect. for some time past we have resembled a Patient far gone in disease, given up of his Physicians and left to the mere efforts of nature." Armstrong's favorite remedy was the regulation of prices, and he wrote numerous long arguments in its support. But others, basing their conclusions on experience, classed that plan as also "aireal".

Congress devoted much of the winter to a searching examination into the problem of its finances and finally, on the 18th of March, evolved a measure which its sponsors hoped would in due time bring order out of the financial chaos. The measure was, in fact, a right-about-face. In the preceding September Congress had declared it unthinkable that the total of its outstanding obligations, bills of credit and all other, would not be redeemed at par. Now, however, it was decided that, since the present holders at least had received the money at a depreciated value, justice and fairness required that it be redeemed only on such a basis of depreciation as might appear equitable. The basis determined upon as being essentially just was one-fortieth of its face value. For one thing, that would at one stroke reduce a nominal debt of 200,000,000 dollars to an actual debt of 5,000,000. The redemption was to be accomplished by accepting the bills in payment of state quotas of taxes at the rate designated and destroying them. But again Congress could not stop with a mere negative measure, the destruction of its bills, whether at forty for one or at any other rate; it must have funds to carry on the war. For this purpose new bills were to be issued as the old were destroyed, at a rate not to exceed one-twentieth part of the nominal sum of the bills brought in to be destroyed, these new bills to be redeemable in specie in six years. For this redemption the states were called upon to make provision by the establishment of specific funds; but, lest any state should by the events of the war be rendered incapable of redeeming its proportion of bills, the faith of the United States was pledged for their redemption. Further to strengthen the new issues they were to bear interest at 5 per cent., to be paid also in specie upon the redemption of the bills, or (at the election of the holder) annually in sterling bills of exchange drawn by the United States on their commissioners in Europe. For Congress to assume, or to endeavor to persuade the public to believe, that there would be funds in Europe on which to draw was, to say the least, presumptuous; though it was not the first or the last of such presumptions.

The measure was a good piece of work, thought its advocates, though there were not a few doubters both of its efficacy and of its wisdom. By many it was regarded as downright repudiation, a confession of bankruptcy, and one such was Vergennes, who vigorously protested that, whatever Congress might do as affecting citizens of the United States, foreigners, who had accepted the money in good faith, should have been excepted from its provisions.

In good time Congress had plenty of trouble at home in consequence of its act, without worrying unduly over its effect on foreigners; for in almost no particular had the results been in accordance with expectations. It is sufficient for the present to note that, as usual, the states in great measure failed to comply with their parts in the programme, and their compliance was of the essence of whatever success might be hoped for.

Far from halting the depreciation of the old bills, the new bills (in so far as they were issued at all) joined hands with the old, and, like Jack and Jill in the nursery rhyme, went merrily skipping down the hill together; and when old Jack fell down and broke his crown young Jill came tumbling after. As for mending Jack's broken head, vinegar and brown paper had lost their efficacy, and Jill was in no condition to jeer at him. Some of the new bills (only about 4,000,000 of them were actually issued) did survive, though much emaciated, into the new era and had their part in the funding of the national debt.

During the same period in which Congress had been maturing the two measures which have been outlined, namely, the endeavors to feed the army and to bring the chaotic finances into some semblance of order, a third, the perennial problem of recruiting an eternally dissolving army, had been under consideration, although without any great manifestation of zeal. In November Washington had laid before Congress a statement of the strength of the army as it then existed, its probable status at different periods of the following year in consequence of the expirations of enlistments, and had pointed out that without decisive measures for strengthening it the army would not be prepared for the ensuing campaign. He took occasion again, as he had often done before, to emphasize the evils of short enlistments and to press upon Congress the need of enlisting, even of drafting, men for the period of the war.

It was Washington's hope, in bringing forward thus early one of the chief problems involved in the campaign of the next year, that plans might be perfected in time to obtain the necessary recruits in January and thus have several months in which to train them before the campaign should begin. A committee did attack the problem at once, but Congress for some time appeared reluctant to discuss the question at all; consequently in January Elbridge Gerry wrote to Washington, "a fresh application from your Excellency appears to me necessary for promoting that important Business". Furthermore, Gerry wrote, "an opinion has been lately suggested, and I fear with too much effect, 'that the Number of Men enlisted for the War is already sufficient, and that reinforcements are not necessary for the Army in this Quarter'. Should this Sentiment prevail, or the Requisitions be much longer delayed, we shall probably lay the Foundation of an inactive Campaign, if not of greater Misfortunes; and renew the uneasiness of the Court of France, who last year remonstrated in very friendly, but *expressive* Terms, against the Delays of our military preparations for that Campaign". A motion had in fact been made by Livingston a few days before to the effect that all troops whose enlistments would expire on the first of April should be dismissed, that the eighty battalions should be reduced to sixty, and that provision should be made for the reduced officers. Congress appeared indeed to be much more eager to reduce the army than to increase it, and, while a fresh application from Washington succeeded in stirring Congress to a con-

sideration of the subject, it required in addition a gentle admonition from the minister of our ally to change effectually the Congressional mood.

While the recruiting measure was under discussion and Congress was halting betwixt the two opinions, Luzerne represented to Congress (January 25) that "the present situation of the affairs of the alliance in Europe announces the necessity of another campaign, which is indispensable to bring England to an acknowledgement of the independence of the thirteen United States", insisting at the same time that "the only means of putting an end to the calamities of the war is to push it with new vigour; to take measures immediately for completing the army, and putting it in condition to begin an early campaign". A few days later he further enlightened Congress concerning manoeuvres and negotiations in Europe, pointing out that in order to be in condition to treat of peace with the greatest advantage operations to dispossess the enemy of every part of the United States should be prosecuted with all possible vigor, and that preparations to that end ought to be as speedy and effectual as possible. He accordingly asked Congress a few pertinent questions, among them: what force the United States could bring into the field the next campaign, and on what resources they could rely for their maintenance.

Some men in Congress might be disposed to give scant heed to Washington's representations, but they could not turn a deaf ear to the minister of France or withhold the essential promises. Indeed, considering the serious situation in which Congress then found itself, the promises and assurances which it gave were exceedingly liberal: "That the United State have expectations on which they can rely with confidence of bringing into the field an army of 25,000 effective men, exclusive of commissioned officers", and reinforcements of militia besides; "supplies of provisions for the army in its greatest number", both that of the United States and of his most Christian Majesty, could and would certainly be obtained in the United States, "with the cooperation of the states", and "in such a manner as that no operation would be impeded." Furthermore, "Congress rely on the contributions of the states by taxes, and moneys to be raised by internal loans for the pay of the army"—and much more of like purport. Congress had at all events been convinced. "We must cut Throats another year at least", Lovell wrote, "and we ought to do it vigorously."

Luzerne carefully filed these assurances—no doubt with several of the proverbial grains of salt which experience had taught him were always necessary in the case of Congressional promises. In due time he would draw them forth and courteously refresh the Congressional memory. However, in so far as preliminary steps were concerned, he had his reward. On the 9th of February the recruiting measure was brought to maturity. The essential feature of it required the states "to furnish, by draughts or otherwise, on or before the first day of April next, their deficiencies of the

number of 35,211 men, exclusive of commissioned officers, which Congress deem necessary for the service of the present year". The measure had however been obtained not without much bickering among the delegations respecting state quotas. For instance, James Lovell wrote to Samuel Adams only the day before the adoption of the act, "We are standing stiff for Mass. that she sh'd not be still overburthened by Quota of Troops". However, he added, "I do not know that we can possibly get an Army unless Mass. perseveres in furnishing what I know she has judged her *Disproportion*". Delegations protested but assented, and because, as President Huntington explained in his circular letter, "the Quotas apportioned to each State may be supposed to be not exactly Just", it was provided that any inequalities which should afterwards become evident would be rectified in the final settlement of accounts between the states and the United States.

Strange as it may appear, Congress did not, even when it voted to increase the army, give up all thought of reducing it. Naturally enough, when Congress beheld the wreck of its finances, the first requisite toward putting its house in order would appear to be a thorough-going retrenchment of expenses, and a solemn pledge of economy had gone forth to the states. What more conspicuous mark than the army? Reduce that, and many thousands in expense would be eliminated at one stroke. Nor must it be forgotten that neither Congress nor any other political circle, despite many pointed lessons, had yet acquired a true conception of the army as a first essential in the contest in which they were engaged. In those circles the notion appeared to linger that Gideon's band was the true model for the American army (though no one seems to have advocated the Biblical mode of selection), and that such an army, advancing to the blasts of Congressional trumpets, with any one of a dozen battle slogans, could put to flight any host of British Midianites.

Reduction of the army however meant in particular a reduction in the expensive staff departments, and a reorganization, a reformation, of those departments was thought to be one of the most crying needs from any point of view. It had seldom been otherwise. A proposition for the reform of these departments had been initiated in January, 1779, but after a year of alternate puttering and loitering over the project but little had been accomplished, practically nothing in the way of economies. On January 20, 1780, a plan for their regulation, which had been lying on the table for six months and had occasionally received some consideration, was disposed of in a manner that was rather unique. It was resolved that the whole question be assigned to three commissioners, one of whom should be a member of Congress, that they should repair to headquarters and in conjunction with General Washington carry out various retrenchments and reforms, or report their recommendations to Congress. The member of Congress chosen was Philip Schuyler, the outside members

Mifflin and Pickering, the latter at that time a member of the board of war. Schuyler was not then in attendance, but he came to Congress early in March and at once declined to serve on the commission, although he offered to serve as one of a committee of Congress whose purpose should be to consult with the commander-in-chief and the heads of the several civil departments of the army and to adopt such measures as would have "a probable tendency" to effect the great object which Congress had in view. Schuyler drew some subtle distinctions between service as a member of Congress and acting in a capacity which implied that he was a servant of Congress; but a decisive factor in his decision appears to have been his determination not to be placed in a position of assisting Mifflin and Pickering, who, he believed, were not only unfriendly to Washington but would probably attempt measures designed to injure the general. Mifflin and Pickering were accordingly instructed to proceed with the business, but a committee of Congress was appointed to advise with them, and Schuyler was placed on the committee. This, in Schuyler's view, was an act of indelicacy toward him, to say the least, and he refused to have anything to do with either the committee or the commissioners. The latter, in co-operation with the other two members of the committee, Sherman and Allen Jones, worked out an elaborate project of reforms, particularly for the quartermaster's department, and laid it before Congress March 27. But they did not go to headquarters.

The proposal that a committee be sent to camp had, in fact, been made several times and rejected. Congress was upon the whole decidedly hostile to it, partly from disinclination to share, even with a committee of its own body and temporarily, any substantial part of its own direct authority, and partly from fear of strengthening the military arm at the expense of the civilian. When therefore on March 25, after consultation with Washington, the board of war, and Baron Steuben, Congress resolved to postpone any general reduction of the army until the first of December, that seemed to put an end to every idea of appointing such a committee. Just at this juncture, however, came a letter from General Washington calling the attention of Congress to some very serious problems that had developed in the army. "There never has been a stage of the War", he wrote, "in which the dissatisfaction has been so general or alarming. It has lately in particular instances worn features of a very dangerous complexion." Both officers and men were involved, the latter having "lately shown a disposition to enter into seditious combinations". The causes were various, but inequalities of many sorts were largely responsible. Prompt action was necessary. General Greene, who was in Philadelphia, had been advising members of Congress to send a committee of the "best informed members" to headquarters, particularly to fix upon a plan for the quartermaster's department, a subject which had been grievously vexing Congress for a good while. Now, with all the old problems pressing

for solution and new dangers threatening, Congress, with more than usual promptness, although there are said to have been long and warm debates on the question, came to a decision, April 6, to send a committee of its own body to headquarters, with an extensive programme of reforms. April 12 the instructions to the committee were adopted and the following day the personnel of the committee was designated, namely, Philip Schuyler of New York, John Mathews of South Carolina, and Nathaniel Peabody of New Hampshire.

This committee, variously called the committee of co-operation, the committee at camp, or the committee at headquarters, presently came to occupy such a position of importance in all matters pertaining to the army that for a time it all but overshadowed Congress itself, although this did not come about until it had been vested with additional powers, and it was perhaps the overshadowing, more than anything else, that eventually brought a termination to the committee's career.

The business of the committee as set forth in the appointment was primarily to confer with the commander-in-chief on the subject of a reduction of the regiments and the arrangement of the staff departments of the army; but under the instructions of April 12 it was authorized, in consultation with the commander-in-chief, to carry out a variety of reforms, chiefly in the way of retrenchments of one sort or another, but including the rectification of inequalities and abuses as well as the regulation of the staff departments. The committee set about its tasks immediately by making some minor reforms in the civil establishments located in Philadelphia, and toward the end of April proceeded to headquarters.

The committee had scarcely settled down at headquarters and attacked its programme of reforms when Lafayette, returning from France, brought the definite news, already vaguely rumored, that France was sending to the aid of the United States both a naval and a military force. Preparation to co-operate with these forces therefore became at once of the first importance. Accordingly General Washington, who had previously advised the sending of a committee to headquarters as the best means of determining upon a number of questions respecting the arrangement of the army, now deemed the assistance of such a committee essential.

It appears to me of the greatest importance and even of absolute necessity [he confided to James Duane May 14] that a *small* committee should be immediately appointed to reside near Head Quarters vested with all the powers which Congress have, so far as respects the purpose of a full cooperation with the French fleet and army on the Continent. Their authority should be plenipotentiary to draw out men and supplies of every kind and to give their sanction to any operations which the Commander in Chief may not think himself at liberty to undertake without it, as well beyond as within the limits of these states. The Committee can act with dispatch and energy—by being on the spot it will be able to provide for exigences as they arise and the better to judge of their nature and urgency. The plans in contemplation may be opened to them with more freedom and confidence than to a numerous body—

where secrecy is impossible, where the indiscretion of a single member, by disclosing may defeat the project. . . . The conjuncture is one of the most critical and important we have seen; all our prudence and exertions are requisite to give it a favorable issue; hesitancy and delay would in all probability ruin our affairs. Circumstanced as we are, the greatest good or the greatest ill must result. We shall probably fix the independence of America if we succeed, and if we fail the abilities of the states will have been so strained in the attempt, that a total relaxation and debility must ensue and the worst is to be apprehended. These considerations should determine Congress to forego all inferior objects and unite with mutual confidence in these measures which seem best calculated to insure success.

It was accordingly decided between Washington and the committee that Mathews should return to Congress to endeavor to obtain for the committee a grant of essentially dictatorial powers. Lafayette also came on to Philadelphia and conferred with Luzerne, and the minister, finding that the coming of aid from France was already known to the British authorities in America, at once presented a memorial to Congress stating the plans of his government and emphasizing the necessity of sending a committee to headquarters with ample powers.

In such emergencies Congress was wont to rise to the occasion, at least in so far as to manifest to the world unanimity and earnestness, though its record for perseverance in these respects is not without blemish. First of all, the states were called upon for an extra contribution of ten million dollars, to be paid in within thirty days, for the special purpose of bringing the army into the field and forwarding the supplies. Probably there was not a member of Congress who believed that much, if any, of the ten millions would be available inside of thirty days; but Congress had done its part bravely, it had asked the states for the money; what else could it do? Well, for the immediate emergency it could draw bills of exchange on Franklin and Jay to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars each. In view of former warnings from those ministers and promises on the part of Congress to do so no more, the step was taken with reluctance (professedly so, at least) and with apologies (it would be brazen not to apologize); but the crisis was great.

As for conferring additional powers on the committee, that was a serious question and must be pondered and argued. Dictatorial powers? Never! That was dangerous to civil liberties—and to Congress. "The progress hitherto made in Congress", Duane explained to Schuyler some days later, "falls vastly short of your views and my efforts, but it is the fate of deliberate bodies to move with caution. . . . Mr. Mathews will be able to inform you of the obstacles to a committee plenipo. . . . they are deep rooted in the human passions, and not to be surmounted on the first impression." Duane was nevertheless persuaded that every measure which the general thought necessary would, "on his own application", be supported by Congress with unanimity. No new committee, strongly buttressed with authority, was appointed, but the existing committee was

invested with some additional powers, somewhat vague, it is true, but definite enough as regards the conditions under which those powers were to be employed.

The committee was particularly directed "to expedite the drawing forth the supplies" required by the resolution of February 25. If, "in case of any extraordinary emergency", more of the enumerated articles than were provided for in the resolution should become necessary the committee was authorized to apply to the legislative or executive powers of any of the states from New Hampshire to Virginia, inclusive, to procure them at the expense of the United States; or, if the exigency of the service rendered it necessary, the committee might give directions for procuring articles not provided for in the said resolution of February 25. In any event the committee should act only in concurrence with the commander-in-chief. Even restricted as these powers were, there was an effort to have their exercise limited to sixty days. This failed, as did also an effort on the part of the delegations of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania to have their states excepted from the committee's action, an effort which obtained the support of North Carolina only.

Congress did however take one other step believed to be essential: it requested the states "to invest their executive authority, or some other persons, with such powers as will enable them, on the application of the committee aforesaid, to draw forth, at this critical period, the resources of the State". The states really had powers and might appropriately use them. "Congress have no Resources", said the circular letter to the states, "but in your Spirit and Virtue, upon these they confidently rely. You know the Value of the prize for which you contend." The powers of the committee, the letter continued, will be "inadequate to the purposes of their Appointment unless they shall derive their force from the States, to whom they will be under the Necessity of Applying".

There was serious doubt in military circles, as well as in the committee itself, whether the committee's powers were adequate to the emergency. Greene at one time counselled the committee to ask for a further enlargement of powers, at another time to assume them and trust to the approval of Congress; but Washington's decision appears to have been that the committee should do the best it could under the powers which had been bestowed upon it, and that is what, upon the whole, it endeavored to do. Events soon proved that to have followed Greene's advice would have been to court defeat at the very outset.

It had by this time become abundantly evident that, instead of devoting its time to plans for reducing the army, the committee must rather, if there was to be any effective co-operation with the ally, do what it could toward bringing the army up to the requisite strength for the purpose; and, although reforms a-plenty were needed, the immediate and inescapable demand was for supplies. It had long been the opinion of those most competent to know that the plan of depending upon the states for specific

supplies would be an utter failure, Schuyler and Greene, in particular, insisting that it would prove the ruin of the army, and now its defects were manifesting themselves to a degree that justified that prediction. One of these defects, a very serious one, was the failure to provide for transportation to the army; for the states were only to gather the supplies into magazines within their respective borders.

Accordingly, on May 25, two days after it had been apprized of its new powers, the committee attacked the two most urgent problems of its task by sending out a long circular letter to the states (from New Hampshire to Virginia only—for the three southernmost states had their own problem) urging a speedy compliance with the requisitions of February 9 and 25, for men and supplies, respectively. It was as forceful an appeal as the committee could indite. The states were also besought to adopt measures for having the supplies transported to the army. If there should be any question with regard to the pay (the country was already full of unpaid certificates) the states were exhorted to give all needful assurances. This was only the beginning of the committee's exhortations to the states. Before it came to the end of its career it had ransacked the whole domain of rhetoric for the language of appeal.

Nor did the committee limit its appeals to the governors and legislatures of the states. In a letter to President Huntington May 28 it even ventured to exhort Congress:

Persuaded, sir, that to be silent on such occasions would be criminal, We will address our Compeers with decency but with Freedom. We will advise them, that something more is necessary than mere recommendation, or they will lose an army, and thereby risk the loss of an Empire. Times and exigencies render it sometimes necessary for Governing powers to deviate from the strict lines of conduct which Regular Constitutions prescribe. . . . We intreat Congress seriously to consider Whether such times and exigencies do not now exist. If they do, shall Posterity say, that those who directed the affairs of America, at this era, were less intrepid, more attentive to personal consequences than their Predicessors. Heaven forbid the thought!

This was bold language to be addressed to Congress, even though it came from its own members; spoken on the floor of Congress it would have been unexceptionable, but a committee at the headquarters of the army needed to watch its step. For the present the committee might go unrebuked, but if its admonitions should break bounds, if they should swell to criticisms—in that event the committee would no doubt be called upon to give an account for the rash deeds done with the pen.

It is to the eternal credit of Washington, and a mark of his wisdom, that he took exceeding care at all times not to assume any powers that had not been definitely bestowed upon him, but to work in harmony with Congress and through Congress. For, just as Congress had, upon the whole, come to realize that through Washington alone could the states succeed in their struggle, so Washington recognized that through Congress alone could the cause of America, as he conceived it, be won. Washington was

above all things practical, and the clear stream of his thinking was never muddled by any political philosophy. It was not therefore any part of his purpose to counsel Congress to a usurpation of powers; nevertheless he could by no means ignore the fact that Congress, instead of strengthening its own authority, as it might properly have done, had, by catering so persistently to the hesitancies of the states, broken the staff in its own hand. This thought was cogently expressed to his friend Joseph Jones in a letter of May 31:

Certain I am, that unless Congress speaks in a more decisive tone—unless they are vested with powers by the several States competent to the great purposes of war, or assume them as matter of right—and they and the States respectively act with more energy than they hitherto have done, that our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill-timing the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expences and derive no benefit from them. One State will comply with a requisition of Congress, another neglects to do it, a third executes it by halves, and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up-hill and ever shall (while such a system as the present one—or rather want of one prevails) be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage. . . . I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen, and instead of its looking up to Congress as the Supreme controuling power of the United States are considering themselves as dependent on their respective States. In a word, I see the powers of Congress declining too fast for the consequence and respect w^{ch} is due to them as the great representative body of America and I am fearful of the consequences.

There were a few men in Congress, and Jones was one of them, who saw eye to eye with Washington.

Congress [Jones wrote in reply] have been gradually surrendering or throwing upon the several States the exercise of powers they should have retained and to their utmost have exercised themselves, untill at length they have scarce a power left but such as concerns foreign transactions, for as to the Army the Congress is at present little more than the medium through which the wants of the Army are conveyed to the States. This Body never had or at least in few instances have exercised powers adequate to the purposes of War and such as they had, have been from embarrassment and difficulties frittered away to the States and it will be found I fear very difficult to recover them.

The army meanwhile was in the greatest straits. May 27 Washington wrote to Congress that the army had on several days of late been without meat and for a considerable time on a very short allowance at best; that some regiments had received no pay for several months; that mutiny had already broken out and threatened to spread; and that the British were circulating among the troops inducements to desert. To Joseph Jones he wrote the next day: "All our departments, all our operations are at a stand; and unless a system very different from that which has for a long time prevailed be immediately adopted throughout the States, our affairs must soon become desperate beyond the possibility of recovery." "In-

deed", he added, "I have almost ceased to hope. The country in general is in such a state of insensibility and indifference to its interests, that I dare not flatter myself with any change for the better."

On the last day of May Washington laid before the committee a clear statement of the situation, pointing out that, in order to be on any sure ground in planning for co-operation with the ally, it was of indispensable importance to know precisely what could be depended on in the way of men and supplies. At his suggestion therefore the committee, on the 2d of June, requested of each of the states (exclusive of the three southernmost) certain designated supplies, including their transportation, deliveries to be made monthly and to begin July 1; and likewise certain numbers of troops, to be delivered at designated rendezvous by July 15. To the committee's solicitations Washington, in a circular letter to the states, added his own emphatic appeal.

It might seem that no further requests or admonitions or arguments were necessary: but Washington knew better, and ten days later he was asking the committee to reiterate and further emphasize the urgency of compliance with their requisitions, particularly with regard to troops. For he had learned, so he explained, that some of the states were planning a less extensive augmentation of their forces than had been requested, although the states had been clearly informed that the requisitions were for the minimum which the exigency required. Another week passed, and still no word from any of the states as to what they were doing or proposed to do. In a quandary as to what steps to take toward co-operation with the French, and at that moment engaged with the enemy at Springfield, Washington once more through the committee called upon the states to redouble their exertions.

Nor had Congress all this time by any means been idle. It had considered, discussed, and decided upon a great many affairs of lesser importance, but it had also given serious attention to weightier matters. One thing in particular which it had done was to add (June 15) to the appeals which the committee and Washington had made to the state authorities one more installment of its own argument and exhortation. "We trust", Congress made bold to say, "that . . . the rulers of states will not hesitate to exert their utmost authority, and that the people have too much understanding to refuse temporary submission to such vigorous exertions as are necessary to secure them from continued oppression and established tyranny." "A Common Council", the letter continues, "involves the power of direction. Let not our measures be checked or controuled by the negligence or partial views and interests of separate communities, while they profess to be members of one body—too long have the dearest interests of America been sacrificed to present ease, too many of us have slept in false security. Let us awake before the season for successful exertion is passed." As prepared by Robert R. Livingston and offered to Congress, the letter at first contained allusions to the supineness of the

states, but this and other remarks carrying uncomplimentary implications were either softened or deleted. It did not behoove Congress to accuse the states too definitely of being supine or of sleeping in false security. To urge, to beseech, to exhort—these were the only proper modes of approaching the free, sovereign, and independent states. The committee at headquarters had urged, Washington had besought, and Congress in its turn had exhorted; but would the states awake? Distress and calamity alone, declared Duane, would arouse them, and it was anything but likely that rhetorical flourishes, however strong, would stir them to bestow on Congress extraordinary powers. It is doubtful whether at this moment a majority of the members even desired such a bestowal. The members were apt to be of one mind with their constituents, and prone in any case to face as the latter's fingers pointed.

Some propositions for the assumption of powers by Congress had been offered, so Joseph Jones wrote to Washington (June 19), but so cautious were some gentlemen of offending the states in this respect that he believed these propositions would “dye where they are”. They did, for they were not so much as entered upon the Journals. Even the resolutions requesting the states to give express powers for calling forth men, provisions, and money for carrying on the war for the common defense would, Jones believed, probably “sleep with the States”. The states did, in fact, continue to run true to form, their compliances being much as Washington had characterized them: partial, by halves, not at all, or belated. As for enlarged powers for Congress, toward the close of July Cornell could declare: “Congress in general appear exceeding easy in the present situation of affairs. There doth not appear the most distant wish for more powers, but rather on the contrary, a wish to see their States without control (as the term is) free, sovereign, and independent.”

At the end of June, when but few responses had come from the states, Washington despatched another circular letter to them, in which he said:

The present crisis is by far the most important and delicate that this country has ever experienced, and it pains me in the extreme, that we are so backward in all our measures. I hope a moment will not be lost in pushing on the levies to fill the battalions. Our allies would be chagreened were they to arrive to-day, to find that we have but a handful of men in the field and would doubt, it is more than probable, whether we had serious intentions to prosecute measures with vigor. If we do not avail ourselves of their succour by the most decisive and energetic steps on our part, the aid they so generously bring may prove our ruin.

In mid-July the first division of the French naval and land forces arrived, and Washington had perforce to make the best of the situation. “The eyes of Europe generally, and those of all America”, the committee wrote to Congress July 18, “are intently turned to Congress, and to the operations of their Army in this Campaign . . . we cannot contemplate without horror the Effects of disappointment, as we apprehend that it will be experienced from a want of exertion in some states.” In Con-

gress some members were lamenting "the want of decision", even in matters of great national concern, and that "a general languor hath spread itself over all our public transactions". At the same time there was again talk of appointing General Washington sole dictator of America as "the only means under God by which we can be saved from destruction".

At this juncture assurances began to come from most of the states that they were actively assembling troops and supplies. For the moment also the army had food. Why worry? The optimists in Congress were again having their day. The worst, so often predicted, had not yet come; probably it never would. Some of them began once more to vision a conclusion of the "glorious contest". It was at this moment however that a problem which had long sorely vexed Congress, had been a matter of anxious concern to Washington, and latterly had taxed the wisdom and ingenuity of the committee at headquarters was brought to a climax.

One of the heavy tasks laid upon the committee at headquarters, included in the general assignment to investigate and reform the staff departments, was an arrangement of the quartermaster's department, which in one form or another had presented to Congress a perpetual problem and puzzle. The committee was "to pay a particular attention" to the plan which Mifflin and Pickering had offered at the end of March, but was authorized to amend or alter it, as might appear desirable. There was no likelihood that Schuyler would approve of that plan. He had already expressed his disapprobation of it. Instead the committee, under his guidance and in consultation with General Greene as well as with General Washington, drew up a plan of its own, and in the middle of June Schuyler returned to Philadelphia to present it to Congress. There the plan underwent discussion during a month and came forth from the Congressional mill (July 15) so mutilated, in Greene's view, as would in great measure destroy its utility. "Congress always destroy with their left hand", he averred, "what they begin with their right. People that will not learn Wisdom by suffering and experience cannot be saved."

A chief point of controversy (though it was by no means the only one) between Greene and Congress was over the question of his responsibility. In a letter to Congress July 19 he had stated the degree of responsibility which he would assume, and reiterating his position to the committee July 14 he said, "nor shall I agree to make a single appointment upon my other footing". Congress declined to accede to Greene's demands, asserting, in a resolution of July 24, that it was "essential to the public interest, as well as incident to the nature of all offices entrusted with the disbursement of public monies, that those who exercise them should be responsible for such disbursement", and that Congress could not, "consistently with their duty to their constituents, by any general resolution, hold up a contrary maxim". Congress would, however, "determine on circumstances as they arise, and make such favourable allowances as justice may require".

This general principle was sound enough; it was rather the application that was likely to be made of it at which Greene balked. His contention, as it had been the contention of every other agent of Congress similarly placed, was primarily for a large degree of discretionary power, that he might adapt measures to exigencies as they arose. And it was just this lesson in efficiency—discretion coupled with responsibility—that Congress was slowest to learn.

So soon as Greene had received the finished act of Congress for the regulation of his department he transmitted his resignation, pointing out some of the particular reasons why, in addition to the more general objections to the plan which he had hitherto expressed, he could not undertake the business. Among these reasons was a failure to make provision for the two assistants, Cox and Pettit, on whom he had greatly depended in the past and must continue to depend if he remained in charge of the department. Had he contented himself with merely criticizing the plan, the sequel would probably have been different; but he indulged in some further remarks, among them this one: "Administration seem to think it far less important to the public interest to have this department well filled, and properly arranged, than it really is, and as they will find it by future experience." Many members of Congress had already become nettled over Greene's conduct in the matter, and when he applied to that body the odious term "Administration" it was like flaunting a red rag in the face of an already excited bull. General Greene had flung an "insult" into the face of Congress. There was a motion "That the Commander in Chief be directed to inform Major General Green that the United States have no further occasion for his services, and that it is expected he will proceed immediately to the settlement of his accounts". The motion was unable at the time to obtain sufficient support, and presently Congress, having cooled down a bit, thought better of it. Meanwhile Timothy Pickering was chosen quartermaster-general.

Greene's best friends in Congress had held that he might properly have been less rigid in his demands, particularly in view of the critical situation that existed, while those who were not so friendly toward him criticized him severely for his willingness to quit the department and thus throw it into confusion in a time of crisis. Greene's recent experiences in the department had however impelled him to the view that a further effort, without a very radical change in the fundamental regulations of the department, could only result in disaster to all concerned. In the view of General Washington and of the committee at headquarters it was imperatively necessary that the department should not be allowed to collapse and that means should be found whereby Greene might be continued at the head of it, for a time at least. The committee therefore labored to bring about an adjustment of views between Greene and Congress such as would permit his continuance. Largely sympathetic, as members of the committee were, with Greene's point of view, they plied Congress with their

arguments. The result was not what they had hoped for. Instead of persuading Congress they succeeded mainly in impressing that body, at least a majority of the members, already not a little sensitive toward the committee, with a feeling that the committee had overstepped its functions and was seeking to dictate to Congress. Accordingly, even before taking final action on Greene's resignation, Congress administered a severe rebuke to the committee, resolving (August 2) "That the subject matter of the quarter master general's letter to the said committee at camp, so far as it regards his responsibility, has been already determined by Congress: and, as the said committee knew that the quarter master general had requested the sense of Congress on so important a subject, they ought not to have interfered therein". Nor was this all. The committee was further informed that certain memorials and applications "which seem to have employed their time and attention, should have been made directly to Congress, and the committee should thus have informed the applicants".

These resolutions in support of the dignity and authority of Congress against the threatened usurpations of their own committee were not, however, very promptly transmitted to the persons who, next to Congress itself, were most concerned. It befell at this juncture, in consequence of the illness of Peabody and the departure of Schuyler for New York, that the committee was reduced to a single member, John Mathews, who was apt to speak, as he thought, with a degree of warmth. When Mathews learned that Greene's resignation was likely to be accepted, he seized his goose-quill and penned the President of Congress a few pointed remarks. "Convinced from long experience", he said, "that the decisions of Congress are not very rapid, tho on matters of the last importance, I am induced to address you on this subject", and he proceeded to enlighten Congress on the situation at large and upon the case of the quartermaster-general in particular. "It may be asked", he added, "whether Congress are to be dictated to, by their Officers? I answer without hesitation, that on the present occasion they must; necessity compels them to it, and it is a duty they owe their constituents, not to suffer punctilio to militate against their essential interests. If there are men in the great council of this nation, capable of a such conduct, I will not say what I think are their deserts." In closing he said: "I have done my duty to my country—Congress will judge for themselves, and let future events determine the fitness or unfitness of their decision." This was on the 6th of August. On the 11th the letter was read in Congress, and forthwith it was ordered, by a vote of ten ayes to two noes and one (Virginia) divided, that the committee be discharged from further attendance at headquarters and that they report their proceedings to Congress.

Mathews, unaware of this order of recall until August 22, continued to labor with his accustomed zeal at the committee's tasks, now fallen entirely upon his own shoulders. When the rebuke of August 2 reached him, but

before he had learned of the recall, he hesitated not a moment to make use of this excellent opportunity for self-expression. In a letter of August 16, approaching Congress "with all deference", he humbly submitted to the consideration of "that august body" a matter (of very small consequence), trusting that it would not have a tendency to retrench too much from their "high prerogatives". If Congress had possessed the judicial power of imprisoning for contempt Mr. Mathews would probably have spent a few weeks in lonely seclusion. As it was, about all that Congress could do was for a time to manifest toward the member from South Carolina, when he returned to Congress, their extreme displeasure. And this, according to his own testimony, they did with a degree of efficiency.

The committee's zeal, even under Schuyler's more careful guidance, had outrun its discretion; but Washington himself bore testimony that the committee had performed an exceedingly helpful service. And a further evidence of its usefulness was the fact that, when the committee was disbanded, the whole of the operations which they had set on foot and which were just beginning to bear fruit, virtually collapsed, and Congress had to begin all over again.

The grounds of the committee's dismissal were by no means single. The committee had in a number of instances touched Congress in sensitive spots, with the result that the jealousies which lay at the bottom of the opposition to its appointment in the first instance had grown in intensity and had received numerous accretions in volume. For one thing, and perhaps chiefly, the committee had imbibed too much "camp education". Ezekiel Cornell, staunchest among the friends of General Greene in Congress and likewise friendly to the committee, declared that the dissolution of the committee had, in his opinion, become necessary "to keep harmony among ourselves". "Some members", he said, "were against their appointment, [and] they have never failed to blow the Coals on all Occasions. The committee at some times wrote plainly to us, and pressed our difficulties close upon us, which is another matter many of us cannot bear, altho founded on the greatest truths. for my own part", he added, "I see nothing to charge the committee with in point of Conduct; some of their letters were in a stile rather warm but that I imputed to Schuyler's Zeal and the warm Climate of Mathews Nativity." Mathews besought Schuyler to return to Congress to assist him in defending the committee, for it was not in his power, he said, "to stand bluff to the whole Phalanx"; but neither Schuyler nor Peabody ever sat in Congress again. Mathews however staid on, and, according to his own account, was made to stand a good deal of bluff, or worse, from the phalanx. When however, on November 16, the committee's full record of its proceedings was laid before Congress, that body appears to have received it with complete silence. Nathaniel Peabody, recuperating in Morristown, appears to have taken the committee's defeat in a more philosophical spirit, if not with

amused aloofness. But he as well as Mathews had imbibed a good deal of camp doctrine. Discoursing at length upon the situation, in a letter to Josiah Bartlett August 6, he reflected, "I once read of a people who were at times led by a Cloud; And I have known a people whose *Grand Multi-form'd Sanhedrin* were often times in the midst of a Fog". Congress may have protected its dignity and authority, but it forthwith found itself in the midst of a dense fog.

The dismissal of the committee came at a very crucial moment. On the 20th of August, two days before news of the dismissal reached headquarters, Washington wrote to Congress setting forth at length the conditions with which he was confronted. There was little hope, he said, of being able to carry out his original plans, such was the complication of embarrassments which surrounded him. At that very moment he was under the necessity of dismissing a part of the militia which, though a month behind schedule, had begun to assemble, or else let them come forward to starve. "Every day's experience", he wrote, "proves more and more that the present mode of obtaining supplies is the most uncertain, expensive, and injurious, that could be devised. It is impossible for us to form any calculation of what we are to expect, and consequently to concert any plans of future execution." He hoped that something could be done to stimulate the states to a compliance with the requisitions made of them, and he admonished Congress that by the first of January one-half the present force would have dissolved, leaving only the shadow of an army; and that shadow, he declared, would have every motive except mere patriotism to abandon the service, since the hope of a change for the better, which had hitherto supported them, would not outlast the campaign, unless it should find something more substantial to rest upon. No spectator of the distresses of the army, he asserted, could help being convinced of the truth of what he said, however those at a distance (meaning Congress, particularly) might speculate differently, and the committee of co-operation would add their testimony to his. (He did not then know that the committee had completely lost favor in the sight of Congress and that its testimony was not desired.) "To me", Washington went on to say, "it will appear miraculous if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer in their present train. If either the temper or the resources of the Country will not admit of an alteration, we may expect soon to be reduced to the humiliating condition of seeing the cause of America, in America, upheld by foreign arms. The generosity of our allies has a claim to all our confidence and all our gratitude, but it is neither for the honor of America nor for the interest of the common cause, to leave the work entirely to them." All arguments, he declared, led to the one conclusion, that it was the true policy of America not to content herself with temporary expedients, but to endeavor, if possible, to give consistency and solidity to her measures. The first essential of such a plan was to provide men in time to replace those who would be leaving at the end of the year, and the only

effectual means to that end was a peremptory draft. The draft, furthermore, should be for the war or for three years, if, he took pains to say, it could be effected; for no one knew better than he the difficulties involved, the opposition to be encountered. The system of short enlistments he now characterized as "pernicious beyond description"; and he proceeded to point out how "all the misfortunes we have met with in the military line are to be attributed to this cause", how it had doubled expenses, and how it had led to an unnecessary prolongation of the war.

But these were by no means all the problems requiring solution if the army was to be made effective. There were others equally serious, and chief among them were those arising from depreciated pay and the inequality of provisions made by the several states, inequalities so glaring that symptoms of discontent, Washington revealed, were gradually maturing to dangerous extremities. As for the officers, besides suffering from similar inequalities, their appointments, promotions, and future prospects were to so great an extent subject to the control of the different states that the consequence was discontent, confusion, and even chaos. To such an extent, in fact, were the several states determining the conditions of their own troops that it had "a direct tendency to enfeeble our civil union by making us thirteen armies instead of one, and by attaching the troops of each State to that State, rather than to the United States". It was the ardent wish of the army that "every matter which relates to it should be under the immediate direction and providence of Congress". For the officers he once more recommended the provision of half-pay for life as "the most politic and effectual that can be adopted". "On the whole", he said, "if something satisfactory be not done, the army . . . must either cease to exist at the end of the campaign, or it will exhibit an example of more virtue, fortitude, self-denial, and perseverance, than has perhaps ever yet been paralleled in the history of human enthusiasm." He closed this remarkable letter with these cautious words:

In this delicate and perplexing conjuncture which I cannot but contemplate with extreme inquietude, I have thought it my duty to lay my sentiments with freedom—and I hope I have done it with all possible deference—before Congress, and to give them the fullest and truest information in my power. I trust they will receive what I have said with all the indulgence which must flow from a conviction that it is dictated by a sincere attachment to their honor, and by an anxious concern for the welfare of my Country.

Just a week later, that is, on August 27, Washington sent out a circular letter to the states, a copy of which was transmitted to Congress, pointing out that the army was again "reduced to the extremity of distress for the want of provision", the greater part of it having been without meat for the preceding six days, while at the moment there was only one day's supply of flour in camp. By moving the army from place to place and stripping the country he had been able to obtain a scanty pittance, which would last probably two or three days (and he meant to supply the im-

mediate wants of the army somehow) ; but that mode of subsistence was in the highest degree distressing to individuals and attended with ruin to the morals and discipline of the army. Hitherto it had been the boast that the American army, unlike the British, had respected the rights of the inhabitants. But now "we must assume the odious character of the plunderers instead of the protectors of the people". Unless vigorous and immediate measures should be taken by the states to comply with the requisitions made upon them, he declared, the army would be compelled to disband, with the probable result that it would subsist upon the plunder of the people.

Washington's letter of August 20 was laid before Congress no earlier than the 28th. The matter of food for the army in particular demanded despatch as swift as possible; but it was the 15th of September before Congress was ready with its remedies: a request to the bank in Philadelphia to finance a small purchase of cattle, another to the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware to furnish an immediate supply of cattle to the army "with all possible dispatch", and an order to draw warrants on sundry states for expense money. More than two weeks for a decision that ought to have been reached in less than two hours. Meanwhile other letters had come from the commander-in-chief, reporting the continuance of the dearth of supplies, with other enforced facts, calling the attention of Congress to still other urgent problems pertaining to the army, and reiterating some of the old ones. There should have been no need for all this reiteration, for Washington and the committee at camp had been apprising Congress of most of these needs for weeks and months past. But Congress, in what it probably thought of as a fit of righteous indignation, having rid itself of the odious committee, appeared to forget the army, even the hunger of the soldiers, while it devoted itself mainly to other matters, important perhaps, but of little urgency. "I have seen many new scenes before I came to this place", wrote Ezekiel Cornell at this time, "but what I have experienced since, exceeds anything I have ever seen before. I never before saw a set of men that could quietly submit to every kind of difficulty that tended to the ruin of their country, without making one effort to remove the obstruction. I believe they wish their country well, but suffer their time almost wholly to be taken up in business of no consequence." Congress might see the lowering clouds but it was prone to wait and watch for the silver lining. "*Si male nunc, et olim non erit*", was Thomas McKean's reaction to Washington's letter of August 20. Throughout its career, a few notable times excepted, Congress had been incorrigibly prone to excessive optimism. Perhaps never in any other assembly of bosoms did hope spring so eternal with so little reason.

In the meantime, while Washington was desperately endeavoring to hold the army together and to feed it and the attention of Congress was mainly elsewhere, news came that the second French squadron had been

blockaded at Brest and therefore would probably not reach America in time for such operations as had been planned. This, added to the other obstacles which it had proved impossible to surmount, decided Washington to give up all idea of an effective campaign for the season and to dismiss the greater part of the militia. It would save the expense of supporting them, so he wrote Congress August 28, and in any case, their periods of service would probably have expired before any use could have been made of them.

So far as the main army was concerned, therefore, the year 1780 was about to pass out without having to its credit any military operations worth speaking of. The southern field of activities had indeed produced results, but they were not such as brought exultation or inspired hope. On the 12th of May the American forces at Charleston, under General Benjamin Lincoln, had been compelled to surrender. Rumors of the capitulation were soon circulating in the North, but members of Congress persisted in arguing that it could not be true. We gulp good news but gag at bad. A month of gagging, and the bad news had to be swallowed. For one group of patriots however there was a measure of compensation. Here was a chance for the victor of Saratoga to silence all questioning voices respecting his ability as a general. He, his admirers were sure, would soon redeem the southern states, provided of course he was furnished with the necessary means. Congress lost no time in assigning Gates to the southern command, then waited expectantly. But alas! just when Congress was listening eagerly for the news of victory word came that at Camden Gates's army had been almost totally annihilated—except the general himself, who was then at Hillsboro in North Carolina, endeavoring to collect the remnants of his army, if any there were. But why so far from the scene of the battle? Among the devotees of Gates faith in their favorite had been such as would remove mountains of doubt, but when it became known how effectively he had used his Saratoga spurs to put a safe two hundred miles between himself and the victorious enemy that faith dwindled and died. The legend of Saratoga, which had so long confused the councils of war, would bedevil them no more. Camden after all had its compensations.

The country was to receive one more shock from a near-disaster before any turn in the tide of its affairs would seem to lead toward fortune. For hard upon the heels of the southern debacle came the treason of Arnold. It was therefore in no mood of exultation that Congress paused to proclaim its annual day of thanksgiving and prayer. In the proclamation of the year before Congress had offered praise to the Almighty "that he hath prospered our arms and those of our ally; been a shield to our troops in the hour of danger, pointed their swords to victory and led them in triumph over the bulwarks of the foe"—although it would have been a hard task for any member of that body to say just when, in the year of grace 1779, those swords had been thus pointed, or where those bulwarks

might be which had been thus overcome. In this year of 1780, though of scarcely less divine favor, Congress refrained from claiming victories even in vague and general terms. The one thing in particular which called for "devout and thankful acknowledgments" was "the late remarkable interposition of his watchful providence, in rescuing the person of our Commander in Chief and the army from imminent dangers, at the moment when treason was ripened for execution". The proclamation was adopted on the 18th of October. Had it lingered only five days longer, how different would have been its language of thanksgiving! For on the seventh of October had occurred the glorious victory at Kings Mountain in North Carolina, a victory of which Congress did not learn until the 23d. It was no large affair, even judged by the standards of the Revolution; but its psychological effect was great; it went far toward dispelling the general gloom, it inspired the country with renewed hope, and it marked that turn of the tide for which all patriots yearned. Meanwhile measures were taken to rebuild the southern army, so sorely stricken at Camden, and not the least of the hostages given to fortune was the appointment of General Greene to the command of that army.

It was now time to begin preparations for the next campaign. It had come to be an annual affair. One year repeated another. Washington would begin betimes with his plans and his requests for needful measures, Congress would putter and dally over them for weeks or months, the states would procrastinate still further, and before the army could be got ready the fighting season was over. Troops had come and troops had gone, but troops fit to fight and in sufficient numbers were never available. Supplies, laboriously obtained and costly, had been consumed, precious time had been lost, and there was nothing to show for it all. Wasted effort everywhere. Only heart-burnings and vexation of spirit.

This year Congress began rather earlier than usual the revision of plans for the constitution of an army; for in his letter of August 20 Washington had put the problem squarely before them. The project was ready by September 21, was then submitted to Washington for his approval, and on October 3 was adopted. The essential feature of the measure, so far as concerned enlistments, was a recommendation to the states to recruit their regiments to their full quota with men enlisted for the war, but, if this could not be done by December 1, then to enlist them for one year.

I stretched my abilities to the utmost [John Mathews wrote Washington September 24], I exhausted every argument that nature and my enquiries and observations on this truly important subject had furnished me with, to get the fatal alternative "or for one year" altered, thus—That if the battalions could not be completed by the 1st day of Decr. for the War, then (the States to be called in the most forcible language) to fill them up by *drafts* for not less than one year, from the 1st of Jany. but if not then relieved, to be obliged to continue in the field untill such time as their places shall be *actually* supplied by other drafts or enlistments for one year, or for the War.

The crux of the problem was in Mathews' parentheses: the most that Congress could do in any case was to call upon the states *in the most forcible language*. Whatever may have been the faults and shortcomings of Congress, it had seldom failed these five years past to address the states in language the most forcible that it could command. Earnest requests, urgent requisitions, forceful pleadings, eloquent appeals from Congress to the states had come to be about as commonplace as changes of the moon—and had about the same effect. They were a part of the course of nature. Showers of oratory fell unobserved. Hurricanes of exhortation scarcely produced a tremor. Each as it came was just one more thunderstorm; there had been many and many a one before; the sun had always come out afterward and would again.

It was next in order to attempt once more a restoration of the sinking finances—rather, to devise some new financial machinery; for the old-time dependence, Continental bills of credit, whether old or new, had been sunk almost without trace. Congress had, in fact, been puttering at one phase or another of the task for months. Early in August a committee of estimates and ways and means had been appointed and had from time to time brought forward sundry propositions, while one or another of the members, independently of the committee, had made their several offerings. One of the committee's measures, adopted August 26, was designed to support and make more effective the act of March 18; another, adopted November 4, aimed at a speedy acquisition of much needed supplies; for the situation had again become alarming. "Applications to the contiguous States on the subject", Madison wrote to Joseph Jones, "have been repeated from every quarter, till they seem to have lost all their force." With the requisition of November 4 went a circular letter (November 9) in which Congress confessed that "the events of the present year have not enabled us to speak the language of triumph". This, the letter said, might be attributed to a variety of causes, "but we cannot refrain from observing, that the unpunctuality of the states in their supplies of men, money, and provisions, is not one of the least".

Another offering of the committee of ways and means, made in early November, was specifically financial in character. It included a proposition that the states be asked to levy duties of two and one-half per cent. on exports and imports, the proceeds to be applied to the discharge of foreign debts of the United States, and a further proposition that the states impose a duty of five per cent. on the value of all prizes, for the use of the navy. The collecting officers, be it noted, were to be appointed by Congress. These propositions, the essential features of which had been offered by Robert R. Livingston in August, touched however only the outer fringe of the financial problem.

It was perhaps a recognition of the fact that the heart of the problem had not been reached that induced Congress to appoint a new committee,

November 7, to prepare "a plan for arranging the finances, paying the debts and oeconomising the revenues of the United States". This committee, of which Sullivan was chairman, appears to have gone about its task with the assumption that in the past "most of our Difficulties have arisen from an Ignorance of Finance", therefore they would inform themselves; they would go to the sources of knowledge, among them, Hume's *Essays*. Although from their reading and thinking and discussing the committee evolved several elaborate financial schemes, they ventured to offer to Congress only a portion of what had been generated in committee; and much of what they did recommend (December 18) does not appear to have greatly impressed Congress. The kernel of their offerings, a proposition worked out in considerable detail, was that the states be requested to pass laws granting to Congress for the use of the United States four per cent. upon the value of all imported goods; and this (the rate was altered to five per cent.) Congress mulled over for several weeks.

An impost in one form or another, as has already been mentioned, was by no means a new suggestion. On that notable 18th of March, for instance, when Congress adopted its forty-for-one measure, it had been proposed "that the states be requested to pass laws enabling Congress to levy an impost of one per cent. on exports and imports as a fund for sinking the emissions for carrying on the present war"; but it had been rejected. It was to an essential feature of that proposition, namely, the vesting of a power in Congress to levy the duty, that Congress now turned for its financial salvation. Accordingly, on February 3, it was resolved "That it be recommended to the several states, as indispensably necessary, that they vest a power in Congress, to levy for the use of the United States a duty of five per cent. *ad valorem*" on imports, with certain exceptions. "also, a like duty of five per cent. on all prizes and prize goods condemned in the court of admiralty of any of these states as lawful prize". It was but a small residuum from the large mass of the committee's offerings, but if it should be made effective it would probably go a great way toward placing Congress in a position of financial independence. Congress counted its thirteen eggs, eagerly set them, and wondered if they would all hatch. They did not.

The period covered by this volume marks a distinct advance in the development of the executive and administrative machinery of Congress. Up to the end of 1779 Congress had gone no farther toward divorcing business of any sort from committees of its own body than to create mixed boards, partly of members, partly of non-members, for the departments of war, treasury, and marine; but it was only a step farther to abolish entirely the membership representation on these boards. Congress was at last learning that business could be much better transacted through permanent bodies than through fluctuating committees, and a good many of them had become convinced of what a few had long insisted upon, that it would

be still better managed by single responsible executives. The department of foreign affairs was the first to be given the new form. Although that department had practically dwindled down to one man, James Lovell, it was still a committee of Congress and had long been conducted in a manner most unsatisfactory even to Congress, being not only unfruitful of results but to no small degree a maker of trouble. If communication across the Atlantic was slow (letters sometimes consumed more than a year in reaching their destination), there was little that Congress could do about it; but it was in the power of Congress to see that communications were more promptly despatched to its representatives abroad. The mind of Congress however seldom functioned in the direction of foreign affairs at all except when it looked toward the more or less remote prospect of peace negotiations, or when it desired a loan. On occasions of the latter sort there were always men in that body who were highly gifted in the art of making the worse appear the better reason. Such a situation as, for example, existed in the summer of 1780 ought to have been intolerable. Complaining of the dearth of letters from the ministers and apologizing for delays at the American end of the line, Lovell wrote to Jay in July, "I am not entitled to throw the 'first stones', but I have as good a title as anybody to palliate my own faults, and to shift them upon others. There is said to be a committee of foreign affairs. Each member is loaded with a variety of business; two have amiable wives near Philadelphia; I miss the Gentlemen, therefore, frequently." Then, in further defense of himself as essentially the only sitting part of the committee, he remarked, "The weather is murderous hot, and I cannot go up and down to the offices, in search of those authenticated papers, which ought to be regularly forwarded to you, and other dignified officers abroad". Jay replied that, for his part, he was willing enough to throw stones, provided he could hit the committee and not injure any of its members. Then he put his finger firmly upon the defective spot. "One good private correspondent", he wrote, "would be worth twenty standing committees, made up of the wisest heads in America, for purposes of intelligence."

Jay was writing at the end of October; but as long ago as May 15 a committee had been appointed to report upon a proper arrangement of foreign affairs. The appointment of a committee was, however, often no more than the momentary yielding to a suggestion; it was far from indicating a decision. The committee promptly enough (June 12) brought in a report, but it was not until six months later that Congress became disposed to take it under consideration, induced thereto no doubt by a decided rise of pressure in foreign relations, to which a number of developments contributed, among them, the return of Arthur Lee and Ralph Izard, with their respective bags of thunderbolts, the supposed need of sending a minister to Russia, and (not the least of these influences) the desire to obtain another loan from France. Besides, reform of all departments was

the order of the day. The plan was brought to maturity January 10, 1781, when a department of foreign affairs was created, with a secretary for foreign affairs at its head, whose principal duties were to conduct the correspondence with the ministers of the United States abroad, with ministers of foreign powers, and others. In order that "he may be better informed of the affairs of the United States" and have an opportunity of explaining his reports, he was to have liberty to attend Congress. The committee offered an opinion, with apprehensions however respecting its immediate applicability, "that the most effectual mode of conducting the Business of the Department for foreign affairs would be thro' a Minister vested with Confidential powers after the Example of other nations, responsible for his Trust under the immediate Direction of Congress"; but the opinion was not accepted. The report also contained a proposition of quite a contrary character, "That a Committee of Congress consisting of three members of whom the president shall always be one shall have the superintendence and direction of the Department of foreign affairs and that the Secretary for foreign affairs shall be subject to their Instructions and Submit all his correspondence and proceedings to their Inspection". This fortunately was negatived, for it would scarcely have improved upon existing conditions more than to give a committee of foreign affairs a chief clerk. Such was the plan, but it was exactly seven months before a secretary, in the person of Robert R. Livingston, was chosen, and it was not until October 20, 1781, that he assumed charge of the department.

The reform of the other executive departments lagged in much the same manner as that of the department of foreign affairs. August 29, on a motion of Livingston and Joseph Jones, both of them deeply interested in the reform, a committee of five (Livingston, Lovell, Jones, John Henry, and Matlack) was appointed "to report a plan for the revision and new arrangement of the civil executive departments of the United States under Congress". Although it was long before the matter came to be taken up in Congress, the committee appears to have entered at once upon its task, and to have included within its scope the department of foreign affairs, despite the existence of another committee with that specific assignment. The committee had in contemplation, so Jones afterward explained, "to place at the head of the Foreign affairs the Admiralty and Treasury some respectable persons to conduct the Business and be responsible. . . . We shall never", he said, "have these great departments well managed until something of this kind is done". But progress in the plan was halted by a fluctuation in the committee, such as frequently delayed measures in Congress and sometimes paralyzed them. First Jones and Livingston, then two other members of the committee, were absent, and only Lovell of the five was left. Consequently little or nothing was done until in the late autumn Congress was once more stirred by the spirit of reform. "All Publick Departments", Sullivan wrote November 15, "are now Arrang-

ing upon economical Principles. The several and expensive Navy Boards will be Abolished. The War Office and Treasury Board regulated". On January 6, 1781, four new members, including James Duane, were added to the committee, and just one week later, that is, three days after the establishment of the department of foreign affairs, the committee offered its report. After nearly a month of discussion it was resolved, February 7, to place the three departments of war, marine, and treasury under individual heads responsible to Congress. Over the first was to be a secretary at war, over the second a secretary of marine, and over the third a superintendent of finance. To the latter office Robert Morris was chosen February 20, but, when he demanded as a condition of his acceptance the appointment and control of his subordinates, Congress for a time demurred but finally yielded, and on May 14 Morris assumed office. February 27 Alexander McDougall was chosen secretary of marine, but he stipulated certain conditions respecting the retention of his rank in the army, and, when Congress refused to accede, he declined the office. In July further efforts were made to elect a secretary of marine, but without success. In August Congress created the office of agent of marine, and a little later assigned the duties of the office temporarily to the superintendent of finance. On February 28, for various reasons, real and ostensible, the election of a secretary at war was postponed until October 1. The election actually took place October 30, resulting in the choice of General Benjamin Lincoln.

Thus, just as the war was closing Congress at last put its principal administrative and executive business upon such a basis as, if it had been done in the beginning of the contest, would have saved it from many blunders and would have proved of incalculable advantage in the conduct of all its affairs. And not the least of the benefits would have been that Congress, no longer bound hand and foot by a thousand petty affairs, would have found its energies released for devotion to the weightier matters of its legislative task. However it is not to be assumed that even at this time all members had been weaned from their old-time jealousies of everything in the shape of one-man power. Some who now yielded doubtfully and reluctantly would ere long be joined by others of like mind and together they would succeed in casting into the discard much of the gains that now all belatedly had been won.

The reforms did not stop with the great departments but extended to various subdivisions such as now would constitute bureaus. These need not be chronicled here; but one other achievement of the period deserves particularly to be recorded. This was the establishment, in January, 1780, of a Court of Appeals for the trial of all appeals from the courts of admiralty in the United States, a measure which had been under consideration from time to time for nearly two years. The court is of especial significance for the reason that it was, in a sense, the progenitor of the Supreme Court.

In the afternoon of January 3, 1781, when it was supposed that the daily grind had been finished, Congress was startled by the news that on New Year's day the Pennsylvania line, stationed near Morristown, had mutinied, deposed its officers, placed a board of sergeants in control, and had marched off to Princeton. The chief grievance was that men who had enlisted "for three years or during the war" were being held to service after the expiration of the three years, which the soldiers interpreted as the maximum time of their service; but to this was added the further complaint that they had not received their pay and promised clothing. The situation was further aggravated by the appearance among the soldiers of recruiting agents offering large specie bounties for enlistments for seven months.

Congress at once despatched a committee to endeavor, in conjunction with President Reed of Pennsylvania, to quell the mutiny. It was at first feared that the soldiers meditated joining the British, but so far from doing so they arrested some spies sent by General Sir Henry Clinton to persuade them to this course and later turned them over to the military authorities, by whom they were tried and executed. After several days' negotiations a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties was reached; but the period of waiting was one of great anxiety for Congress. After all, the experience was not without its value. Washington had time and again pointed out to Congress the danger of just such eventualities, but apparently nothing short of actual mutiny could convince Congress that soldiers would not continue unceasingly to march and fight unfed, unclothed, and unpaid.

One outcome of the mutiny was a circular letter from Congress to the states, January 15, in which the states were told in quite plain terms that remissness on their part in complying with the requisitions of Congress had been responsible for the whole trouble. Then followed a fervent appeal which, it might seem, would have melted any hearts of stone among the state authorities and have stirred every lethargic disposition to energetic action. At all events, Congress had done its duty to the best of its ability. "We have strenuously urged upon the states a punctual compliance, on their part, with those requisitions. With the states who alone have authority to execute; with an enlightened people, who know how to estimate the blessings for which we contend, it remains to give the measures which we have recommended their full and seasonable effect." And Congress professed to "look with confidence for a liberal compliance with every requisition which the public exigencies dictate"—a profession of confidence which must be credited wholly to courtesy and diplomacy.

Individual delegates added their own appeals, sometimes with pertinent comment. The remarks of the Connecticut delegates were particularly pointed:

The existence of a power (if it can be called such) constituted for national purposes, especially for directing the affairs of a war, not possessing any constitutional authority to command the smallest portion of property, is scarcely conceivable. . . . there ought also to be a power vested in such as superintend national affairs to raise a revenue from such property as cannot with convenience nor advantage be subject to the controul of any particular State, and thereby extend the publick credit by establishing a revenue purely national. . . . We cannot say but that sentiments of this kind may be tho't improper. But when we find ourselves charged in our political capacity with the violations of engagements, and feel the loss of national credit, these sentiments appear to us just.

Two weeks later James Duane, writing to Washington of his hopes for the important measures which at last appeared to be approaching consummation—"the Establishment of Executives or Ministers in the departments of Finance, War, the Marine and foreign affairs, the accomplishment of the Confederation, the procuring to Congress an Augmentation of power and permanent Revenues for carrying on the War"—voiced the thought that was uppermost in the minds of all members of Congress who were not obsessed by the idea of petty state supremacy. "The day is at length arrived", he said, "when dangers and distresses have opened the Eyes of the People and they perceive the Want of a common head to draw forth in some Just proportion the Resources of the several Branches of the federal Union. They perceive that the deliberate power exercised by States individually over the Acts of Congress must terminate in the common Ruin; and the Legislature, however reluctantly, must resign a portion of their Authority to the national Representative, or cease to be Legislatures." But the belief, fathered by a deep desire, was not wholly true. The eyes of the people had not all been opened, neither did their minds as yet fully perceive.

The Vermont affair, which had long been plaguing Congress and had time and again been thrust to one side on one ground or another, reached such an acute stage in the summer of 1779 that Congress felt impelled to "pledge their faith" that, if the disputant states would refer their differences to Congress, Congress would determine the questions according to equity and would moreover "support their decisions in the premises". The 1st of February, 1780, was set for the hearing. When the time arrived the only parties to the controversy who were ready were the Vermonters themselves, who offered to become an independent state of the union, but refused to submit the question of their independence to Congress. The problem had accordingly taken on a new phase. It was no longer merely a question as between New York and New Hampshire, with possibly some small pickings for Massachusetts; it was now a case of Vermont against all the rest, Congress included.

When the principal states to the controversy, New York and New Hampshire, were ready for the trial, Congress was not. The case was to be tried under the provision in the Articles of Confederation which re-

quired the presence of nine states in Congress, and there were not nine states represented. This condition effectually barred the hearing for several months, quite to the satisfaction of Congress—all except the interested parties. Congress had no yearning to fish in the Vermont pond; the catch was likely to be anything but a desirable one, possibly a small war. Nevertheless the New York delegates made “violent attempts”, according to Folsom of New Hampshire, to bring up the affair in April, and again in May and June, in response to “the most warm and pressing representations” from their state, they sought to have Congress “come into some pointed resolutions to censure the Vermonters for their contempt of the authority and the recommendations of the only body who can preserve the peace of the confederacy”. But once more there was a deficiency of representation, and the matter was postponed until September.

In the autumn, however, the affair was even uglier than before, and to add to the confusion Vermont itself now presented hostile factions. Madison, convinced that it was no longer possible “to try evasive expedients”, sought to have Congress lay down in the outset the fundamental principle “that every attempt by force to set up a separate and independent jurisdiction within the limits of any one of the United States, is a direct violation of the rights of such State, and subversive of the union of the whole, under the superintending authority of Congress”. There were unofficial conversations and long and warm debates, extending into October, in the midst of which the independence party of Vermont threw another bomb into the Congressional camp. If Congress is unwilling to receive us, they declared, there are other hovering wings beneath which we may find a welcome refuge. “Members begin to see”, wrote Sullivan, “that if the lands are adjudged to New York the Continent must be involved in a war to enforce the decision of Congress.” The debates, Duane acknowledged, soon “took a Turn most injurious to New York”: whereupon “the Yorkers”, who, as one delegate declared, had been pushing the matter, “almost beyond the bounds of modesty”, became quite willing to let the affair sleep for the present. It was not aroused again until mid-summer of the following year.

Despite the lately manifested reluctance of Congress in drawing even small bills of exchange on its ministers abroad and the clear admonition from both France and Spain that the drawing of bills must cease, as the autumn drew on and needs became more urgent that body recovered a measure of its boldness and in the beginning of October began to consider the question of again asking the Court of Versailles for aids and supplies. In fact, it was in no small measure because desired funds could no longer be obtained by drawing bills that Congress turned to the plan of drawing from France, if possible, the actual supplies without the intervention of bills of exchange. While the discussion of the question proceeded through a period of two months, the courage (or desperation)

of Congress grew and its ideas expanded. On December 8, accordingly, it was determined to send a special envoy to France to solicit a loan and other aids, and Colonel John Laurens was chosen for the mission. To a good many members of Congress the commissioning of a special envoy was equivalent to expressing a want of confidence in Franklin, but others were probably not in the least averse to such an expression, for the distrust of Franklin among some elements still lingered and had just been stirred anew. Early in 1781 Laurens departed on his mission and, with the invaluable co-operation of Franklin, was in the end successful to an extent which probably few members of Congress had dared to hope.

While this project was under discussion another serious problem in foreign relations had developed. It began to appear that the belligerent European powers might be brought to a negotiation of peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*. Inasmuch as the enemy was then in possession of the principal parts of Georgia and South Carolina, those states became apprehensive that Great Britain might offer peace to the United States on condition of her retention of those two states, and that the other states might accept those terms. There was at all events one way in which the danger might be obviated. If Spain could be brought into the alliance, not only would the chances of military success be improved, but the weight of that power might in any event go far toward preventing a restoration to Great Britain of any part of the thirteen states. But Spain was manifesting great obduracy with regard to the Mississippi, refusing to concede to the United States the free navigation of that river to the sea, for which Jay had been instructed to contend. Accordingly, on November 18, the Georgia delegates moved that the instructions to Jay be reconsidered and that he be empowered to yield the point to Spain if indispensably necessary in return for an agreement not to accede to proposals of peace with the concurrence of the United States, and for a handsome subsidy or loan. A chief obstacle to the alteration of Jay's instructions was the insistence of Virginia upon the free navigation of the Mississippi, but so real, in Madison's view, had the danger become that he sought to have the instructions to the Virginia delegates respecting that matter rescinded. The Virginia assembly did, in response to Madison's representation, repeal the instructions to the delegates, and on February 15, 1781, Congress in turn instructed Jay not to contend unalterably for the free navigation of the Mississippi below the thirty-first degree of north latitude. This, Joseph Jones wrote to Washington, "will probably bring ab[ou]t an alliance with Spain and an acknowledgem't of our Independence. No doubt this event if it takes place will give us more Credit in Europe but we pay dear for it". Subsequently, however, when the menace had passed, Virginia revoked these last instructions to her delegates and Congress likewise revoked its instructions to Jay.

In May, 1779, when at last it had become evident that Maryland was unalterably fixed in her decision not to subscribe to the Confederation

except upon the condition that claims to Western lands should be ceded to the United States, Virginia proposed a consummation of the Confederation with less than thirteen states, and Connecticut shortly afterward came forward with a similar proposition. Maryland, for her part, at once reiterated her condition and her determination, and for the time being the affair stood poised. There was small ground for hoping that either side to the controversy would yield. A confederation of all thirteen states appeared to be doomed.

But the idea which Maryland had planted, though it might be allowed to lie dormant for a time, was not to die. In November, 1779, in connection with the consideration of some Indian cessions in which New York was particularly interested, the idea suddenly sprang to life. For the moment it was rebuffed, but Schuyler nevertheless deemed it worth while to bring the question to the attention of the New York legislature. To the general surprise that state soon afterward offered to yield its claims for the benefit of the whole. If Virginia would now adopt a similar course, the battle would be won.

On December 14, 1779, the Virginia assembly had adopted a "Remonstrance" wherein the hope was expressed that the Confederation would soon be "made compleat on a plan free and liberal in its principles, secured on the most solid and permanent Basis". With regard however to the affairs of the state's internal government, says the remonstrance, "we hope to be excused when we reserve to ourselves the sole power of determining every matter relative thereto". Probably, after the war has been successfully won, "other States may incline to accede to our Union, and perhaps at a future Day one or more of the larger States already united may for their own Convenience and Accommodation effect a Division and claim a right of Representation in Congress for each State so divided". Then came a statement which had the sound of finality: "The Territory within the chartered Rights of Virginia we consider as already appropriated to this Common Wealth." It was not however until April, 1780, that this remonstrance was laid before Congress, together with the New York act of February, and the Maryland instructions of May, 1779.

The remonstrance itself indicates that a change was beginning to come over the minds of some of Virginia's leading statesmen. Perhaps after all it might be for Virginia's convenience and accommodation to effect a division. In particular Joseph Jones, Virginia delegate in Congress, had come to this conclusion. June 26, on motion of James Duane of New York, seconded by Roger Sherman of Connecticut, the Maryland instructions, the New York act, and the Virginia remonstrance were referred to a committee of five, of which Jones was a member. On the 30th he wrote to Governor Jefferson: "The present is the season for accomplishing the great work of Confederation. If we suffer it to pass away I fear it will never return. The example of New York is worthy of imitation. could Virginia but think herself as she certainly is already full large for vigorous

government, she too would moderate her desires, and cede to the United States, upon certain conditions, her Territory beyond the Ohio." The committee delivered in its report that day, but it does not appear to have been discussed on the floor of Congress until September 2.

On September 6 Congress resolved "that it be earnestly recommended to those states who have claims to the western country to pass such laws and give their delegates in Congress such powers as may effectually remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the articles of confederation; and that the legislature of Maryland be earnestly requested to authorize their delegates in Congress to subscribe the said articles". Thereupon the Virginia delegates, Jones and Madison, offered a motion "That in case the recommendation of Congress . . . shall be complied with in such a manner as to be approved by Congress, the Territory so ceded shall be laid out in separate and distinct States at such time and in such manner as Congress shall hereafter direct", and that all the lands so ceded (except such as had been appropriated or disposed of in bounties to the American army) "shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become or shall become members of the confederation according to their usual proportions or quotas of general charge or expenditure". There was however a proviso, "That such of the said States as have been at expence in subduing any of the British Posts within the Territory proposed to be ceded and in maintaining Garrisons and supporting civil government therein since the reduction of such Posts shall be reimbursed by the Continent the amount of such expence". This of course had reference primarily to the conquest of the Northwest by Virginia under George Rogers Clark.

In sending the resolutions of September 6 to the states, the president wrote that Congress was "impressed with a Sense of the vast Importance of the Subject" and earnestly hoped "that the Wisdom, Generosity and Candour of the Legislatures of the several States . . . may direct them to such Measures . . . as shall speedily accomplish an Event so important and desirable as the final Ratification of the Confederation by all the States".

Jones at once returned to Virginia to promote the measure, while Madison remained in Congress and endeavored to guide the proceedings there to the desired goal. Referring to the matter in a letter to Edmund Pendleton September 12, he said there was no doubt of Maryland's accession when the terms were complied with, but "How far the States holding the back lands may be disposed to give them up cannot be so easily determined. From the sentiments of the most intelligent persons which have come to my knowledge, I own I am pretty sanguine that they will see the necessity of closing the union in too strong a light to oppose the only expedient that can accomplish it". Madison had felt that the measure was necessary "to repress the hopes with which the probable issue of the campaign inspire our enemy as well as to give greater authority and vigor

to our public councils". On this head Pendleton's reply is particularly significant. "I have thought long ago", he wrote, "that 'twas high time the confederation was compleated, and feared some foreign powers might entertain from its delay, suspicions of some secret disunion among the States, or a latent intention in Congress to keep it open for purposes unworthy of them." If the question depended on his opinion, he declared, "I would not hesitate to yield a very large portion of our back lands to accomplish this purpose, except for the reason which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of his Hotspur:

" 'I'll give thrice so much land
To any well deserving friend:
But in the way of bargain, mark ye me,
I'll cavil on the ninth part of a hair.' "

There was some hesitancy in Congress to allow the expenses incurred by the state in maintaining the garrisons and civil government in them after the acquisition of the territory, and Madison suggested to Jones (September 19) that, so far as Virginia was concerned, that expense had been inconsiderable and was not worth insisting upon. It was his view that the states, in order to guard against misapplication, might annex what conditions they pleased to their cessions.

The North Carolina delegation meanwhile took an attitude of indifference. "Maryland surely has great Merit in the present Contest", wrote Willie Jones (October 1), "yet I think it will be time enough for No. Carolina to deliberate on the surrender of Western Territory, when the States have vigorously supported and finally secured her in her Eastern Territory." This, it is to be remembered, was only a few days after the news of Gates's defeat, when the British army was overrunning a considerable part of the state.

Meanwhile Congress took into consideration the motion which Jones had left on the table and, on October 10, adopted it, although with some modifications, chiefly in amplifying the provision with regard to the creation of new states. As adopted by Congress the resolve provided that the ceded lands should be "formed into distinct republican states, which shall become members of the federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence, as the other states". One other feature of Jones's motion, namely, that purchases or deeds from Indians for private use should be annulled, was, after much debate, stricken out. The problem of the cessions had, in fact, become much complicated with the question how to circumvent the land mongers, such as the Indiana and Vandalia companies, with memorials from whom Congress had been "much infested" of late. Madison thought that there was no serious design in Congress to gratify their avidity, "but the best security for their virtue in this respect will be to keep it out of their power".

While Virginia was still debating the question Connecticut came forward with a cession of claims, although reserving jurisdiction and clogging the

cession with other conditions which Madison thought greatly depreciated it, "and the more extraordinary as their title to the land is so controvertible a one". The Connecticut act, which was passed in October, 1780, was not however laid before Congress until the last day of January, 1781. Meanwhile, on the 2d of January, the Virginia assembly had passed resolutions ceding the territory northwest of the river Ohio to the United States. Although the resolutions are "not precisely conformable to the recommendation of Congress on the Subject", yet, so the Virginia delegates wrote to Governor Jefferson, "we flatter ourselves that the liberal Spirit which dictated them will be approved and that the public will not be disappointed of the advantages expected from the measure". In forwarding the resolutions Governor Jefferson wrote to President Huntington: "I shall be rendered very happy if the other States of the Union, equally impressed with the necessity of that important convention, shall be willing to sacrifice to its completion. This single event, could it take place shortly would overweigh every success which the Enemy have hitherto obtained and render desperate the hopes to which those successes have given birth."

The resolutions were laid before Congress January 29. But Maryland had already accepted the spirit of the act and was taking the necessary measures for ratification of the Confederation. The act authorizing her delegates to sign the articles was passed February 2, and though it was not laid before Congress until ten days later, the news of that action speedily reached Congress and gave rise to much rejoicing.

An event of such importance as the final ratification of the Articles of Confederation, which had lain so long waiting for these last signatures, ought to be surrounded with an atmosphere of dignity, even of ceremonial formality. But in any case Congress must perforce await the coming of delegates from Maryland, authorized to sign. For at the time when the Maryland act of authorization was passed not a delegate from the state was in attendance at Congress. On the 12th of February Daniel Carroll appeared and laid before Congress the act of accession. Two signatures however were necessary, therefore there must be a further wait until another delegate arrived. Ten days later John Hanson attended; then, on the 24th, Congress set the 1st of March, at twelve o'clock, for the announcement to the public of "the final ratification of the Confederation of the United States of America". Although Congress declined to authorize all the ceremony which some of the members desired, there would be firing of canon (a boom for each of the thirteen states), there would be drinking of toasts to "The United States of America", at night there would be fireworks, and there would be no end of handshaking and congratulation upon a consummation long deferred—and on the morrow some members of Congress would begin to ponder upon ways and means of making this constitution more adequate to the exigencies of the union.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

CONNECTICUT.

Andrew Adams.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); May 11, 1780 ("according to law", i. e., for the year beginning the first Monday of November).¹

Did not attend in 1780-1781.

Eliphalet Dyer.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 6, 1780 ("until the first Monday of Novemb'r next").

Did not attend in 1780.

Oliver Ellsworth.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 6, 1780; May 11, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to June 29 or 30, 1780.

Titus Hosmer.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); May 11, 1780.

Did not attend in 1780.

For earlier attendance see vol. III. Jan. 22 Hosmer was elected to the Court of Appeals. See no. 33, note 2.

Benjamin Huntington.

Elected: Jan. 6, 1780.

Attended: June 1 to Nov. 4, 1780.

Samuel Huntington.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 6, 1780; May 11, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Richard Law.

Elected: (See vol. II.); May 11, 1780.

Attended: Did not attend under the election of May 11, 1780, until Oct. 22, 1781.

For earlier attendance see vol. II.

Jesse Root.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 6, 1780; May 11, 1780.

Attended: Nov. 23, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Roger Sherman.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 6, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Apr. 13; June 19 to Oct. 2, 1780.

Oliver Wolcott.

Elected: (See vol. III.); Jan. 6, 1780; May 11, 1780.

Attended: Nov. 29, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

For earlier attendance see vol. III.

DELAWARE.

John Dickinson.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Dec. 22, 1779 ("for the ensuing year").

Attended: (See vol. IV.); did not attend in 1780-1781.

Thomas McKean.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Dec. 24, 1779 (in the place of George Read, who declined); Feb. 10, 1781 ("for the ensuing year").

¹ The terms and conditions of election apply, unless otherwise stated, to all delegates from a state chosen at the same time.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Mar. 25 (?); June 7 (or earlier) to Aug. 26 (or later); Oct. 19 (or earlier) -20 (or later); Nov. 16 (possibly earlier and later), 1780; Jan. 2 or 3 to Feb. 28, 1781.

George Read.

Elected: (See vol. II.); Dec 22, 1779.

Attended: Declined; succeeded by Thomas McKean.

For earlier attendance see vol. II.

Thomas Rodney.

Elected: Feb. 10, 1781.

Attended: Feb. 27-28, 1781.

Nicholas Van Dyke.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Dec. 22, 1779; Feb. 10, 1781.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 27 to Feb. 10 or 11; July 27 (or earlier) to Aug. 11 (or later); Sept. 1 (or earlier) -12 (or later); Sept. 30 (or earlier), to Oct. 9 (or later), 1780.

GEORGIA.

Benjamin Andrew.

Elected: Jan. 11, 1780 ("during the ensuing year, and until others shall be appointed").

Did not attend in 1780-1781.

William Few.

Elected: Jan. 11, 1780.

Attended: May 15, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Lyman Hall.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 11, 1780.

Did not attend in 1780-1781.

For earlier attendance see vols. I. and II.

Richard Howly.

Elected: Jan. 11, 1780 (conditioned on necessary departure from the state).

Attended: July 6 to Aug. 24 (or later); Sept. 25 (or earlier), 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

There were apparently occasional absences of several days' duration. While Howly's election was on the same day as that of the other delegates, his authorization as a delegate to Congress was conditioned on his finding it "Necessary to depart the State".

Edward Telfair.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 11, 1780.

Attended: May 15 to Sept. 12 (or later), 1780.

For earlier attendance see vol. III.

George Walton.

Elected: (See vols. III. and IV.); Jan. 11, 1780.

Attended: May 15 to Sept. 21 (or later); Oct. 20 (or earlier), 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781. Possibly other absences.

For earlier attendance see vols. I. and II.

MARYLAND.

Daniel Carroll.

Elected: Feb. 3, 1781 (for the year 1781).

Attended: Feb. 12-28, 1781.

James Forbes.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Dec. 22, 1779 (presumably until a new election).

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Jan. 1 to Mar. 10 (or later), 1780.

Forbes died Mar. 23.

John Hall.

Elected: Dec. 22, 1779.

Did not attend in 1780-1781.

For earlier attendance see vol. I.

John Hanson.

Elected: Dec. 22, 1779; Feb. 3, 1781.

Attended: June 14 to Aug. 21 (or later) ; Sept. 21 (or earlier) to Dec. 12 (or later), 1780; Feb. 22-28, 1781.

John Henry, jr.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Mar. 31, 1780 (see note below).

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; June 23 to Nov. 17 (or later), 1780.

Henry's credentials do not appear in the *Journals*, but the following certificate, on which Secretary Thomson has endorsed the date "July 1, 1780", is among the Maryland credentials in Papers Cont. Cong.: "We hereby certify, that on the thirty first Day of March last, John Henry Esq. was elected a Delegate to Congress, by the Joint Ballott of the Senate, and House of Delegates of the State of Maryland. Ja. Maccubbin Cl. Sen. F Green Cl. Ho. Del."

Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Apr. 7, 1780; Feb. 3, 1781.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; June 2-6 (or later) ; Sept. 21 (or earlier) -26 (or later), 1780.

Thomas Johnson.

Elected: Dec. 22, 1779.

Did not attend in 1780.

For earlier attendance see vols. I. and II.

Edward Lloyd.

Elected: Dec. 22, 1779.

Did not attend in 1780.

William Paca.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Apr. 7, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; did not attend in 1780. Jan. 22, 1780, Paca was elected to the Court of Appeals.

George Plater.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Dec. 22, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Jan. 1 to May 5; May 19 (earlier or later) ; Sept. 22 to Nov. 28 (?), 1780.

Plater is recorded as absent Dec. 6, 1780.

Richard Potts.

Elected: Feb. 3, 1781.

Did not attend until June 12, 1781.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Samuel Adams.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Nov. 18, 1779 (" for the year 1780 ") ; Oct. 4, 1780 (" for one Year, to commence the first day of January next ensuing ").

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; June 29, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Timothy Danielson.

Elected: Oct. 4, 1780.

Declined (see *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 142).

Elbridge Gerry.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 18, 1779; Oct. 4, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Feb. 17, 1780.

Although Gerry did not attend Congress after Feb. 17, he remained in Philadelphia until the beginning of June. For an explanation of his course, see no. 55.

John Hancock.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 18, 1779.

Did not attend in 1780.

For earlier attendance see vols. I.-III.

Samuel Holten.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 18, 1779; Oct. 4, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to July 29, 1780.

Holten is recorded as absent July 31 (Monday). He left Philadelphia Aug. 2 (see no. 358, note 5).

James Lovell.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 18, 1779; Oct. 4, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

George Partridge.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 18, 1779; Oct. 4, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Apr. 9, 1780.

Caleb Strong.

Elected: Oct. 4 (?), 1780.

Declined (see *Warren-Adams Letters*, II, 142).

Artemas Ward.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 18, 1779; Oct. 4, 1780.

Attended: June 14, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

George Atkinson.

Elected: June 27, 1780 ("for the term of one year from the first of November next unless sooner relieved").

Declined.

"The general court I conclude will adjourn this day to the 2nd wednesday of October. Genl. Sullivan and Geo. Atkinson Esq. are chosen delegates to commence next November . . . [P. S.] Mr. Atkinson has resigned and Genl. Sullivan has not given his answer. the affair is put [off] to the next session." Livermore to Peabody, June 28, 1780, Hist. Soc. of Pa., Gratz Coll. See also the *Journals* for 1781, pp. 498, 1100.

Benjamin Belloëws.

Elected: Jan. 19, 1781 ("for one year from the date hereof unless sooner recalled").

Did not attend.

The election by the council was Jan. 18, concurrence by the house of representatives Jan. 19.

Nathaniel Folsom.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 3, 1779 ("until released or recalled").

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Sept. 15, 1780.

The election by the house of representatives was on Oct. 29 and was "for one year from the first day of November next and until relieved or recalled by order of the General Assembly of this State". The council concurred Nov. 3.

Samuel Livermore.

Elected: Jan. 1, 1780 ("until the first of March next"); Jan. 19, 1781.

Attended: Feb. 7-28, 1780.

Livermore was appointed Nov. 4, 1779, "in conjunction with the Delegates of this State at Congress to support the claim of this State to the New

Hampshire Grants". Twice (Dec. 30 and 31) votes to appoint him a delegate to Congress, one of them to set the term-limit at Apr. 1, were "nonconcurrent". Then followed the action of Jan. 1, 1780. See *N. H. State Papers*, VIII. 834, 844-845.

Although Livermore's commission as a delegate expired Feb. 28, as agent of New Hampshire in the Vermont case he remained in Philadelphia until Apr. 8.

Nathaniel Peabody.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Nov. 3, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Jan. 1 to Apr. 24, 1780.

Peabody was one of the committee (Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody) appointed Apr. 13 to proceed to headquarters. He left Philadelphia Apr. 25 and was engaged with that committee until about July 28, when, because of illness, he withdrew to Morristown. There, after the dissolution of the committee in August, he occupied himself with the preparation of the committee's voluminous record of its proceedings. This was completed about Nov. 12. See no. 446, note 3.

John Sullivan.

Elected: June 27, 1780 (for one year after Nov. 1 next; see note under Atkinson) ; Aug. 19, 1780 (for the interval prior to Nov. 1; see the authorization in *Journals*, Sept. 11) ; Jan. 19, 1781.

Attended: Sept. 11, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Sullivan was absent from the floor of Congress some part of November on account of illness, though engaged most of the time in committee work. See no. 514. Jan. 3, 1781, he was appointed, with Witherspoon and Mathews (Atlee and Bland were added Jan. 5), on a committee to negotiate with the mutineers of the Pennsylvania line and was absent from Congress on that business until Jan. 15.

William Whipple.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Nov. 3, 1779.

Declined: (See vol. IV., no. 633, note 2).

For earlier attendance see vols. I-IV.

NEW JERSEY.

William Burnet.

Elected: Nov. 24, 1780 (from Dec. 1, 1780, to Dec. 1, 1781).

Attended: Dec. 11-21 (or later), 1780; Feb. 15 (or earlier) -19 (or later), 1781.

Abraham Clark.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Dec. 25, 1779 (in the room of Thomas Henderson, elected for the period Dec. 1, 1779, to Dec. 1, 1780) ; Nov. 24, 1780.

Attended: Jan. 1 to Sept. 16 (or later) ; Oct. 19 (or earlier), 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

There were apparently occasional absences of a few days. For earlier attendance see vols. I-III.

John Fell.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Nov. 17, 1779 (from Dec. 1, 1780, to Dec. 1, 1781, "Unless a new appointment shall sooner take place").

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Jan. 1 to Nov. 30, 1780 (with probably occasional brief absences).

William Churchill Houston.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Nov. 17, 1779; Nov. 24, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Jan. 1 to July 12; Aug. 9 (or earlier) -18 (or later) ; Sept. 21 (or earlier) to Dec. 25 (or later), 1780.

There were apparently other absences of a few days' duration. See, *e. g.*, no. 545.

William Paterson.

Elected: Nov. 24, 1780.

"Declined taking his seat."

John Witherspoon.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 24, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Dec. 9, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

As a member of the committee (Sullivan, Witherspoon, and Mathews) appointed Jan. 3, 1781, to negotiate with the mutineers, Witherspoon was absent from the floor of Congress from Jan. 4 to 15, or later. See under Sullivan.

NEW YORK.

James Duane.

Elected: Oct. 1, 1779 (commission dated Nov. 8, 1779; see under Duane in vol. IV.); Sept. 12, 1780 (term limit not specified).

Attended: (See vol. IV.); May 1 to June 29 (?); Aug. 24 (?), 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

The *Journals* record Duane as absent July 1 and 3, and he is not recorded as voting July 6 or Aug. 24; however, his account for attendance, rendered in June, 1781 (see vols. III. and IV.), contains the following item respecting this period: "18th April 1780 to 16th May 1781 at Congress, deducting a visit to my wife in her indisposition from 8th July to 23d August [1780]."

William Floyd.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Oct. 1, 1779; Sept. 12, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Apr. 4 (later?); Dec. 4, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Floyd obtained leave of absence Apr. 1, but he signed a delegation letter Apr. 4.

The *Journals* record him as making a nomination Apr. 28, but this is probably an error.

Ezra L'Hommedieu.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Oct. 1, 1779; Sept. 12, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Apr. 4 (?), 1780.

L'Hommedieu is recorded in the *Journals* as having laid before Congress Feb. 25 the resolution appointing him a delegate; but the document there printed pertains only to Schuyler and Livingston and is a reprint of that presented by Livingston Nov. 20, 1779. L'Hommedieu obtained leave of absence Apr. 1, 1780, but signed a delegation letter Apr. 4.

Robert R. Livingston.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Oct. 18, 1779 (till the first day of April next); Feb. 24, 1780 (term extended until Oct. 1, 1780); Sept. 12, 1780 (term extended until Mar. 1, 1781).

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Apr. 17; May 17 to July 13 (or later); Aug. 16 (or earlier) to Sept. 28 or 29, 1780.

Concerning the period Apr. 17 to May 17, see nos. 141, 149, 168, 177. Lovell mentions July 11 that Livingston was then absent. Though he is not recorded as voting July 10 he was present July 6 and again July 12 and 13. He is recorded as absent Oct. 3. His name appears later in the *Journals* as having drawn reports, but they were no doubt drafted before his departure.

Alexander McDougall.

Elected: Sept. 12, 1780.

Attended: Jan. 17 to Feb. 28, 1781.

Philip Schuyler.

Elected: Oct. 18, 1779 (see vol. IV.).

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Mar. 7 to Apr. 24; June 17-26 (?), 1780.

John Morin Scott.

Elected: Oct. 1, 1779 (see under Duane in vol. IV.); Sept. 12, 1780.

Attended: Mar. 6 to Nov. 14, 1780 (with probably occasional periods of absence of several days' duration). See however no. 212.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Thomas Burke.

Elected: Oct. 25, 1779 (for the ensuing year); see under Burke in vol. IV.); Apr. 30, 1780 ("agreeable to the rules and regulations established by Law").

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to June 21 (?); Dec. 15, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Cornelius Harnett.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); May 8, 1779 (for the ensuing year).

Attended: (See vol. IV.); did not attend in 1780.

Whitmill Hill.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Oct. 25, 1779; Apr. 30, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); June 5 to Nov. 4 (?), 1780. Hill is recorded as voting Nov. 1 and as absent Nov. 6.

Samuel Johnston.

Elected: Apr. 30, 1780.

Attended: Dec. 29, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Although Johnston did not take his seat until Dec. 29, he was in Philadelphia Dec. 21 or earlier.

Allen Jones.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Oct. 25, 1779; Apr. 30, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to June 21 (?), 1780.

Willie Jones.

Elected: Apr. 30, 1780.

Attended: June 22 to Dec. 13, 1780 (see no. 543).

John Penn.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); May 8, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Mar. 4 (or later), 1780.

William Sharpe.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Feb. 4, 1779 ("for the term of one year . . . unless otherwise ordered by a Subsequent Assembly"); Apr. 30, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Oct. 4, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

PENNSYLVANIA.

John Armstrong.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 12, 1779 (term not specified, but presumably for one year, as was customary).

Attended: (See vol. IV.); May 30 to Aug. 25, 1780 (see no. 95 and *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 243).

Samuel [John] Atlee.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 23, 1780 (for the ensuing year).

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Dec. 6, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Atlee was added Jan. 5 to the committee appointed Jan. 3 to negotiate with the Pennsylvania line (see under Sullivan and Witherspoon), and, after the settlement of the affair, was appointed by the committee as one of the commissioners to adjust the individual cases. He returned to Congress Feb. 3.

George Clymer.

Elected: Nov. 23, 1780.

Attended: Nov. 24, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

For earlier attendance see vol. II.

Jared Ingersoll.

Elected: June 1, 1780 (see note below).

Attended: June 5 to Aug. 9 (or later); Sept. 5 (or earlier) to Nov. 23, 1780.

Ingersoll and Matlack were chosen "in addition to" Armstrong and others who were elected Nov. 12, 1779.

James McLene.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 12, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Mar. 23 (or later); Aug. 17 to Oct. 25 (or later), 1780.

Timothy Matlack.

Elected: June 1, 1780 (see under Ingersoll).

Attended: June 1 to Nov. 7 (or later), 1780.

There was probable absence of a few days at the end of August and beginning of September; possibly other brief absences.

Joseph Montgomery.

Elected: Nov. 23, 1780.

Attended: Dec. 8, 1780, to Feb. 19 (or later), 1781.

Frederick A. Muhlenberg.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 12, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to Oct. 19, 1780 (with probably occasional brief absences).

James Searle.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 12, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to July 9, 1780.

William Shippen, sr.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 12, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Jan. 1 to May 19 (or later), 1780 (with probably brief absences).

Thomas Smith.

Elected: Nov. 23, 1780.

Attended: Feb. 3-28, 1781.

Henry Wynkoop.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); Nov. 23, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Dec. 19, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

RHODE ISLAND.

John Collins.

Elected: (See vol. IV.); May 5, 1779 (for one year and until succeeded); May 8 (?), 1780 (see no. 151, also note below).

Attended: (See vol. IV.); Feb. 4 to May 10, 1780.

In the Proceedings of the General Assembly, session begun May 3, 1780, is a list of the "Delegates to represent this State in Congress", namely, Ezekiel Cornell, John Collins, Daniel Mowry, and James Mitchell Varnum (*R. I. Recs.*, IX, 54; see also Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 285). Cornell's commission bears the date May 8, but Varnum, the only other delegate who attended under the appointment, did not present credentials of appointment, but only an order to attend.

Ezekiel Cornell.

Elected: May 8, 1780 (for one year; concerning the election see under Collins).

Attended: June 5 to Dec. 19, 1780.

Cornell was succeeded Dec. 19 by Varnum. Dec. 29 he was chosen commissioner of the board of war.

William Ellery.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; May 5, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Jan. 1 to June 4, 1780.

Ellery was elected to the board of admiralty (as a non-member) June 23 and accepted June 26.

Stephen Hopkins.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; May 5, 1779.

Did not attend in 1780.

Henry Marchant.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; May 5, 1779.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; did not attend in 1780.

Daniel Mowry.

Elected: May 8 (?), 1780 (see under Collins).

Did not attend under this election.

James Mitchell Varnum.

Elected: May 8 (?), 1780 (see under Collins; also the credentials which he presented to Congress Dec. 19).

Attended: Dec. 19, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Thomas Bee.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Feb. 5, 1779 (for the ensuing year) ; Feb. 1, 1780 (term not fixed in credentials; see under Middleton).

Attended: June 6, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Nicholas Eveleigh.

Elected: May 27, 1780 (see note below).

Did not attend until Apr. 25, 1781.

Eveleigh and Motte were appointed by Governor Rutledge under a general ordinance "for the better security and defence of this State", and the appointments were "to continue untill ten days after the next Meeting and Sitting of the General Assembly".

Francis Kinloch.

Elected: Feb. 1, 1780.

Attended: Mar. 25 to Nov. 9 (?), 1780.

Henry Laurens.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Feb. 5, 1779; Feb. 1, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; July 1 to Aug. 12, 1780.

The period given for Laurens's attendance is that of his brief sojourn in Philadelphia when preparing to depart on his mission to Holland. To what extent he actually attended can not be determined. He is not at any time recorded as voting, but he was appointed on a number of committees.

Rawlins Lowndes.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Feb. 17, 1779.

Did not attend in 1780.

John Mathews.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Feb. 5, 1779; Feb. 1, 1780.

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Jan. 1 to Apr. 25; May 17-20; July 13 (earlier and later?) ; Sept. 13 (or earlier), 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

Mathews was one of the committee (Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody) appointed Apr. 13 to act at headquarters. He returned to Congress on two occasions, once in May, and again in July. After the dissolution of the committee he again took his seat, early in September. Mathews was also one of the committee appointed Jan. 3 to quell the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line (see under Sullivan) ; but he does not appear to have taken any part with the committee in that settlement.

Arthur Middleton.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Feb. 5, 1779; Feb. 1, 1780 (see note below).

Did not attend under election of 1779; nor under that of 1780 until Sept. 24, 1781.

For earlier attendance see vols. I. and II. Middleton was chosen Feb. 1, 1780, as an additional (fifth) delegate. The credentials of the first four were presented Mar. 25, 1780; those of Middleton Sept. 24, 1781. That the appointment was regarded as still valid shows that the term was not limited to one year, as was the case in 1779.

Isaac Motte.

Elected: May 27, 1780 (see under Eveleigh).

Attended: July 17, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

VIRGINIA.

Theodorick Bland, jr.

Elected: June 21, 1780 ("until the first Monday in November next in the room of Cyrus Griffin who hath resigned"; same date, "for one Year from the first Monday in November next").

Attended: Aug. 30, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

The election for the term November, 1780, to November, 1781, included Bland, Henry, Jones, Madison, and Smith.

Jan. 5 Bland was added (together with Atlee) to the committee appointed Jan. 3 on the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line, and was absent on that business until about Jan. 15. See the note under Sullivan.

Cyrus Griffin.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; June 18, 1779 ("for one year from the first Monday in November next").

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Jan. 1 to June 13 (or later), 1780.

Appointed to the Court of Appeals, Griffin resigned his seat in Congress in June and was succeeded (June 21) by Theodorick Bland. He is recorded as absent June 23.

James Henry.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Dec. 14, 1779 ("until the first Monday in November next"); June 21, 1780 ("for one year from the first Monday in November"; see under Bland).

Attended: Apr. 21 to July 6, 1780.

Henry is recorded as absent July 7. In the *Journals*, July 27, 28, and Oct. 10, James Henry is credited with appointments which appertain to John Henry of Maryland. In the autumn Henry sent in his resignation (Jones to Madison, Dec. 2, 1780, in *Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 59).

Joseph Jones.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Dec. 14, 1779; June 21, 1780 (see under Bland).

Attended: Apr. 24 to Sept. 7, 1780; Jan. 29 to Feb. 28, 1781.

For an earlier period of service see vol. II. For Jones's account for attendance in 1780, see under no. 477.

James Madison.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Dec. 14, 1779; June 21, 1780 (see under Bland).

Attended: Mar. 20, 1780, to Feb. 28, 1781.

For Madison's account for attendance to Sept. 20, see under no. 443.

Meriwether Smith.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; June 21, 1780 (see under Bland).

Attended: (See vol. IV.) ; Feb. 20-28, 1781.

John Walker.

Elected: (See vol. IV.) ; Dec. 14, 1779.

Attended: May 22 to Nov. 22, 1780.

1. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL, JR.¹

Private

PHILADELPHIA January 3rd: 1779 [1780.]

Sir,

I am honourd with your two Letters of the 10th ulto. give me leave to hope that on serious Consideration you have determind to accept your appointment or at farthest will soon come to that determination.

Your Assistance, believe me is much wished for and wanted in that Important department. The other two members Messrs. Foreman and Gibson have accepted, and entered upon the duties of their Office some time since, and tho the present Nominal salary is of uncertain value, there is no doubt a decent support will be allowd the members of the Treasury board²

You Justly mention difficulties and Embarrassments, but my dear Sir let me ask are there any difficulties Existing *equal* to what you and I expected when this Mighty Controversy begun. I hope Sir soon to hear of your acceptance and wish for the pleasure to hear it from your own mouth.

I have long been in the sentiments you express, of the necessity of fixing a *Standard* for the currency, and am confident were it once fixd it would remove many difficulties, but a free people must *feel* before they will unite in the necessary measures.

I have ever been of one Opinion with regard to a regulating Act and now find my Sentiments coincide with yours on that Subject but I find one Consolation very necessary in public life, that is to believe or at least act as if I did fully believe there are many wise men who can Judge better then my self on Important subjects, and I have the happiness generally to unite in promoting their determinations, as far as duty requires in any Sphere I am called to act in.

2. THE BOARD OF WAR TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

WAR OFFICE January 3d, 1780.

Sir,

We were duly honoured with your Excellency's Letter on the Subject of Mr Loring's Request for a Quarter Master and a Sergeant or two to proceed to Philadelphia with Cloathing for the Prisoners at this Place. In Consequence we wrote to Congress the Letter a Copy whereof is en-

[1]¹ Conn. Hist. Soc., Papers of Jonathan Trumbull, jr., vol. II., no. 157 (copy).

² On July 30, 1779, Congress adopted an ordinance creating a board of treasury, consisting of three commissioners not members of Congress and two members; see also the *Journals*, Apr. 13, 22, 27. On Oct. 12 John Gibson, Jonathan Trumbull, jr., and Ezekiel Forman were nominated for commissioners; Trumbull and Forman were elected Nov. 9, Gibson Nov. 25. In a letter of Mar. 10, 1780 (see the *Journals*, Mar. 22), Trumbull declined the office.

[2]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (signed, Richard Peters, "By Order").

closed. We are directed to take Order in the Bussiness² and are of Opinion that the Cloathing should come on attended in such Way and by such Persons as your Excellency shall deem proper. About four hundred Prisoners are gone to Fort Frederick in Maryland all British. The Rest both British and Hessians are either confined here or out at Work thro' the Country. We were obliged to let out as many as possible (chiefly Germans) to save public Provisions and because we had not Guards to keep them safely.

3. JOHN MATHEWS TO THOMAS BEE (?).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. [5?], 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . It is distressing beyond expression to hear the accounts I do from all quarters, of the disaffection (I can call their late conduct nothing less) of our back country people. Good God! is there nothing to be done, that will tend either to perswaid, or coerce them to do their duty? Indeed my Dear Friend, the day is not to come, it does not depend on our Militia's not turning out to repel your *present* danger, which may subject us to the imputation of a want of vigour, the brand is already fixed on us. In passing through No. Carolina and Virginia, whenever I urged the necessity of their sending men to our aid, the constant reply was how can South Carolina expect we will send our men to their support, when they will do nothing for themselves. Our men go there, sacrifice their healths, their lives, and the So. Carolina Militia are snug at their own homes. It is too much for them to expect us to fight their battles for them.²

Hints of the same kind have been thrown out in Congress. When I have principally apologized for our men in the first instance, in the second I have treated such insolence with the keenest severity, for let us be censured by whom we may, Congress are the last class of men on earth, who ought to presume to do so. Before I had received a copy of Rutledge's instructions, I had done everything that they required, except sending some part of the stores. It is too late now to be done.³

4. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 6th, 1780.

Sir,

I am honoured with your Excellency's two letters of the 13th ulto. with the papers to which they refer. . . .

² See the *Journals*, Jan. 1 (p. 1). Washington's letter to the board (draft) dated Dec. 29, 1779, and the copy of the board's letter to Congress here mentioned, dated Jan. 1, 1780, are in the Washington Papers.

[3]¹ Charleston Lib. Soc., Misc. Letters, p. 107 (unsigned, but in the writing of Mathews).

² See McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780*, ch. XX.

³ Concerning aid sent to South Carolina see the *Journals*, Sept. 20, 22, Nov. 11, 24, 26, 27, Dec. 8, 1779, Jan. 4, Feb. 5, 12, Mar. 8, 1780. Cf. vol. IV., no. 540, and no. 89, *post*.

[4]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 3.

By late letters I have received from Amsterdam it is abundantly evident that your Excellencies correspondence, as also that of Governor Livingston, with Baron V. D. Capellen, hath enlighten'd and undeceived many people in Holland, and produced many friends and favourable sentiments with respect to the cause in which we are engaged. I hope Congress will take some honourary notice of the Baron.²

I am told N. Jersey have just passed a law appointing proper persons to purchase all articles of provision and forage for the army which that State can supply.³ I was in hopes to procure the act and send it forward by Brown. I believe a regulation of that kind will be generally adopted, and cannot but hope it may be attended with beneficial consequences to the public. I have directed Mr. Brown, if he can obtain the above mentioned act in the Jerseys, to take it with him.

I am favour'd with intelligence on which we place dependance that the late embarkation from N. York, on the 23d and 26th ulto., had troops on board to the amount of 5,000 effective men, their destination unknown and no intelligence has been received of them since they sailed.

P. S. The papers formerly sent to Mr. Laurens were deliverd to a Committee of which he was one; I called on him for them before his departure; he deliverd me some of them; the whole I have not been able to collect, but shall continue my search, and if I can recover them will do my self the honour to forward them immediately to your Excellency. Mr. Laurens told me he met with great difficulty to get them translated: few persons here understand the low Dutch, your last letter from the Baron, I procured a Dutch clergyman, about eight miles from this city to translate; he appears perfect master of the Dutch language, but does not write English elegantly, tho' I believe gives the litteral sense with exactness.⁴

5. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO WILLIAM HUNT.¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany 6th 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . With Respect to the Ballance due to you from the late Commissary Trumbull, I am unable to determine whether it will be possible or not to obtain the payment thereof in Loan office Certificates bearing the date of the Time at which the Money was advanced. frequent Applications have been made to Congress to adopt that Mode of paying Debts, contracted by the Staff Departments for Articles supplied the Army, and all have been rejected; but there is a manifest Difference between Balances due for Supplies on which the Creditor has charged his profit, and Cash advanced by an officer to support the Credit and promote the Business of his Department, the latter of which as you have stated it, is pre-

² See vol. IV., nos. 550, 609, 644, note 4; also the postscript to this letter.

³ See no. 6, *post.*

⁴ See vol. IV., no. 609.

[5]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. W. R. Benjamin, New York.

cisely your Case. I am therefore of Opinion, that it will be best to prefer a Memorial to Congress, and direct it to the president thereof, representing the Facts mentioned in your Letter, and in Support of them to transmit Mr. Trumbulls Certificate ²

6. ROGER SHERMAN TO ANDREW ADAMS.¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 7th, 1780.

Sir,

I obtaind last evening an account of the prices of the several articles, as stated by the late law of the State of New Jers[e]y, which is to be in force the first of next month, which I have enclosed. I am informed the law is absolutely to take effect at the time fixed, without any proviso in case the other States do not make similar laws. The State of Maryland has likewise passed a law for the regulation of prices. New York Assembly is called on purpose to consider of the matter. The Commissioners from several of the States that were present met last evening, pursuant to the recommendation of the Hartford Convention, viz., two from New Ham[p]shire, two from Connecticut, one from New Jers[e]y, and one for Pennsylvania, Mr. L'Homedieu was also present from the State of New York, but he says their Assembly made no special appointment for this convention, and supposes he has no right to act. I dont hear that any other States have appointed members. I believe they expected that the resolutions of Congress would supersede the necessity of this convention, so that I dont think it will be of any advantage for the Assembly to wait, in expectation of having a report from this convention, for I believe there will be none.²

7. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS (SAMUEL HUNTINGTON) TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 8 Jany., 1780.

Sir,

. . . . The present necessity of the army is truly pressing and alarming and the matter of supplies seems to admit of no delay. The army are, it is said, without meat, the Commissary will forward a sum of money immediately to Connecticut to purchase supplies; in the meantime it is most earnestly requested that the Legislature of Connecticut will lend the

² This letter is addressed to "William Hunt Esqr. at Watertown". If he afterward presented a memorial to Congress the *Journals* do not record it. Hunt was a graduate of Harvard College (1768), and subsequently represented Watertown several times in the Massachusetts assembly (see *Genealogical History of Watertown*).

[6]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 4.

² See no. 4, *ante*, and no. 9, *post*. The convention of the New England states and New York for the regulation of prices, which had met at Hartford Oct. 20 (see the *Journals*, Nov. 19, 1779; also vol. IV., no. 642, note 2), proposed a similar convention of all the states as far south as Virginia, to be held in Philadelphia the first Wednesday in January. See nos. 18, 21, 23, 28, 30, 39, 52, 95, *post*.

[7]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 6; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book (Papers Cont. Cong., vol. XIV.), p. 269.

necessary aid to the Commissary to forward a quantity of beef with all possible dispatch.² Congress are using every endeavour to lessen the public expence [and the quantity of provision]³ as much as possible, consistent with the public safety; and if the supplies can be obtained for the present, it is to be hoped from the measures that are adopted it may be less difficult to obtain supplies in future.

8. A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 11th Jany 1780.

Sir,

We beg leave to inclose your Excellency sundry propositions referred by Congress to our Consideration, and to request your Opinion thereon,² being with Respect Sir your most obdnt and very hum. Servants,

E. GERRY.

ROBT R LIVINGSTON

JNO. MATHEWS

9. ROGER SHERMAN TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 11th, 1780.

Sir,

Enclosed is an Act of the Assembly of the State of New Jersey for procuring supplies.² We are informed that the army have lately been at very short allowance of both bread and meat. Their principal dependance is on Connecticut for beef. I wish there might be the most vigorous exertion to furnish a present supply. The Commisary General informs me that he sent to your Excellency 200,000 dollars for that purpose: he will be furnished with a further sum and intends to come that way himself

² President Huntington was transmitting the resolve of Jan. 7 requesting the aid of Connecticut to obtain a supply of beef. Cf. no. 9, *post*. Samuel Holten entered in his Diary for Jan. 8, "We have accounts that the army is in great want of provisions". Under the 10th he records, "I dined with the Minister of France. Mr. President Reed and a number of members of Congress dined there". *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 88.

³ The words in brackets are not in the printed text.

[8]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² The propositions referred to are those pertaining to the reduction of the army which were moved by Robert R. Livingston Jan. 8 and are printed in the *Journals*, Jan. 10 (cf. no. 11, *post*). Washington's reply to this letter, Jan. 23, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 174. A report from the committee, together with Washington's letter, was referred, Jan. 29, to the board of war, who brought in a report Feb. 19. (A report on recruiting had been offered Feb. 9.) Touching the subject of reduction, some suggestions of Steuben were presented by the board Mar. 20, recurred to in a second report of the same day (*Journals*, Mar. 21), and were taken up Mar. 25 and further consideration postponed until Dec. 1. See Steuben to Washington Mar. 28 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, II. 420), and Washington to Steuben Apr. 2 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 237, ed. Sparks, VII. 9). Cf. nos. 112, 113, 145, note 2, *post*. A motion by Gerry that the committee on Livingston's propositions repair to headquarters had been voted down Jan. 10, but on motion of Livingston Apr. 6 it was resolved to send a committee to camp to confer with Washington on the subject. See nos. 89, 110, 111, 130, 132, 149, *post*. The committee at headquarters made a report May 16 on the subject of reduction (no. 172, *post*), and Congress resolved May 30 that it was not expedient to make any partial reduction of the army at that time (see no. 206, *post*).

[9]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 8.

² See no. 6, *ante*.

very soon. Stopping the press occasions a scarcity of money. The States, I believe, are now collecting their taxes; but if they done (don't?) keep the money collected for the continent separte from that collected for their own use there will be danger of a deficiency of supplies to answer the warrants drawn by Congress, which may be attended with dangerous consequences. Commissioners are arrived from Maryland to attend the convention to consider of a limitation of prices. I was informed some weeks ago by one of the delegates of that State that the Assembly had passed a law for the limitation of prices, and he shewed me an abstract of the Act; but it proves to be a mistake.³ A bill was prepared but not enacted into a law; and the Assembly is adjourned till March next. . . .

P. S. I wish to have another Delegate come and relieve me; for I want very much to return home.

10. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILA'A, Jany. 12, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclos'd an Act of Congress of this day together with Extracts of three Letters to which the Act refers. These I am directed to lay before the Legislature of Connecticut² or in their Recess before your Excellency in Council, as also the other States therein mentioned, and to urge in the most pressing manner that Immediate supplies of provision be by those several States sent to the Army.

After the facts stated in the papers enclos'd perswasion and imporunity seems unnecessary. The Army must soon disband unless supplied with provisions. That cannot be obtained [at the present Conjunction of Affairs]³ without the aid of the several States now called upon. The Country abounds with the necessary Resources, but private gain seems the only Object of too many Individuals without any Concern for the public Safety.

Congress have taken proper Measures to have Justice done those States that shall afford present Supplies. The Exertions of N. Jersey are already called forth on this occasion. Must it be said that our Army disbanded for want of provisions in the midst of plenty.

Since the resignation of Commissary Wadsworth the Aid of the States is absolutely necessary to afford Supplies until such time as Matters are put in a proper Train which I trust will not be long.⁴

³ See no. 6, *ante*.

[10]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 273 ("N. B. The same to New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware"); *ibid.*, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI.; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI.; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 9; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 85; *Clinton Papers*, V. 453.

² New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, respectively, in letters to those states.

³ The words in brackets are not found in the letter-book copy.

⁴ The reply of the Pennsylvania council, Jan. 15, is in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 87.

II. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 12 Jany. 1780.

Sir,

The Requisitions to the several States for Reinforcements to the Army, proposed in your Letter of the 18th Novr. last, are not yet adopted by Congress; and a fresh application from your Excellency appears to me necessary for promoting that important Business. a Report has long since been made on the Subject, and been several Times under the Consideration of Congress;² but an opinion has been lately suggested, and I fear with too much effect, "that the Number of Men enlisted for the War is already sufficient, and that reinforcements are not necessary for the Army in this Quarter".³ Should this Sentiment prevail, or the Requisitions be much longer delayed, we shall probably lay the Foundation of an inactive Campaign, if not of greater Misfortunes; and renew the uneasiness of the Court of France, who last year remonstrated in very friendly, but *expressive* Terms, against the Delays of our military preparations for that Campaign. As the Measures of our good Ally for the establishment of our Independence, as well as those of the common Enemy against it, are prosecuted with the greatest Vigor, it appears to me that we are urged by every principle of policy, Generosity, and Honor, to be equally vigorous and decisive, and I have been thus induced to trouble your Excellency on the subject. I hope that the measures taken, and such as are under the Consideration of Congress for obtaining Supplies of provision, will effectually relieve the wants of the Army, which I confess distress me exceedingly.⁴

I remain Sir with every sentiment of Esteem and Respect
your most obedt. and very hum. svt.

E GERRY

12. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

CARLISLE 12th January 1780.

Dear General,

The present distressing Aspect of our publick affairs compels me to add to your Excellency's present troubles the reading of the following lines. About this time I hoped to have heard of your being in Philada.

[11]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 376; Austin, *Life of Gerry*, I. 306.

² Washington's letter of Nov. 18, read in Congress Nov. 26, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 110. The committee brought in a report upon it Dec. 7, and additional reports Dec. 14 and 16. For the further consideration of these reports see the *Journals*, Dec. 18, 29, 1779, Jan. 18, 24, 1780. On the latter date certain phases of the subject were referred to the board of war (see also Livingston's motion Jan. 29). For consideration of the board's reports see the *Journals*, Feb. 1, 4, 5, 7-10; see also nos. 38, 41, 45, *post*. Washington's reply to Gerry, Jan. 29, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 182 (ed. Sparks), VI. 455; *Life of Gerry*, I. 307.

³ See the motion of Robert R. Livingston, in the *Journals*, Jan. 10, and no. 8, note 2, *ante*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Jan. 12, 17.

[12]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 377.

and fully intended writing at some greater length than the haste of the bearer will now admit.

I need not take up the train much less the causes of our present most critical and dangerous situation, the flames of political destruction are enkindled all around us and have made their formidable progress but too obvious even to common reflexion; nor have I ever separated the great publick concern from that peculiar degree of anxiety which must possess your mind in the languishing state of our finance! On the subtle subject of finance my pretensions are truly small, but on the necessity of some different measures from any yet adopted what man can shut his eyes? To say nothing of the various aïreal schemes that have been thrown out, one thing is clear, that even such as have been tried from their shew of more reason and solidity, either from their being inadequate in their nature, or too late in their application have palpably failed of the effect. for some time past we have resembled a Patient far gone in disease, given up of his Physicians and left to the mere efforts of nature. Now whether we shall proceed in this same natural or rather slothful and timid way, leaving our internal commerce to regulate itself, and take chance for the event, or attempt the plain highway of Law and publick authority, in the regulation of Prices generally, appears to be the Question, and that without an alternative that can promise success. The latter however degraded by Merchants or exploded by some politicians of more refined sentiments if I have any opinion at all, is the better if not the only fundamental means of our political recovery. I know there are powerful Objections to this doctrine of regulation of prices by law, or rather they are powerfully made, for at this time I must in truth declare I think their whole operation impertinent, inconclusive and lost in the superior force of these arguments which inevitably result from the present circumstances of this country, whereby the great Law of Necessity is now clearly introduced for the tryal of a legal regulation of Prices, and must at least fully justify the experiment. I know the grand difficulties, as well as the nicities attending such regulations must lie in the execution, and penalties of this Law—hard they may be but ought not to be supposed insurmountable. True the virtue of the populace is very low, but not altogether extinct, the latent remains whereof must yet instrumentally save us, if so, how are we to animate these remains, when the natural springs thereof are so much relaxed—No other probable or perhaps possible way but by the salutary stimulare of publick authority, and the encouragement they may derive from a near prospect of Peace, or at least of retrenching the extra expences of the Civil Staff of the Army, which wou'd naturally lead to some farther observation, I mean such as arises on the remarks, sentiments and temper of many people far out of your sight and hearing—but now Col: Davis waites with impatience and obliges me to conclude. Yr. Excell'cy will easily conceive my design in these hasty lines arises from a wish that your helping hand may be put to this business altho' out of your strict sphere of action, as it is to be apprehended that different sentiments on

politicks may obstruct the measure.² I am with great truth and respect,
your Excellencys

Most Obedt. and Affectionate Hble. Servant.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

[P. S.] I cou'd sincerely wish the policy of Virginia respecting their Land-Office and extent of territory were otherwise timed and more disinterested.

13. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 14, 1780.

Sir,

Congress have no late intelligence from Europe, nor do they yet learn the destination of the troops lately embarked from New York. . . .

Much credit is due and given to Connecticut for the supply of beef said to be coming on from thence to the army, whose distress has been great and situation yet remains critical for want of provisions. Eight dollars have been given in its vicinity by the soldiers for a quart of meal and half a dollar for an ear of corn. Flour and grain are procured sufficient, it is said, for some months and now forwarding as fast as may be; and every attention will in future be paid to furnish money for the beef department.

The failure of that great resource, the press, gives as was expectable a violent shock, but it is hoped will prove a salutary one. The system of taxation urged by necessity is now establishing itself fast. All the States in the Union, so far as I can be informed, are now levying and collecting, pursuant to the requisitions of Congress, tho' in some of them their Assemblies have not yet been together to consider of the quotas last required. Maryland Assembly has indeed lately been together and adjourned without making provision therefor, owing to their not being able to obtain a vote in the Senate for the sale of British and Tory property. But as they have called on their people at large to shew their sense on that question, and are soon to meet again, there is no doubt of that obstacle's being removed and that Maryland will chearfully and fully furnish her quota. She is now making every exertion to supply the army with bread.

Greater unanimity has at no time perhaps prevailed in Congress than at present, or ever been more necessary.

14. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[January 15, 1780.]

15. Congress agreed upon a number of resolutions for establishing a Court of Appeals, of members out of Congress.²

² Cf. nos. 21, 52, 95, *post*.

[13]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 10.

[14]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 88.

² Under Jan. 22 Holten records, "Mr Wythe, Mr Holman and Mr —, Judges of Appeals". The last two names should be Hosmer and Paca. Concerning the Court of Appeals see nos. 19, 27, 33, *post*.

15. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular

PHILADELPHIA January 18, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed two Acts of Congress of the 13th and 14th Instant. The former containing the regulations adopted relating to prisoners of War whether taken by the Continental Troops or captured by the Arms of any particular State either by Sea or Land.

Many difficulties have frequently occurred for want of such a general regulation too numerous to be recited. It is proper to observe that the first paragraph of the Act recommending to the Executive of the several States to transmit with all possible Expedition to Gen. Washington the names and rank of all Officers, and the number of privates belonging to the Enemy held as prisoners of war in each State and the places where they are at etc. should be complied with as soon as possible by those States that have any number of prisoners.

The other Act of the 14th Instant recommending to the legislatures of the several United States to make provision when not already made for conferring like privileges and Immunities on the Subjects of his most Christian Majesty as are granted to the Subjects and Inhabitants of these United States by recited Articles in the Treaty of Amity and Commerce will no doubt be cheerfully complied with by each of the States.

His most Christian Majesty as soon as the Treaty became known published an Edict conformable to that Article exempting the Subjects and Inhabitants of these United States from the *Droit d'Aubaine* etc.²

16. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE TREASURER OF CONNECTICUT
(JOHN LAWRENCE).¹

PHILADELPHIA 18th January 1780.

Sir,

I am under the disagreeable necessity of Requesting Two thousand dollars to be advanced to me in Continental bills from the Treasury of Connecticut on account of my Services, must request you to pay the same to the bearer Eben'r Devotion Esq and Charge it to me. I am Compelled to give you the Trouble to apply to the Committee of pay table to get an Order for that purpose if you find it necessary.

[15]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 277; Mass. Arch., CCII. 25; Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 A 143 (to the president of New Hampshire); Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 34; N. C. Hist. Comm., Caswell Papers; *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 318; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 23; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 405; N. Y. Pub. Lib., Myers Coll., Distinguished Americans, no. 649 (to the president of Pennsylvania); *Hist. Magazine*, XIV. 222 (to the same).

² Samuel Holten records in his Diary for this day, "I dined with the Minister of France" (*Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 88). Such entries are frequent in the Diary, sometimes only a few days apart. Another event of this day is recorded by the diarist, although whether it took place within or without doors he leaves untold; moreover he makes the entry under Jan. 19: "Yesterday Mr. Searle cained the Sec'y of Congress and the Sec'y returned the same salute." *Ibid.*

[16]¹ Conn. State Lib., Rev. War, first ser., XVI. 537.

In my present Situation Connecticut is at no expence for my Support, as they are for their other Delegates, and it is out of Character for me to ask for any monies out of the Continental Treasury; my wages whatever the State shall think fit to allow me are all due; Decency and a regard for the Honour of the State I represent, Obliges me to more Expence than in any Other Situation would be necessary or desirable by me; as I am obliged to receive the Company of all Forreigners of Distinction Especially the Foreign Minister and must appear decent in dress etc. which is at this time very dear: I am Compell'd to request the advancement afore mentioned, which I Desire may be granted.

I have no Intelligence of Consequence, and am with Esteem
Your humble Servt.

SAM HUNTINGTON

NB I have mention'd this matter to Go'r Trumbull as I am under real necessity for the money

17. THE NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA (RICHARD CASWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 21st, 1780.

Sir:

Enclosed is an Extract of Intelligence received through the most Authentic channel, and may be relied on.² The Virginia line, which is on its march to reinforce the Southern Army, will be, we hope, at least time enough to come to the relief of Charlestown should it be invested, at all events to check them in their approach to our Country.

We are well informed that the German Princes have refused Troops to Great Britain, and even permission to recruit in their dominions. . . .

18. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Jan. 21, 1779 [1780].

Dear Sir,

. . . . I have before said that I am astonished not a Line comes from you respecting either Vermont or the regulating Convention now sitting here.² It is not less surprizing that we have only a Certificate of Election without any Reference to former Instructions. You know that in the Cases of Georgia and North Carolina it was Determined that the Appointment of several Delegates to represent a State, without any specified No. for a Vote supposed Each *one* competent.³ New York demands that Priviledge. Virginia is now represented by one. . . .

[17]¹ *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 323. The letter is signed by John Penn, Thomas Burke, and Allen Jones.

² The enclosure was an account of the embarkation of troops, presumably destined to the Carolinas and Georgia.

[18]¹ *N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, Samuel Adams Papers.

² See no. 6, *ante*, and nos. 21, 23, 28, 30, 39, 51, 52, *post*; see also the *Journals*, Nov. 19, 1779, and vol. IV., nos. 642, 665.

³ See the *Journals*, July 24, 1778. Adams's reply to this and later letters of Lovell, Mar. 5, is in *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 180. See also his letter to Lovell Mar. 25, *ibid.*, p. 183.

19. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Dear Sir,

21 Jany. 80.

. . . . We are, as usual, mightily divided on Elections. The 3 Judges of Appeals are to come from 10 or 12 Nominations.² Schuyler and Pickering are chosen for the reforming Com'tee³ the first as *the* Member of Congress. Mifflin, Bull and Bodinot divide us; the Reasons given for *not* chusing the first, with all his Knowledge and Spirit, are from Devotees-to-Fabius,⁴ who every now and then by their Behavior and Arguments appear to think him a most malignant and revengeful Genius.

Tace — Paca, Duane, Bodinot, Hosmer, McKean, Lowell,⁵ R T Payne, Sullivan, Wythe are in nom'n for Judges. Huntingdon, Gerry and Livingston wd. have their Names withdrawn. I would not risque Coll. R H Lee in the present Temper of the House, though I think him extremely well calculated.⁶ But, in the Course of Speaks the day before yesterday on Arthur's Request to have Copies of certain Papers, I found a Number of Virulentissimes still cocked and primed at the very Name of Lee.⁷ I suppose I have told you that the Genl. of that Name is informed we have no need of his Services.⁸

I have other Business than the Duties of Friendship to attend therefore Adieu

J L

20. JAMES LOVELL TO HORATIO GATES.¹

Dear Sir,

22d of Jany. 1780.

. . . . We are aiming at a Curtail of Expence by Inspectors to visit and break up unnecessary Posts in the Staff Departments, and reduce the

[19]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² See no. 14, *ante*, and nos. 27, 33, *post*. Cf. note 5, below.

³ A committee on the reformation of the staff departments of the army was appointed May 28, 1779, and brought in a report July 23. See vol. IV., no. 303, note 3, also the *Journals*, July 9, Aug. 11, Oct. 18, 19, Dec. 4, 1779, and Jan. 20, 21, 22, 1780. On Jan. 20 Congress provided for the creation of a commission of three, one of whom was to be a member of Congress, to overhaul the departments. Schuyler (as a member of Congress, although then absent) and Pickering were chosen on this commission Jan. 21, and Mifflin Jan. 22. Schuyler, in a letter to Congress Mar. 6, declined the appointment, and on the 10th the remaining commissioners were authorized to proceed upon the business; but a committee of three was thereupon designated to act with the two commissioners, and Schuyler was placed on that committee (the other two were Sherman and Allen Jones). Schuyler nevertheless stood firm in his refusal to serve. Cf. nos. 22, 26, 27, 76, 77, 86, 88, *post*.

⁴ That is, General Washington.

⁵ The name appears in the *Journals*, Jan. 20, as "J. Lovell", but this is doubtless an error. It seems altogether improbable that James Lovell, the writer of this letter, should have been nominated for a place on the Court of Appeals. It was doubtless John Lowell of Massachusetts, who was subsequently (Dec. 5, 1782) chosen a member of the court. The list of nominees given in the *Journals* includes also the name of Dickinson, although erased, as are the names of Gerry and Lovell (Lowell?), but does not include (James?) Sullivan, or Huntington, or Livingston. Wythe, Paca, and Hosmer were elected Jan. 22.

⁶ Richard Henry Lee was nominated Apr. 3 for the vacancy created by the declination of George Wythe.

⁷ See the *Journals*, Jan. 19; also Arthur Lee's letter of Sept. 10, 1779, in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 313.

⁸ See no. 20, *post*.

[20]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVII.

Number of Officers; and also to lessen the number of Horses and Wagons in the Army. In short we are beginning to do many Things that ought to have been done a Year ago.²

We have no Money *now* to squander upon A, B, C and all the Letters of the Alphabet under the sole Restriction of "he to be accountable".

. . . .

on the 10th a Vote was carried "that Major Genl. Charles Lee be informed that Congress have no farther Occasion for his Services in the Army of the United States" 5 ayes 4 noes 3 divid'd. It was upon reading the following Letter which, in my Opinion, is forged.³ . . .

21. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JOSEPH REED.¹

CARLISLE 24th Jan'y 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . Every part of your Obliging letter merits attention, but the burthen thereof being perfectly expressive of our main concern—the *deplorable state of our publick affairs*—I shall therefore confine the few following thoughts to that subject, confessing at the entrance that I neither know, nor profess to know any thing of that Subtile Science of Finance as such—the Conviction I have results from the mere Operation of things and presses on the mind by dint of necessity—for however low we may be, I am not for leaving this great business on which depends not only our Political, but in some degree our natural preservation also, to a mere course of nature—As a Vesel deserted of her Crew, or a patient of his physicians. The means that in my Opinion appear the most proper for our recovery and deliverance, are Simply these—1st. a Regulation of Prices by Law—2d A speedy reformation of abuses, and retrenchment of Expences in the two great lines of the Civil Staff, and some other appendages of the Army, more immediately under the direction of the Board of War. Whether this last shou'd extend to the line Military, the General will best judge, but unless there are officers supernumerary the line cannot be touched—3d. the laying in of certain Quantitys of Grain into publick Magazines, or particular Mills appointed for the purpose the Millars for the sake of the Tole, I presume wou'd readily find Granaries: this grain to be laid in at the regulated price, either in part or whole of the Owners Tax, allowing him a moderate Mileage for Carriage. The first of these I call, *the basis of every thing Salutory*—the mode is at once, regular, virtuous and necessary, and at present perfectly consistant with the Spirit of good Government—diametrically opposite therefore must the temper of that man be, who wou'd resist or evade such a Law. However arduous the Execution of this regulating law may be found to be, I humbly presume the necessity and expedience of it, must to every candid Observer

² See no. 19, *ante*.

³ Lee's letter is printed in the *Journals*, Jan. 10. Lovell may have reached the conclusion that the letter was forged from the fact that it was not in Lee's writing. In a postscript however Lee explained that his hand was wounded. See, further, his letter of Jan. 30, in the *Journals*, Feb. 12.

[21]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., MSS. of Joseph Reed, VI.

be as evident as the noonday sun, and this necessity must at least justify the Experiment. To say that such a law is at no time practicable, is paying an odious Compliment both to God and Man; to him who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, the original institution and approver of all lawfull means, in the use where he may be said to superintend the generallity of human affairs—to our Countrymen and fellow Citizens, as tho' their love of nominal or even a little real superfluous wealth shou'd lead them headlong to political destruction or that they shou'd be found incapable of society and the blessings thereof, by a lawless and refractory disposition [*sic*], rending asunder it's most salutary bonds! forbid this Almighty God, the author of order, of human nature itself, and giver of every good and perfect gift. The Hacknied Maxim, that Trade Must alwais Regulate itself, Is in our situation as impolitick as it is arrogant and absurd, and patience but scarcely restrains from bestowing upon it the severer epithets due to a possition so very ill-timed. Amongst the aerial or more refined schemes of Finance which have been exhibited most whereof must be considered as so many phantoms, it's said there is one lately suggested by a Mr. Usher from Maryland,² which with the embroidery of a Loan to the publick of fifty millions of Dollars and a considerable sum in specie, I confess puts on a glittering aspect—having had but a cursory and perhaps an imperfect relation of that Gentlemans Scheme, the least we can say is that it's well Ushered in and perhaps with a good designe, but as it contains an antidote only to One branch of our disease, *Speculation* or private monopoly, we must doubt the effect like its cause wou'd only be partial—And the articles of commerce limited to certain Companys however large and free, might one day produce as boisterous a noise on our shores as the rising tides whereby they are introduced. The plain high way of publick authority for America, Wise and just Regulations by Law—Loping off every experience and superfluous branch in our several departments—persevering, but moderate Taxation, such as every taxable may obviously bear, Honest Loans, justly if not generously requesting the lender whether he lent sooner or later in this conflict, but especially those who have advanced or shall advance their money in the publicks extreamity. These Measures together with the plain lines of oeconomy and good government, will by the divine blessing which on the American cause we can never doubt (if we exclude it not by inattention or wicked works) will recover our finances—replenish our Treasury, support our Army and ensure the establishment of American liberty.³ . . .

22. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO JAMES WARREN.¹

My dear Sir:

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 25, 1780.

It is a long Time since We have heard from our Friends eastward, and We impute it to be the Severity of the Winter, but yesterday I received

² Presumably the "Letters on Appreciation" referred to by Gerry in his letter to James Warren Jan. 25 (no. 22, *post*).

³ Cf. no. 6, and note 4, *ante*, nos. 52, 95, *post*.

[22]¹ *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 123.

by the Post your agreeable Favour of the 27th Decr., the Desire of which was increased by the Detention.

I should have been glad to have seen your Remarks on the anonymous Letter, but Mr. Lovell informs me, he has not yet received them.²

The Policy of America will succeed or fail in my Opinion, in proportion to her Exertions for establishing a Navy. I well remember that You was the first to promote it, and altho it was disapproved by some in Point of Time, the Benefit derived from the Measure has clearly manifested the Wisdom of it. the State of our Finances will check it's present Growth, but I doubt not that it will soon flourish, and that Time will suggest Improvements in the Arrangements and Regulations of the Boards that are appointed to cherish and conduct it. I am very sensible, that the officers of these Departments have been poorly rewarded, and was lately of a Committee who reported that their present Salaries should have a Retrospect to Novr. 1778, but the Subject is not yet considered by Congress: I think however that You have their fullest Confidence.³

Congress have not yet determined whether to remove eastward or southward; both are talked of, but your Remarks respecting the Navy, are conclusive in my Mind, in Favour of the former.⁴

The great objects of Attention in Congress are Oeconomy and Resources. Necessity dictates their Measures, and I hope will produce salutary Effects. the Departments of the Muster and Barrack Masters are abolished and the Business of the former annexed to the office of Inspector. Generals Schuyler and Mifflin and Colo. Pickering are appointed a Committee, with full Powers to inform themselves by Inspection or otherwise of the State of the Staff Departments, to call on any of the officers thereof for Information, to discharge all persons therein that are supernumerary or delinquent, to break up unnecessary issuing Posts and establish others where requisite, to stop all Issues of Rations not indispensibly necessary for the Service, and in Conjuncture with General Washington to reduce the Number of Horses and Waggons in the Service and Expende of Transportation, and to adopt a general Reformation of the Departments. the States are to be also called on for their respective quotas of Supplies and authorized to stop all purchases by continental officers, when Measures are adopted for complying with the Requisitions of Congress; and to induce the States to purchase cheap, they are to be

² In a letter to Lovell written in the preceding December (*Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 121) Warren speaks of the anonymous letter (copy of which Lovell had sent him) attacking the navy board of the Eastern department and Warren in particular. Cf. no. 28, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, Nov. 12, 1779, and Jan. 27, 1780.

⁴ Dec. 3, 1779, acting upon a motion of Dec. 1, Congress resolved to adjourn from Philadelphia the last Saturday in April, and set the first Monday in January for consideration of the place to which the adjournment should be taken. On that date (Jan. 3) the question was postponed to the last Monday in February, thence it was further postponed until the second Monday in March, at which time it was postponed indefinitely. Two weeks later however (Mar. 27) the matter was brought up again, with the result only that Hartford and Trenton were voted down, as was also a motion to repeal the resolution of Dec. 3. Cf. nos. 26, 69, *post*.

credited equal prices for Articles of the same Kind and quality, and in proportion for other Articles.⁵

I inclose You the News papers containing three sensible Letters by a Gentleman in Maryland on "Appreciation",⁶ and can give You nothing new, excepting certain Information from the Court of France that by their Interposition the British Court have failed in their Applications for Recruits to the several Powers of Germany.⁷

The Massachusetts Delegates are sitting in Congress by Vertue only of a Certificate of their Appointment from the Deputy Secretary. They have never aspired to be *commissioned*, but wish not to loose their Rank as warrant officers.⁸

I observe your Apprehensions relative to a new Q[uarter] M[aster] G[eneral], but have no Reason to suppose them well grounded, altho the Matter has been suggested in Congress. I remain Sir with every Sentiment of respect your Friend and hum. Ser.

23. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO SAMUEL LYMAN.¹

PHILADA. Jany. 25, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Congress have lately recd. a packet from france with dispatches down to the 9th Sepr. but they contain no very material Intelligence more than you will pick out from the enclosed papers.

The Convention for a Limitation of prices being attended only from N. Hampshir, Connecticut, N Jersey, Pensylvania, Delaware and Maryland did not think proper to proceed on business espically as a resolution of Congress passd since their being called recommending a Limitation of prices seemed to have decided on the Expediency and necessity of the measure they accordingly adjourned without day.²

Despair not however of the currency's receiving a fixedness and Justice being done. In my next I will write you more particular on this Subject.

The Army are again comfortably supplied. I wish to hear what is done or doing at our assembly, and any thing else you will please to inform me of.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Jan. 20, and no. 19, note 3, *ante*.

⁶ In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of Jan. 20 are two "Letters on Appreciation", and a third by the same writer in the *Packet* of Jan. 25. They are unsigned, and no indication of their authorship is there given. Gerry speaks of the author as "a Gentleman in Maryland", while Armstrong in his letter to Reed Jan. 24 (no. 21, *ante*), referring no doubt to the same articles, mentions that the author was a Mr. Usher. This may have been Thomas Usher of Baltimore.

⁷ See Luzerne to Washington Jan. 23 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 464). Luzerne there speaks of communicating these facts to Congress, but such a communication, if in writing, has not been found. Cf. the memorial of Jan. 25 (*ibid.*, p. 469), and the *Journals*, Jan. 25, where the text is given in full.

⁸ The Massachusetts credentials are in the *Journals*, Jan. 2.

[23]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Coll., American Lawyers, II.

² See nos. 18, 21, *ante*, and nos. 28, 30, 54, *post*; also a letter from William Ellery to Governor Greene of Rhode Island, Feb. 15, in Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 272. Ellery attended the convention on behalf of his state.

24. THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 26 1780.

Sir,

Colo. Blain who will deliver your Excellency this, is now making the necessary appointments and arranging the business of his department; and will be happy to avail himself of any information and aid your Excellency may please to furnish him in the eastern districts.

We need not suggest to your Excellency how important it is become to give every facility to supplies for the army and to place them on the surer footing both from the present state of our magazines, and the necessity that seems to be opening upon us to replenish them for another campaign. Peace is but little relied on as the result of the present winters negotiations by those who are in the best situation to judge of them.

Congress have recent assurances that France and Spain on the one hand as well as great Britain on the other are sparing no possible measures and preparation for the ensuing season and by taking early advantage thereof to render it decisive on the great question of american independence. And that these States might not be unfurnished for the necessary exertions on their part, his most Christian Majesty has in addition to timely communications, passed an order to his Ministers amply to supply them with arms and ammunition.²

25. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA January 27, 1780.

Sir,

Your letter of the 24th Instant was duly received and laid before Congress.²

After the most mature deliberation, Congress from a full conviction of your knowledge of the subject, and that the honour and interest of the United States in the matter of negotiating and settling a Cartel may safely be trusted in your hands, have passed the enclosed Resolves, and committed the whole to your prudence and discretion.

By the second Resolution they have repealed the penal part of the resolution of the 11th Instant, leaving the settlement of the Accounts to negotiation, and that the demand of the money at this Juncture by the Treasury might not embarrass you, they have ordered the Board of Treasury to suspend the Requisition, until the proposed negotiation for exchange of prisoners is finished; so that you are left to act upon the common principles of equality, Justice, and propriety, as if that Act had never passed.

[24]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 42 (in the writing of Ellsworth, signed by Sherman and Ellsworth); Library of Congress, *Force Trans.*, Trumbull, XI. 42.

² See Luzerne's memorial, in the *Journals*, Jan. 25, and Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 469. Cf. nos. 37, 39, 41, *post*.

[25]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 286.

² The letter of Washington referred to is that of Jan. 19. See the *Journals*, Jan. 25, 26.

As our Treasury is empty of hard Money and Congress relied on the payment of the Debt due for the Convention Troops to defray the Expences and Debts of our Officers in Captivity, I trust that Circumstances will not escape your Excellencies Notice though at the same time you will be satisfied it is the intention of Congress a demand of that debt should not be made an Ultimatum, or a preliminary to prevent a Cartel in other Respects admissible.

As Congress have been pleased to refer this negotiation wholly to your Excellency without any Direction or expressing their sense on any particular Articles which you had requested the Event of the proceedings on the Subject must meet with their approbation.

26. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILADELPHIA 27th Jany. 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have only leisure to acknowledge the rect. of your favor of the 18th² and to return you my sincere thanks [as a]³ person deeply interested in the event of this controver[sy] for the readiness with which you offer to sacrifice yr. [pr]ivate feelings to the general interest. I have sounded [m]any members about it some I find extremely well dis[p]osed to the measure while others again receive it with more coolness rather on account of the novelty of the [i]nstitution than from any other motives tho' perhaps the dismissal of Genl. Lee⁴ which makes the rank you [c]laim the more important may have some influence [on] their minds. But this last consideration is so much [le]ss weighty than the first, that I am persuaded [if] you would accept Greens place which he wishes to [qu]it that you may have it on your own terms.⁵

What I would particularly mention to you is my [earn]est wish that you will comply with the request con[tai]ned in the resolutions of Congress transmitted to you by the President, and they apply to you as a member of [Co]ngress who are capable of extricating your country [fr]om the ruin that threatens it should you suffer any personal considerations to interpose or prevent your a[f]fording the assistance they request when you act no[t] as their servant but as one of their body, you will off[er] room to your enemies to alledge that private conven[ience] more than publick reasons have influenced your past [con]duct. Your Friends will be disappointed and hurt, An[d the] measure which they have so much at heart (to which [they] consider this as preparatory) be entirely defeated.⁶

[26]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Schuyler Papers, no. 1256; *ibid.*, Bancroft Coll., Schuyler Papers, no. 747 (copy).

² Schuyler's letter was probably concerning the position he had resolved upon with regard to service under Congress. See nos. 76, 77, *post*.

³ The left-hand margin of the manuscript is torn off.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Jan. 10, and no. 19, *ante*.

⁵ Concerning General Greene's resignation see vol. IV., pp. 539, 542, 543. Cf. Greene to Washington Mar. 6, in *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 405; also nos. 61, 77, 109, 110, *post*.

⁶ See no. 19, note 3, *ante*.

I cannot enlarge, (as I fear I have already missed the post) but just so far as to tell you that we ha[ve] not yet determined where to move to, that questio[n] being put of to the 1st of February.⁷ Our Affairs [are] as much deranged as ever, our finance far from b[eing] restored, And our army living from hand to mouth. when we shall get thro' these perplexities I know no[t.]

27. WILLIAM FLOYD TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

[January 28, 1780.]

. . . . Congress has for more than a year had under their consideration a plan for establishing a court of appeals in all cases of capture, and much time has been spent upon it. They have at last finished it, and appointed their judges. The gentlemen appointed are. Mr. Wythe of Virginia, Mr. Paca of Maryland, and Mr. Hosmer of Connecticut. They are to begin their courts at this place, and they have it in their power to adjourn to any place between Williamsburgh and Hartford, having an eye to the number of causes that are or may be brought up to them.²

In order to correct abuses and to retrench our expenses, Congress have appointed Commissioners with ample and sufficient powers, over the whole Staff Department of our Army; the gentlemen appointed are General Schuyler, General Mifflin, and Mr. Pickering, who is now a member of the Board of War: if those gentlemen will undertake this business (and I hope they will not refuse) they may save some millions to this continent, and render their country most essential service.³

28. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Dear Sir,

28th of Jany., 80.

Major Osgood² arrived here on the Evening of my last Date to you (the 25th) when I mentioned not having seen Gen. Warren's Letter referred to in one which had reached Mr. Gerry. The Major delivered it safely. Nothing had been said or done on the scurrilous Information that caused the Remarks. I think McNeille cannot be suspected of the Baseness, though his Mind must be irritated greatly at his Fortune.³

I do not know but the regulating Convention may again get effectively together, but if they do, I suspect the Consequence will not only be to let US and THEMSELVES down easily.⁴

⁷ See vol. IV., p. 543, and no. 22, note 4, *ante*.

[27]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XII. 91.

² See no. 19, *ante*, and no. 33, *post*; see also vol. IV., p. 235, note 3.

³ See nos. 19, 26, *ante*, and nos. 77, 88, 89 (note 3), *post*.

[28]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² Samuel Osgood (1748-1813) had been sent as a delegate to the Philadelphia convention for the limitation of prices. Holten records in his Diary under Jan. 25, "Samuel Osgood Esqr. arrived here from Boston, charged with business from the Court" (*Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 89). See Adams to Gerry Dec. 20, 1779, in *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 168; also nos. 41, 50, 51, *post*.

³ Concerning the "scurrilous information" see no. 22, note 2, *ante*. Adams replied Mar. 5 (*Writings*, IV. 180): "I was far from intending you should think I meant Capt. McNeil. I am sure he is a Man of too much Honor to write the anonymous Letter the Committee receivd."

⁴ See nos. 18, 21, 23, *ante*, 30, 54, *post*.

Perhaps I shall find today that I can pennize and draytonize ⁵ enough to tell you more than just summarily that we must endeavor to *act vigorously in concert* next campaign. You must not know even this from *me*, tho' the Continent ought to *think it seasonably*. I shall consult w'th my Colleagues upon the Subject. It is very delicate to say that there is not any hearty Wish for Peace *yet* in two of the Parties, who may nevertheless give into negotiating *Formalities* for a Time.

J L

29. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND THE SPEAKER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF NEW YORK.¹

ALBANY January 29th 1780.

Gentlemen,

Concieving it my Duty as a Servant of the State to advise the Legislature of any Occurrences in Congress which may immediately affect either the Honor or the Weal of the State, I beg Leave to inform the honorable Houses in which you respectively preside of some Matters which I intended to have conveyed thro' his Excellency the Governor, supposing that to be the proper Channel of Communication: but was prevented by his leaving the City, and as I humbly concieve the Subject worthy the immediate Attention of the Legislature and that Evils may possibly arise from Delay, I have taken the Liberty to address myself to you, trusting that his Excellency's Candor and that of the Legislature will excuse the Impropriety if it should be deemed one.

Deeply impressed with a Sense of the extensive Advantages which would probably result to the United States in general, and this in particular, from a perfect and permanent Reconciliation with an Enemy so formidable to a weak and extensive Frontier as fatal Experience has evinced the Indians to be, to whom Distance of Situation seems no great Obstacle to prevent or retard their Incursions; reflecting, with the most anxious Concern, on the Desolation and Variety of Distress incident on a Savage War; apprehensive that they would consider themselves without any Alternative but that of recommencing Hostilities; dreading the Effects of a consequent Desperation on their part; firmly believing that the greatly deranged State of the public Finances would render it exceedingly difficult to procure the necessary Supplies for that Army only which must keep the Enemy's Force on the Sea Board in Check; doubtful whether Detachments of sufficient Force to protect the Frontiers could be spared from our Army whilst the British retained their present position; aware of the Distresses and Expence incident on calling forth the Militia for the purpose; convinced that an Obstacle of very interesting Importance would be removed if Events should happily arise which would permit us to turn our Attention to the Reduction of Canada or the Enemies For-

⁵ An allusion to accusations against John Penn and William Henry Drayton of divulging secrets of Congress. See vol. IV., nos. 19 (note 4), 401 (note 6).

[29]¹ N. Y. State Lib., Legislative Papers, no. 1544.

tresses in the interior parts of the Country; persuaded that no farther offensive Operations could be prosecuted against the Savages with any probable prospect of adequate Advantage I embraced the earliest Opportunity to advise Congress of the Overtures made by the Cayugas, and took the Liberty strongly to point at the Necessity of an Accommodation with all the Savages: but not being honored with an Answer as early as the Importance of the Object seemed to require, and wishing to improve the Advantage which the first Impulse occasioned by the Disaster the Indians had experienced would probably afford us, I hastened to Congress to solicit their Determination which was obtained on the [blank] November last, Copy whereof I have the Honor to enclose.²

Whilst the Report of the Committee in the Business I have alluded to was under Consideration a Member³ moved in Substance "That the Commissioners for Indian Affairs in the Northern Department should require from the Indians of the six Nations, as a preliminary Article, a Cession of part of their Country, and that the Territory so to be ceded should be for the Benefit of the United States in general and grantable by Congress." A Measure so evidently injurious to this State exceedingly alarmed and chagrined those whose Duty it was to attend to its Interests. They animadverted with Severity on the unjustifiable principle held up in the Motion: the pernicious Consequence of divesting a State of its undoubted property in such an extrajudicial Manner was forcibly urged: the Apprehensions with which it would fill and affect the Minds of a people who had been as firm in the present glorious Contest; who had made more strenuous and efficacious Exertions to support it; had suffered more and still suffered as much as any were strongly painted. The Improbability that the Indians would accede to a Reconciliation when such a preliminary was insisted upon was observed by many Members and urged on a Variety of Considerations. The Gentlemen in Favor of the Motion attempted to support it on the general Ground that what was acquired or conquered at the common Expence ought to enure to the common Benefit; that the Lands in Question, altho' they might be comprehended within the Limits of the State of New York (which however was not acknowledged) was not the property of the State; that being either in the Natives or by Right of Conquest in the United States. The Motion was nevertheless after some farther desultory Debate rejected: but from what drop'd in the Debate we had Reason to apprehend that several who were opposed to the Motion founded their Opposition on the Necessity of a Reconciliation with the Indians, against which, they imagined the Spirit of the Motion would militate. And we had a few Days after a convincing proof that an Idea prevailed that this and some other States ought to be divested of part of their Territory for the Benefit of the United States. when a Mem-

² The action of Congress referred to was on Nov. 27, 1779. See the *Journals*, Oct. 22, Nov. 4, 21, 27, and Schuyler to Clinton Nov. 29, in vol. IV., no. 668.

³ Henry Marchant. See the *Journals*, Nov. 27.

ber ⁴ afforded us the perusal of a Resolution for which he intended to move the House purporting "that all the Lands within the Limits of any of the United States, heretofore grantable by the King of Great Britain whilst these States (then Colonies) were in the Dominion of that prince, and which had not been granted to Individuals should be considered as the joint property of the United States and disposed of by Congress for the Benefit of the whole Confederacy." The Necessity and propriety of such an Arrangement was strenuously insisted upon, in private Conversation, and even supported by Gentlemen who represented States in Circumstances seemingly similar to our's with Respect to the Object of the intended Resolution. It was observed that if such States whose Bounds were either indefinite or were pretended to extend to the South Seas would consent to a reasonable Western Limitation that it would supercede the Necessity of any Intervention by Congress other than that of permanently establishing the Bounds of each State: prevent Controversy and remove the Obstacle which prevented the Completion of the Confederation. As this State would be eminently affected by such a Measure it was deemed of Importance as fully to investigate their Intentions as could be done consistent with that Delicacy and prudence to be observed on so interesting an Occasion and a Wish was accordingly expressed, as arising from mere Curiosity, to know their Idea of a reasonable Western Limitation. This they gave by exhibiting a Map of the Country, on which they drew a Line from the North west Corner of Pennsylvania (which in that Map was laid down as in Lake Erie) thro' the Strait that leads to Qntario and thro' that Lake and down the St. Lawrence to the forty fifth Degree of Latitude for the Bounds of this State in that Quarter. Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia they proposed to restrict by the Allighany Mountains, or at farthest by the Ohio to where that River enters the Mississippi and by the latter River to the South Bounds of Georgia. That all the Territory to the West of those Limits should become the property of the Confederacy. We found this Matter had been in Contemplation some Time; the Delegates from North Carolina having then already requested Instructions from their Constituents on the Subjects, and my Colleagues were in Sentiment with me that it should be humbly submitted to the Legislature, if it would not be proper to communicate their pleasure in the premisses by Way of Instruction to their Servants in Congress.

I am Gentlemen with Great respect and Esteem

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

PH: SCHUYLER

The Honorable Pierre Van Cortlandt and Evert Ban[c]ker Esqrs.

⁴ The proposed motion was probably exhibited by one of the Maryland delegates (Plater or Forbes), but possibly by a New Jersey member (Houston or Fell). On this question see H. B. Adams, *Maryland's Influence upon Land Cessions of the United States*, pp. 30-32. See also the preceding volume, *passim*, particularly nos. 291, 620, 639. Sept. 6 a resolve looking primarily to the completion of the Confederation was adopted, and a motion was thereupon made by the Virginia delegates (Jones and Madison) on the general subject of the Western lands. See nos. 288, 422, *post*, and *cf.* Witherspoon's motion of Sept. 6, 25, 1782 (*Journals*).

30. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 30th 1780.

Sir,

Since the Letter Mr. Sherman and myself did ourselves the honor of addressing to your Excellency by the last post, a commissioner² has arived from Massachusetts to attend the convention for a limitation of prices, which had adjourned *sine die*, also a commission from Rhode Island to their Delegate in Congress to the same purpose. Upon which the Assembly of Pensylvania to whom their commissioners had made report, have reappointed others to meet again, and a meeting has been thereupon had from commissioners of all the States who attended before, except New Jersey, with the addition of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, at which also the delegates in Congress from N. York attended, tho' not specially authorised and gave assurance that their State would abide the measures that might be come into. The convention having again formed now stands adjourned to Wednesday next for N Jersey commissioners who are sent to, to come in—the result of which meeting will perhaps be a further adjournment to a distant day to give Virginia, who has not yet done it, oppertunity to appoint and send commissioners. It does not appear indeed what more can well be done at this time, as some 75 of the commissioners present are not authorised to do any thing unless the convention should be attended from all the States first proposed.³ . . .

The supplies and prospects of the Army are now comfortable—the General was reduced to the necessity of demanding from the several Counties in N Jersey specifick supplies, which with much spirit they complied with even beyond the requisition.⁴ Maryland is said also to have fully complied with the requisition of Congress to that State for 15,000 barrels of Flour. Delaware has als[o] exerted herself much, in the same way—the Assembly of this State are now together and seem disposed to furnish the 50,000 barrels of Flour requested of them, as also to go into such further specified supplies as may be necessary.⁵ . . .

I take the liberty to mention to your Excellency that the scituation of my affairs renders it necessary for me to return home by the begining of march, and to express my wishes that some of the Gentlemen on the new Election may find it convenient to take their seats in Congress by that time.

31. THE SECRETARY OF CONGRESS (CHARLES THOMSON) TO THE
SEVERAL STATES.¹

Sir,

SECRETARY'S OFFICE 1st Feby. 1780.

I now enclose you the journals of Congress which will compleat the set for your State to the first of Jany. 1780. Hereafter they will be printed in monthly pamphlets which shall be regularly sent.

[30]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI.; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 12.

² Major Samuel Osgood. See no. 28, *ante*.

³ Cf. no. 6, note 2, *ante*, and no. 54, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Jan. 31, and cf. no. 37, *post*.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Jan. 28.

[31]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 24; N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford Coll. (to Pennsylvania); *Clinton Papers*, V. 471.

I take the liberty of reminding you of the request in my letter of 20th Novr. last to which I have not been honored with an answer.² The request therein contained is not suggested by idle curiosity but a desire of promoting public utility and the cause of America. I am, Sir, with due respect your hum'e Servt.

CHAS. THOMSON.

32. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Feb. 1st, 80.

Not a Line of Information from you respecting the Vermont Business. Certain Men are here from the Grants to support its Independence and offer to come into the Union but not to submit the Question of their Existence as an independent State.²

J L

33. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WYTHER.¹

PHILADA Feby 2, 1780.

Sir,

By the enclosed Acts of Congress of the 15 and 22 Ulto herewith enclosed together with your Commission you will be informed that Congress have constituted and established a Court of appeals for the final Trial and determination of all appeals from the Courts of Admiralty in the several States in Cases of Capture, and that you are elected one of the Judges of that Court.

By Reason of the present State of the Currency the Salary of the Judges is not yet fixed, yet there is no doubt their Salaries will be decent and satisfactory; at present twelve thousand dollars is to be advanced to each of them for support that they may immediately enter upon the Business of their Office.

The first Session is to be held at Philadelphia as soon as may be to hear and determine the Causes already appealed, and afterwards at such times and places as they shall Judge most for the public good any where between Williamsburgh and Hartford inclusive.

I hope the Business may not employ so much of your time as to interfere with your other Engagements and deprive the public of your Service in this important Station, as it may be in the power of the Court to state the Time of their session convenient for themselves without Injury to the public.

² The request was for the constitution and laws of each state. See vol. IV., p. 524. Cf. no. 115, *post*.

[32]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² The men were Peter Olcott and Bezaleel Woodward. See the *Journals*, Feb. 1, 7; cf. nos. 38, 40, 43, *post*.

[33]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 200.

I have only to add, the Election of the Judges was with great unanimity, and I trust will give Satisfaction to all the States.²

N B. The same verbatim to Messrs Paca and Hosmer.

34. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[February 2, 4, 1780.]

2. Dr. Brown,² the chief Physician and Surgeon of the army, spent the evening with me.

4. The medical committee met in my chamber.

35. JAMES LOVELL TO HORATIO GATES.¹

Feb. 4th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . I did not know but some Persons might chuse to have by them the Treaties in french, the Language in which they were originally drawn up; therefore I made the Printer bind a few of the Sheets which he had struck off, but was forbidden to insert in the 4th Vol. of the *Journals*; ² you can accent them with a fine nibbed pen. The Printer had no Types for that Purpose.

36. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 7th 1780.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to forward the enclosed letter from Gen'l Lincoln address'd to your Excellency.

As Major Lane ² the Express charged with this Letter was late a Prisoner in Savannah, and your Excellency must be anxious to know the State of the Prisoners in the southern Department; I have examined him on

² For the development of the Court of Appeals see the *Journals*, May 22, Aug. 26, Oct. 29, Nov. 15, Dec. 5-7, 1779, Jan. 4-8, 14, 15, 20, 22, 27, 31, Feb. 2, 1780; cf. nos. 19, 27, *ante*. Some further resolutions relative to captures were adopted May 24 (see also the *Journals*, May 4, 5). For action on the salaries of the judges see the *Journals*, Aug. 11, Sept. 9, 13. Paca's acceptance of the appointment is recorded in the *Journals*, Feb. 9, Hosmer's May 4. Wythe declined the appointment and Cyrus Griffin was elected (Apr. 28) in his stead (see the *Journals*, Mar. 13, Apr. 1, 3, 15, 28, May 4; also no. 231, *post*). Hosmer died in August, and although Congress several times set a day for choosing his successor it was not done until Dec. 5, 1782 (see the *Journals*, Aug. 25, 29, 1780, Feb. 27, 1781, Nov. 22, Dec. 2, 5, 1782; also Livermore to Weare Mar. 12, 1782, in vol. VI.). For some aspects of the history of the court in the interval see the next volume of these *Letters*. For a special examination of the subject see Dr. J. F. Jameson's study, "The Predecessor of the Supreme Court", in *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States*; also Hampton L. Carson, *History of the Supreme Court*, chs. III-VI.

[34]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 89.

² Dr. William Brown.

[35]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVII.

² Cf. no. 66, *post*.

[36]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² Major Joseph Lane. See the *Journals*, Mar. 3, and Heitman, *Hist. Reg.* A copy of his information is in the Washington Papers, under date of Feb. 7. In the *Calendar* of the Washington Papers he appears however as "John".

that Subject and taken his information in writing which is herewith enclosed, yet hoping you may find in Gen'l Lincolns Letter a more accurate Account of the Matter.³

37. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 7, 1780.

Sir,

. . . . The vigorous exertions of the State of New Jersey to provide for the late necessities of the Army are such as have done much honour to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of that State, and procured a plentiful temporary supply.²

I may with propriety acquaint your Excellency with our reason to expect that the plan of operation for the ensuing Campaign will be such on the part of our Ally, as should call forth our most vigorous Exertions and *Cooperations* to expell the Enemy from the United States and put a period to the War.³

The Measures adopted by Congress for recruiting the Army for the next Campaign allready too long delayed will be forwarded in a few Days and I hope may reach you before the Assembly rises.⁴

We have undoubted Intelligence that an Expedition against Pensacola was forming at the Havannah, the last fall, and have recent Accounts and reports that they are now in possession of that place and have made the Garrison prisoners, consisting of about Nine hundred Men but of this Success we have no official Intelligence. An Express is Just arrived from Georgia which brings the above report respecting Pensacola but knows not how the Intelligence arrived there though the Capture of the place was publicly talked of there. By this Express we received letters from the Governor and Assembly in Georgia assuring us they meant to defend themselves and support the common Cause to their utmost.⁵

38. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO WOODBURY LANGDON.¹

PHILADA. Feb'y 7th 1780.

My Dear sir,

. . . . The affair of Bradford is frequently agitated but we have come to no dicision upon the matter as yet, though I think we shall in a few days when I am apprehensive the conclusion will be agreeable to my wish.²

³ See no. 37, *post*. Lincoln's letter was doubtless that of Jan. 8 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, II. 375). See however the *Journals*, Feb. 7. Washington replied to Lincoln Feb. 27 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 204, ed. Sparks, VI. 474). See also Washington's letter to Don Juan de Miralles, the same date (*ibid.*, p. 476). A letter from Lincoln to the "Committee of Correspondence" Jan. 8 was read in Congress Feb. 15.

[37]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 53; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI. 53.

² Cf. no. 30, *ante*.

³ See no. 24, *ante*, and nos. 39, 41, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Feb. 1, 9, Mar. 11.

⁵ See no. 36, *ante*, and the *Journals*, Feb. 3, 11, 15; cf. no. 53, *post*. A postscript of Feb. 8 says, "Another Express is Just arrived from Genl. Lincoln", and gives an extract from Lincoln's letter of Dec. 22, mentioned in the *Journals*, Feb. 7.

[38]¹ Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Branch, MSS., 1660 to 1855, no. 55 (marked "no. 8").

² Cf. vol. IV., no. 694, note 2. Peabody probably alludes to action by the board of admiralty rather than by Congress. The board was particularly desirous at this time

The Vermont affair has not come on but will soon. Ira Allen has been going to and fro in the Earth and walking up and down in it, ever since the Month of November last and I am informed Jos. Fay and a Col. Roberson³ from the grants is in the City, but I have not seen Fay.

A Col. Olcott and Mr. Woodward are now here and their views appeare to me verry agreeable. I am of opinion They by no means wish to be seperated from the state of N. H. N. Y'rk with their usual industry will exert every nerve to bring their purposes to pass, but what will be the issue is to me uncertain⁴

The state will soon be called upon to fill up their Regiments so as to compleat about 1200 men, and to furnish their proportion of supplies for the Army, that we may be in a situation to carry on a Vigorous campaign the ensuing Year, or to Negociate to advantage if peace should be proposed.⁵

I am Dear Sir at 2 oClook in the morning Your most Obedient and verry Humble servant

NATHL. PEABODY

39. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 8th 1780.

Sir,

. . . . There is every reason to beleive Sir, that Spain will make a serious diversion in the Floridas, to which perhaps we can have no objection provided she does not extend her views on the Mississippi beyond the Latitude of 31, nor to an exclusive navigation of that river.²

The Convention at this place, have concluded to adjourn to the 1st Tuesday of April, and to give notice thereof to Virginia that she may then send commissioners if she thinks proper or otherwise let her determination be known.³

40. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO JOSIAH BARTLETT.¹

PHILADA. Feby. 8th 1780.

My Dear Sir,

Your Obliging favour of the 27th of Decr. Came to hand last evening And you may Depend upon my investigating the matters you refer to

of utilizing the proceeds of sales by Bradford for the completion of a ship at Portsmouth. See the letters to Bradford and to John Langdon in C. O. Paullin, *Out-Letters of the Marine Committee, passim*. Cf. no. 123, *post*.

³ Jonas Fay and Moses Robinson.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Feb. 1, 7, also no. 32, *ante*, and nos. 40, 43, 58, *post*.

⁵ With regard to the quotas of troops see no. 11, note 2, *ante*; cf. nos. 40, 41, 45, *post*. Concerning the question of supplies see nos. 42, 43, note 3, *post*.

[39]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 54; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI. 54.

² Ellsworth had previously summarized the news from Georgia conveyed in letters from Governor Walton and General Lincoln. See no. 37, *ante*; cf. no. 41, *post*.

³ See no. 30, *ante*. An extract from the minutes of the convention, with the several resolutions, Feb. 7 and 8, signed by Samuel Osgood as secretary, is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 15.

[40]¹ Haverford College, Roberts Coll., 722 (marked "No. 22").

without loss of time, and shall advise you of the true State of Facts so far as I shall be able to obtain them.

Mr. Livermore arrived here last Saturday, in good time as the Vermont affair is soon to come on before Congress. Vermont refuse to refer the Decision of the Matters in Dispute to be determined in the mode prescribed by the Resolves of Congress what operation that will have in the premises is uncertain. their agents are here with Powers to support their Independance and Enter into the Union, But not being Clothed with a weding Garment can they be received or even heard by Congress.

Agents are here from the Inhabitants on both sides of Connecticut River, who seem to be in favour of the State of New Hamp'e which is not a Disagreable Circumstance in our favour ²

Congress are about to Call upon the several States, to fill up their Battallions in the Continental Army and to furnish their respective Quotas of Supplies for the Army, and no time ought to be Lost to accomplish so important an undertaking, as much will depend upon the Exertion of the People, in preparing for the next Campaign. A prospect of pursuing the war with Success, or Negotiating a *peace* to advantage demand the same Noble Exertions on our part. The Quota of men to be Completed by N. Hamp'e will be about 1200 men in all.³

Our finances still remain in a deranged situation which greatly embarrasses every public proceeding.

41. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Febr'y 8, 80.

Mr. Lowell, whose Opinion *has had* weight with me, expressed himself when here against the Delegates communicating to any Individual of the respective Assemblies of their States what they did not think right to deliver officially to the Govern[ment]—but Laws of Secresy are so imposed at Times in Chesnutt Street that Communications can only go to Colleagues without *glaring* Criminality. I am sure it would be best for the Governm't of every State in the Confederacy to know what we know here. We must cut Throats another year at least, and we ought to do it vigorously. F and S ² will persist in strenuous Cooperation for the Purpose of *securing* our Independ'ce and *indemnifying themselves*. An armed mediation is not improbable, in which Case the last mediatorial offers of Spain may be taken up again so that Britain ought not at the End of the next Campaign to hold Possession of any Part of the Territory of the U. S's. Our Enemies do not meet with Countenance in Europe yet, but some Powers there may be *obliged* by *secret* Treaties, on certain Events, to interfere against our Interests, tho' unwillingly; disagreeable Terms

² See nos. 32, 38, *ante*, and nos. 43, 58, *post*.

³ See no. 38, *ante*, and nos. 41, 42, *post*. Holten records in his Diary under Feb. 5 (Saturday), "Mr Livermore arrived here from New Hampshire". He had been sent primarily for the purpose of assisting in the management of the Vermont affair. See vol. IV., nos. 633, note 2, 672, note 2.

[41]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² France and Spain.

of Peace or additional Force against us and our Allies may therefore become a necessary Alternative.

F is extremely desirous that we should put matters upon such a footing in regard to Spain that a *lasting* alliance may be formed; and hints at 4 points

1 a precise and invariable western boundary to the U. S's.

2 The exclusive navig'n of Mississipi to S.

3 The Possess'n of the Floridas.

4 The Lands on the left or eastern side of the Miss.

On the first S thinks we should go no farther west than was permitted by the royal Proclam'n of 1763.

On the 2d she thinks we have no Right because we have no Territory situated *on* the River.

On the third as it is probable S will conquer the Flor[i]das during this war every Cause of Dispute between us and her should be removed.

On the 4th that the Lands lying on the East Side which were prohibited by the Proclamation above named to be settled by the then Provinces are the Property of the K'g of Engl'd and proper Objects against which Spain may proceed for a *permanent Conquest*. S conceives that these States have no Right to those Lands, not having *possessed* them nor having a Claim in the Right of the Sovereign whose Gov't we have abjured. On this last we shall assuredly differ—the Others are all in a fair Train.³ We are standing stiff for Mass. that she sh'd not be still overburthened by Quota of Troops. We have the Ratio of Sept. 76 preferred to March 79, but still it is not right; however it will not, I fear, be altered at this very *critical* and *late* hour of providing for a vigorous Campaign. 6,070 will be requested from you in a day or two. I do not know that we can possibly get an Army unless Mass. perseveres in furnishing what I know she has judged her *Disproportion*.⁴ . . .

[P. S.] Majr. Osgood will be on his way home in a day or two.

42. THE NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA (RICHARD CASWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, February 9th, 1780.

Sir:

You will, before this arrives, have received some resolutions of Congress for recruiting the Army, a business of the highest importance at all times, but now peculiarly interesting by reason of the critical situation of public affairs, which requires the next campaign to be prosecuted with much vigor as may entirely expel the Enemy from every part of the United States. . . . The proportions of the several States are far from being estimated by any precise or satisfactory rule; and you will perceive

³ See the *Journals*, Jan. 25, 28, 31; cf. nos. 22, 39, *ante*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Jan. 24, Feb. 1, 4, 5, 9, and nos. 11 (note 2), 38, 40, *ante*, and no. 43, note 3, *post*. In the margin Lovell sets down the quotas of the several states, but has the Rhode Island quota at 800 instead of 810, and the Pennsylvania quota at 4805 instead of 4855. The Rhode Island delegates, in their letter of Feb. 15 (no. 49, *post*), do not mention that there had been such an alteration.

[42]¹ *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 334. The letter is signed by Penn, Burke, and Allen Jones.

a resolution for an equitable adjustment of the expense attending the raising and providing for such Troops as shall be found to be beyond the true proportions.

The ideas we have of the circumstances of the State we have the honor to represent determined us to endeavor to obtain a resolution for making all the efforts of the States for raising men, whether as Regulars or Militia, a common Expense. We remembered the vast sums disbursed by the State, and vast expenses incurred in calling out the Militia, and in making extraordinary exertions in a War whose object is common and whose operations, perhaps, have been less threatening to her than to her neighbor. We also foresaw that she must make still greater Exertions in consequence of the Enemy's having pointed their hostilities principally against the Southern States; and we deem it our duty, Especially as doubts were thrown out in Debate, to take the sense of Congress directly on the question in order that the General Assembly may be fully informed on a subject so interesting to their Constituents. We have failed in our motion, as you will see by the enclosed Extract from the *Journals*.² The States who voted against it are very apprehensive of very great and perhaps unnecessary expense being the consequence of such a resolution, were it to have retrospect, but seem to have no material objection to its future operations. As our State is much interested in the Restoration operations, we did not choose to move it in that form without more particular Instructions from the State.³

² See the *Journals*, Feb. 5, 9. Cf. no. 72, *post*. "Congress agreed to resolutions for filling up the army" (Samuel Holten, Diary, Feb. 9).

³ On Feb. 8 William Sharpe, in attendance during the greater part of 1779, rendered to the committee of accounts of the North Carolina assembly an account for his services and expenses during that year. The account (Library of Congress, Personal, Accession 2009) follows:

WILLIAM SHARPE TO THE COMMITTEE OF ACCOUNTS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA ASSEMBLY

The State of North Carolina to William Sharpe	Dr.	
15th March 1779 set out from my own house in order to attend Congress		
To paid expences traveling to Philadelphia.....	537.	Dollars
To paid for Boarding and Lodging from the 12th April to 10th May four weeks at 60 Dollars for self and 30 for Servant.....	360.	
To paid Ditto from the 10th May to 7th June 4 weeks at 75 Dollars for self and 30 for Servant.....	420.	
To paid Ditto from 7th June to 5th July 4 weeks at 100 Dol: for self and 40 for Servant.....	560.	
To paid Ditto from the 5th July to the 2d August four weeks at 100 Dollars for self and 40 for Servant.....	560.	
To paid Ditto from the 2d Augt. to the 30th four weeks at 100 Dol: for self and 40 for Servant.....	560.	
To paid for Ditto from the 30th Augt. to 27th Sepr. four weeks at 100 Dol: for self and 40 for Servant.....	560	
To paid for Ditto from the 27th Sepr. to 25th Octr. four weeks at 100 Dol for self and 40 for Servant.....	560	
To paid Ditto from the 25. Octr. to the 22d Novr. four weeks at 100 Dol for self and 40 for Servant.....	560	
To paid for Ditto from the 22d Novr. to 14th Decr. three weeks at 100 Dol: for self and 40 for Servant.....	420	5097
To paid for 4 Gal: Rum at 30 Dol: 120. 4 Gal: at 48 Dol: 192.....	312	
To paid 4 gal: at 53½ 213½—4 gal: at 60 Dol: 240.....	453½	
To paid 3 Gal: at 60 Dol: 180. 2 Gal: at 60 Dol 120 ½ Gal: at 60 Dol: 30.....	330	1095½.

43. THE NEW YORK DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA 9th Feby. 1780.

Sir,

The great Interest which our State have in the speedy Determination of the Controversy between it and the neighbouring States, as well as

To paid for 2 Gal : Wine at $53\frac{1}{3}$ 106 $\frac{2}{3}$. 4 Gal : at 75 Dol : 300.....	406 $\frac{2}{3}$.	
To paid 2 Gal Do. 80 Dol : 160. and 1 Gal at 100.....	260.	666 $\frac{2}{3}$.
<hr/>		
To paid for 18 lb Loaf Sugar 216 Dol : Limes and juce at sundry times 367	583.	
To paid for washing at various times from 5 to 12 Dol. per Doz.....	395.	
To paid a Barber at sundry times.....	317.	
To paid for Stationry News papers and sundry other small articles..	524.	
To paid for one Cord of Hickory firewood 214 $\frac{2}{3}$ dol : Candles 96 Dol :	310 $\frac{2}{3}$	2129 $\frac{2}{3}$
<hr/>		
To paid for one Suit of superfine Cloath 5 Shirts 5 Stocks 2 pair Silk Stockings 3 pair thread 2 pair Shoes one hat and a Suit for my Servant	5742	5742
<hr/>		
To paid for keeping two Horses in a Continental stable from the 12th April to 1st June 49 days at 6 Dol :	294.	
From the 1st of June to 1st Sepr. 92 days at 8 Dol :	736.	
From the first Sepr. to 14th Dec. 104 days at 10 Dol :	1040.	2070
<hr/>		
To paid my expences with a Servant and two Horses on my Journey home from the 14th Decr. to the 15th January.....	2464	2464
		<hr/>
		19264 $\frac{2}{3}$
<hr/>		
Cr. By a Warrant on the Continental Treasurer Dated in May 1779.....	2500	Dol :
By Ditto in August.....	4000.	
By Ditto in October.....	2500.	
Ditto in Novr.....	3000.	
Ditto in Decr.....	3500.	
<hr/>		
Total		15500.

I beg leave to observe to the Committee of the general assembly, that I am not possessed, nor have I ever seen the Resolutions of the Legislature relative to the Salaries or allowance to their Deleat[es] in Congress. Inasmuch as I am a stranger to the mode of settling such accounts at present, I have therefore stated the within in such a manner that the various dates will evince what time I have been in public service; so that it can be settled by a fixed salary or otherwise.

Every Gentleman will see that it would be impracticable to produce vouchers for many of the within mentioned expenditures. Were it not for sporting with the time of the Committ[ee] I could exhibit an account shewing what every dollar of my expenditures was for, and could manifest my expending many hundreds more than I have charged herein. Altho the expenditures are nominally large yet when it is divided by thirty, which is below the average price of articles in Philadelphia, it will give but 642 Dollars which no person engaged in public business could live decently on for the space of ten months even before the present revolution.

Whether the Legislature will make me any consideration for my time and service, remains with them; be that as it may I have the consolation to reflect that to the utmost reach of my capacity I have endeavored to serve my country.

With great respect, I have the honor to be

Gentlemen

Your Most Obt. Humble Servt.

WM. SHARPE.

Feby. 8th, 1780.

[43]¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Duane Papers, V. 133 (copy). The letter is signed by Floyd, Livingston, and L'Hommiedieu.

their own refractory Subjects in the North eastern Counties, lead us to take the earliest Opportunity of laying before you all that has passed in Congress relative to that Business, and to represent the disagreeable Situation in which we are placed by being unfurnished with the Act of Submission, and the necessary Materials for Defence.

We have ordered the Papers to be copied, and shall enclose them together with the entrys of them on the Journals. You will not be surprized that we made no Motion upon the Occasion, and contented ourselves with general Declarations, and a successful Opposition to their being committed, which was very much laboured. Had we done otherwise we shd. necessarily have brought on the Question—have your Legislature agreed to submit the matter? Are you ready for Trial? As both must have been answered in the negative, it would have put it in the Power of the other States, and even of the People upon the Grants, to insist upon an immediate hearing agreeable to the Terms of the Resolutions of Congress.²

. . . .
A report now laying before Congress for Quotas in kind for the Use of Army, and remitting two thirds of the tax to be raised to the State which shall furnish it. If this shd. pass and we should be able to make it retrospect we are confident that it will appear that we have already furnished all that will be demanded. we are anxious to be furnished with this Account, and the Prices at which taken as soon as possible.³ . . .

44. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby 10, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 9th Instant

Similar Copies of the Act enclosed are forwarded to all the States² except Georgia and Congress have under Consideration a general Regulation to make provision in future if necessary to recruit the Army annually in the month of January.³

P S. Your letter of the 30 Jany. hath been duly received

² Besides the letter of Fay, Robinson, and Bradley, Vermont agents, presented Feb. 1, and the representation of Olcott and Woodward, agents for the northern district of the New Hampshire Grants, dated Feb. 5 and read Feb. 7, the Vermont question was also brought before Congress Feb. 7 through the presentation by Samuel Livermore, who had just arrived, of an act of the New Hampshire legislature. The Vermont documents are in the *Clinton Papers*, V. 483-489. Cf. nos. 32, 38, 40, *ante*, and nos. 58, 81, 90, 93, *post*.

³ A committee for estimating supplies and apportioning quotas was appointed Dec. 17, 1779, and made a report Jan. 12, 1780. The report was considered in committee of the whole Jan. 17 and referred to a committee of one from each state. For further proceedings on the subject see the *Journals*, Feb. 9, 15-25, and nos. 38, 40, 41, 42, *ante*, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 87, *post*.

[44]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 294.

² The circular letter to the states is no. 45, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, Jan. 24, Mar. 11.

45. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular.

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 10, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 9th Instant ascertaining the number of men exclusive of Commissioned Officers for the Continental Army the next Campaign to be 35,211, which Congress deem necessary for the service of the present Year the Quota of each State being specified in the Act

You will observe that all the Men belonging to each State respectively now in the public service and whose time of Service does not expire before the last day of September next, whether they compose the Battalions in the line of the several States, those of the additional Corps including the guards, the artillery and horse, or the Regimented artificers in the department of the Quarter Master General and Commissary General of Military Stores, are to be credited to their respective States and accounted as part of their Quotas and each State is required to furnish their respective Deficiencies of their Quotas as above stated on or before the first Day of April next

You may expect to receive as soon as possible from the Commander in Chief or his order, an accurate return of the Troops now in service belonging to the state which will ascertain the deficiency to be furnished by the States respectively agreeable to the act enclosed.

As the Quotas apportioned to each State may be supposed not to be exactly Just you will observe Congress have made provision to pay the Expence any State hath incurred or may incur by furnishing more than their Just proportion of men

It is recommended to each State respectively in the strongest Terms punctually to comply with this Requisition by furnishing their respective Quotas of Men compleat without loss of Time.

Many powerful motives too obvious to need enumeration conspire to urge the propriety, policy, and necessity of having a respectable army ready to take the field early in the spring.

Vigorous exertions and a respectable Army in the field are the most sure means to prevent the necessity of another Campaign on the one hand, or on the other to crown it with the desired success and put a period to the Contest upon honourable Terms.²

46. JAMES LOVELL TO HENRY LAURENS.¹

Feb. 12th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . The great Points of recruiting the Army and providing Supplies for it, have prevented a Completion of Parts of Business that you

[45]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 292; *ibid.*, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI.; Mass. Arch., CCII. 50 (copy at p. 56); Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 A 151 (to New Hampshire); Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 58; N. C. Hist. Comm., Caswell Papers; N. C. State Recs., XV. 335.

² Cf. nos. 11, 38, 40-43, *ante*, and nos. 49, 54, 55, *post*.

[46]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 7129.

wrote about. But I really hope they will speedily be finished and sent forward to you.² We shall *certainly* fight another Year. Holland will therefore probably *not* treat of Alliance but will nevertheless place no Obstruction in yr. Way of borrowing Money from Individuals. Spain wants *all the East Side* of Mississipi. Here I think we must absolutely refuse. Her other Wishes are complied with already in the discretionary Powers to Mr. Jay.³

47. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WALTON.¹

PHILADA. Feby. 14, 1780.

Sir,

Your letter and also a letter from the Speaker of your Assembly which were forwarded by Capt. Clement Nash have been duly received and laid before Congress, though Capt. Nash was stopped by Illness as he informs me by letter in Virginia.²

Enclosed you will receive an Act of Congress of the 11th Instant expressing their Sense of the exertions, firmness and Zeal manifested by the State of Georgia under all their difficulties, and likewise approving of the plan adopted by the State of Georgia for reducing the four Battallions and having for their Quota the ensuing Campaign one Battallion of Infantry and one of Cavalry.

That the supernumerary Officers be considered as and entitled to the Privileges of other supernumeraries in the Continental Army.

I am also to inform you that a general Exchange of Prisoners is now negotiating and I have informed General Washington of the Case of Colo. Elbert which will have due attention paid to it, altho' Congress cannot at present promote Colo. Elbert in the Continental Line.³

By the act of Congress of the 12th Instant also herewith enclosed you will observe that a Warrent is issued in favour of the Governor and Executive Council of Georgia in the Treasurer of Virginia for three hundred thousand Dollars and the Board of War are to take the proper Measures to convey the same to Georgia. The other six thousand Dollars mentioned in the Act are advanced out of the Continental Treasury here

² Laurens had been appointed (Oct. 21) commissioner to Holland and left Congress Nov. 9 for Charleston. See Wallace, *Life of Laurens*, pp. 352, 353.

³ See the *Journals*, Sept. 28, Oct. 13, 1779, Jan. 31, 1780; also no. 49, *post*.

[47]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 299.

² These letters were laid before Congress Feb. 3. The speaker of the assembly at the time (Nov. 30) was William Glascock, the governor (Dec. 15) was George Walton. On Jan. 4 however Richard Howly was chosen governor and a few days later (Jan. 11), in view of the probable necessity of his having to flee the state to escape capture by the British, he was elected a delegate to Congress. See his credentials in the *Journals*, July 6. Capt. Clement Nash, the bearer of the despatches, had journeyed as far as Cumberland Court House in Virginia, whence, on Jan. 23, he had sent on the despatches by John Foster (see no. 48, *post*). An important part of the proceedings of the Georgia assembly transmitted by Governor Walton was an expression of the general hostility toward General McIntosh and a request for his removal. This feeling was pointed out by Walton in his letter, and more particularly in the letter of the speaker. See no. 53, *post*.

³ Col. Samuel Elbert, taken prisoner at Briar Creek Mar. 3, 1779, was shortly afterward exchanged.

and paid into the Hands of John Foster the Messenger whom Capt. Nash sent forward from Virginia with the Despatches and who now returns with these ⁴

48. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO CLEMENT NASH.¹

PHILADA. Feby 14, 1780.

Sir,

Your letter by John Foster together with despatches from Georgia have been duly received and laid before Congress, and the same Messenger now returns, charged with this letter, with a Number of Despatches of Importance for North and South Carolina and Georgia.

The Despatches are of such Consequence they must not be delayed one Day and if you are not able to proceed immediately you must see them forwarded with the greatest Despatch and Safety so as to prevent any delay or Miscarriage.

I have procured to be advanced out of the Continental Treasury six thousand dollars and paid to the Bearer John Foster agreeable to your Request also procured him a pair of Shoes and Saddle bags.²

49. THE RHODE ISLAND DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND (WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 15th, 1780.²

Sir,

Congress have come to sundry resolutions, determining the number of privates of which the army is to consist, and adjusting the quotas of the States, which we suppose are sent to the States; but as it is possible that they may not reach your Excellency so early as this letter, we will just mention that the whole number of privates is to be thirty five thousand, and our quota eight hundred and ten. We objected to the quota assigned to our state, and proposed that it should not exceed seven hundred men; but were not able to procure any reduction. Several other States made similar objections; but it was thought too late to alter the adjustments and set the matter afloat; and so the report stands as it was offer'd by the board of war, only with the qualifying resolution added to it which you will take notice of.³

⁴ President Huntington wrote to Governor Rutledge the same day enclosing the resolve of Feb. 12 requesting South Carolina to supply the military chest (Letter-Book, p. 297), and to General Lincoln conveying the resolves of Feb. 11 and 12, adding with respect to that concerning the reduction of the Georgia battalions: "This Act of Congress so far as it differs from any former Act relative to the same Subject you may have received you will consider as superseding the former." *Ibid.*, p. 298.

[48]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 300.

² See the *Journals*, Feb. 11, 12, and nos. 47, *ante*, 53, *post*; also Capt. Clement Nash to Governor Caswell, Mar. 6, in *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 350.

[49]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1779-1780, p. 70 (signed by Ellery and Collins); Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 273.

² A letter from Ellery to Governor Greene Feb. 15, relative to the regulating convention held in Philadelphia in January, which Ellery attended on behalf of his state, is in Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 272.

³ See no. 45, *ante*.

We received a letter last Saturday from Mr. Jay, our minister to the Court of Madrid, informing us that the *Confederacy*, off the banks of Newfoundland, met with a violent Storm which carried away her masts and Bowsprit, and obliged her to put away for Martinico, where she arrived the 19th of December. His letter was dated the 20th.⁴ . . .

50. THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Feby. 15th, 1780.

Sir,

Soon after our last Letter was sent off, Mr. Samuel Osgood arrived here from Boston, who, together with Mr. Gerry was authorized to represent the State of Massachusetts in the Convention for regulating prices, and Mr. Ellery also received a Commission from the State of Rhode Island. Whereupon it was thought advisable for the Convention to re-assemble, and after meeting several times, they came to some Resolutions, which we have the Hon'r now to transmit to your Excellency. It is uncertain whether any measures for limiting prices will be finally adopted. If the State of Connecticut shall think fit to pass a Law for that purpose, in compliance with the recommendation of Congress, We think it would be advisable to suspend the operation of it, until they are advised that the other States have passed similar Laws.

We hope that some Measures will be soon adopted for introducing a stable Medium of Trade, that will render a limitation of prices unnecessary.

Congress received a letter from Mr. Jay last Saturday, dated at Martinico, the 20th of December, giving an account that they arrived at that place the 19th of Decr. That the *Confederacy*, in which they sailed had lost all her Masts and rigging, and was other wise much Damaged; by a letter from Mr. Bingham, we are informed Mr. Jay and Mr. Gerrard sailed from thence for France in a French Ship, the 25th of Decr.

We need not acquaint your Excellency that the State of Connecticut will not be represented in Congress, after the first day of March next, unless a new Delegation arrives.²

51. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

PHILADELPHIA 15th Feby. 1780.

My dear sir,

I am much obliged to You for your Favour of the 20th Decr. by Major Osgood, who reached this City the 25th January, and left it for Boston

⁴ Jay's letter of Dec. 20 is not mentioned in the *Journals*, but Holten records under Feb. 12, "Congress recd. a letter from Mr Jay". One of Dec. 22 was however read Feb. 17, and letters of Dec. 24, 25 (two), 26, and 27 were read May 1. Except the last, these letters are in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 423, 435, 436, 446, 448. On p. 449 is a letter from Carmichael of Dec. 27, and on p. 450 a letter of that date from Jay to Franklin.

[50]¹ Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI. 64 (signed by Sherman and Ellsworth).

² In October, 1779, the Connecticut assembly renewed the commission of the delegates then in attendance until Mar. 1, 1780. See the *Journals*, Nov. 26, 1779, and Mar. 1, 1780.

[51]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

the 12th Instant. from him You will be able to collect a more particular account of the Proceedings of the Convention,² than what is contained in the Paper inclosed, and also some Information respecting Congress, who are at present engaged in levying a Tax in kind for the next Campaign.

I am happy to find that the Children of our late worthy Friend General Warren are in better Circumstances than what were represented in the proposed Subscription, but am nevertheless desirous that something may be done for their honorable Support, by Congress, the State, or private Benefactors. the Intentions of Congress will soon be known, and should the Sense of the State be taken on the Subject, it may then be ascertained whether any and what further provision will be necessary for the purpose mentioned. In Case of a private Subscription I really wish that it may originate in the State and that we may have an Opportunity of promoting it; but cannot consent to joyn in one that in its *Origin* or *Nature* is disrespectful to the State.³

Feby. 18th

I have detained this Letter a Day or two to give you some Information respecting the L——e of P——a⁴ which are laying the Foundation of what appears to me an undue, indirect, but extensive Influence, and, if so, will require the attention of the other States; but the Business of Congress respects Matters of great Consequence to the three eastern States and will not admit for the present of other Speculations. My best Respects to Mrs. and Miss Adams, the Doctor and all other Friends and be assured that I remain sir yours sincerely,

E GERRY

52. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO HORATIO GATES.¹

CARLISLE 16th Feby., 1780.

Dear General,

I cannot pass this natural Opportunity without expressing to you my present uneasy feelings and anxious apprehensions, on the distracted and melancholly State of our finances—I might as well say of our publick affairs—but my dear Sir the hour has Overtaken us, when the disease we mean has extended itself to many, very many, families and individuals in their limited circles of private life, as well as to that of our great publick concern. This grievance now obvious to every man of common candour and Observation, has for some time past been the Subject of my letters whether to Gentn. in, or out of Congress — together with such remedies as appear best adapted to our recovery, which in crude detail

² The convention for the limitation of prices. See no. 6, note 2, *ante*. Maj. Samuel Osgood had attended the convention as a delegate from Massachusetts. Holten records in his Diary under Feb. 12, "Major Osgood set out for Boston". *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 89.

³ Concerning the measures taken for the relief of General Warren's children see vol. III., p. 415 n., and vol. IV., no. 656, and p. 523 n.

⁴ The Legislature of Pennsylvania.

[52]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVI.

and without waiting for argument to support them, I shall now submit to your consideration also—forgive me good Sir you have considered them already, and that I presume with full conviction that nothing else (except a speedy Peace on which we ought not to presume) can possibly save us.

The first, and fundamental remedy is the *Regulation of Prices* through all our states by the publick *Authority of Law*. 2d, a Speedy determined and judicious *Reformation* of mistakes or abuses, in the two great departments of the *Staff*, including in it a *Retrenchment of Expences* Offices and Officers—and this by the by, cannot in my Opinion be effected otherwise than by several States, or their Commissioners perhaps best appointed in their respective Counties. 3d, The laying in of certain quantities of Grain, at the expence of the Owners in such Magazines as may be appointed, for which Carriage a moderate Miliage may be allowed, except in the distance of five miles, The Grain to be delivered at the regulated price, or pass in whole, or in part of the owners Tax. These measures at once simple, regular and virtuous, aided by such taxation as the people can bear, which by the way must be greatly lessened to what it now is—and by Domestick Loans, will by the Divine blessing carry us on until a foreign Loan can have time to Operate, but if these Steps be declined I dread to mention the approaching consequences. As for the Chimerically refined notions of Finance which some men have thrown out, they must be considered as so many Phantoms. The plain highway of Regulation by Law, appears now by fatal experience and dint of necessity the only rational line of our direction,—and however doubtfull many have been that such a Law cou'd not be put in execution, the more disinterested people here are lamenting the delay of this measure, and grieved to hear that very lately Virginia had sent no Commissio[n]ers to assist in binding up the bleeding wounds of this Country—shall they bleed to death, altho' made with our hands! is not this a kind of National Suicide? Shall poor jersey be constrained to repeal her virtuous Law? have we now any known value annexed to our currency even for the space of one Week. Is not all rational calculation at an end, and the use of figures become futile, are we not well pictured by a Ship on the Ocean without Helm or Rudder left to the mercy of the waves! But thanks to god only who commands the waves of our political Sea and may yet vouchsafe to take the helm into his Omnipotent hand. He reigns, let every honest heart and genuine Whigg be Glad! A wise and vigorous regulation must prove to our affairs at present as the main spring of a Watch to the wheels. no matter how many lesser amendments are made in our finances or how proper in themselves, if not fixed on this basis, the disease will recur—palliate they may and but a little, Cure they can not, having no radical powers. As to the Merchantile rule or Hackneyed Maxim that Trade only can regulate itself, I can scarcely speak of it with patience, but shall only say that Obstructed as our commerce is abroad by the Enemy, and by Speculators and Monopolizers, perverted at home, that general rule is with us highly exceptionable, and none but the interested or unobservant part of our Countrymen can with any propriety plead it in opposition to a

regulation by Law, which however arduous, is compelled by the present state of affairs and justified by necessity, as is every act, whether National or personal, that has virtue for it's motive and end.² We have very little news, for which I refer you to your Aid De Camp, And am Dear General with the tender of Mrs. Armstrongs best respects and mine to your Lady and Son, and congratulations on the presence of an Old friend at their fireside this very hard Winter,

Most Cordially Yours,
JOHN ARMSTRONG

53. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Feby. 16, 1780.²

Dear Sir,

. . . . Congress has taken so much notice of Govr. *Geo Walton's* Complaints about Brig McIntosh as to inform him his Service in the southern Department is dispensed with, conveying to him a Copy of the Governor's Letter and a Paragraph of one from the Speaker of the Georgia Assembly.³

I hope there has been no printed mention of my going abroad. Your News Papers are remarkable lately for more groundless Paragraphs than most others. I have been told of my name having thus got in. But I am far from Embarking and I own I am pleased, since I find how much Cabal enters into the Business.⁴ We are to discuss next Sat'day the Proposition for appointing a *Resident* with his official Powers to go to France instead of a Secy. to the Embassy.⁵ This will dignify the Place enough for R R Livingston. And I am somewhat inclined to think that our Affairs here make several wish to be away from the fatigue which they cause. I do not like the Scale of Influence abroad should have Weights

² Cf. no. 21, *ante*, and no. 95, *post*.

[53]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² "The Hon. the Medical com't met in my chamber." Samuel Holten, Diary, Feb. 16.

³ See no. 47, note 2, *ante*, and the *Journals*, Feb. 11, 15; also Lincoln to Washington Mar. 24, in *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 418. Sept. 6, 1780, a letter from William Glascock, dated May 12, was read in Congress, stating that General McIntosh had shown him the extract from the letter of Nov. 30, 1779, which, in accordance with the directions of Congress, had been transmitted to McIntosh by President Huntington. McIntosh had declared, according to Glascock, that this extract was not only a forgery but that he did not believe any such sentiment concerning McIntosh existed in Georgia. On the following day (Sept. 7) Walton, who had meanwhile taken his seat in Congress, drew up a memorial which he presented Sept. 8, explaining how the letter purporting to have been signed by Glascock as speaker came to be written, and asserting further that personally he was a friend to McIntosh. Glascock's letter and Walton's memorial were referred to a committee which brought in a report Sept. 19, and on Sept. 25 the act of Feb. 15 recalling McIntosh was confirmed. Subsequently (July 16, 1781) the act was repealed.

⁴ See vol. IV., nos. 569, 581, 684, 685, 688, 695. For Adams's comments see his letter of Mar. 5 (*Writings*, IV. 180).

⁵ The motion was made by Mathews of South Carolina Feb. 15. The question does not appear to have been taken up Saturday, Feb. 19, according to assignment, but on Apr. 17 it was taken into consideration and defeated. Two states (New York and South Carolina) voted solidly in the affirmative, New Hampshire gave one vote (Peabody) in the affirmative, and all other votes were negative.

from New York rather than from some other State. But I shall not encline to stand against R R L in the Nomination for the new office tho I will always allow myself to stand as a Check upon G'r M—s.⁶

54. ABRAHAM CLARK TO THE SPEAKER OF THE NEW JERSEY ASSEMBLY
(CALEB CAMP).¹

PHILADELPHIA, February 17, 1780.²

Sir,

The convention for regulating prices have adjourned till April, and I fear the attempt will prove abortive, Virginia seems to hang back, no members have attended from thence, and as far as I can learn none have been appointed, and their Legislature stands adjourned till May.³ I shudder at the prospect before us, a Vigorous War to prosecute, while our money reduced almost to nothing, is still depreciating with rapidity. The current exchange here Between hard money and paper is from 45 to 50 for one. In the market a paper Dollar is estimated at present at one penny and will soon be less than a half penny in all probability.

Congress have now under Consideration the apportionment of Supplies for the Army to be required of each state the present year. Our Quota at present stands at 18,000 hundred weight of Beef or pork, 10,000 barrels of Flour, 3,758 bushels of Salt, 3,500 Tons of hay, 30,000 bushels of Corn, Oats or buckwheat. The Estimate of Prices as follows. Flour 4½ dollars per hundred; Summer fatted Beef 5½ doll'r pr. neat hundred, fall fatted Do. 6½ dollars; stall fed killed after Jany., 7½ Dollars, fresh pork, 7 dollars per neat hundred; Salted pork, 22 dollars per barr'l containing 200 lbs., Salted Beef 17½ doll'rs per barr'l containing 240 lbs.; Indian Corn ¾ dollar per bush'l, oats ½, rie 1, Buckwheat ⅔ dollar per bush'l, best first crop hay 15 doll'rs per ton, Rum 1½ doll'rs per Gall., Salt 3 dollars pr. bush'l.

For my part I dislike the plan altogether, as purchases ought to be made where most Convenient having regard to the places where they are to be consumed and the prices in the several states which must depend upon the seasons in them, but I am assured the plan is agreeable to the wishes of our Legislature, by whose Opinion I shall always be governed. The Salt I fear will be procured with difficulty in our State, but as the prices above are all Estimated in Specie, and that article set at 3 dollars, I dare not refuse it to our state, Specially as other states wish for that article and offer to take it from us in exchange for flour or Other provisions at the Estimated prices. but as Salt is much higher estimated than any other article, I think we may exchange provisions for it to much greater advantage by private Contracts; or perhaps, by promoting the manufactory

⁶ Gouverneur Morris.

[54]¹ N. J. State Lib.; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 212; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XXXVI. 325.

² The date in *N. J. Rev. Corr.* is Feb. 7.

³ See nos. 23, 28, 30, *ante*, 60, 66, 67, 71, *post*.

of Iron on public acct. we may procure that article of salt in exchange for Iron, and save our provisions. In Case our Legislature shall desire to be freed from procuring the Salt by taking upon them the supply of other articles Equivalent in Value as Estimated, by signifying their pleasure thereon, I am persuaded the matter can be effected.

Thus far I had wrote before Congress took up the business of supplies this day. They had before gone through the Quotas and now took into consideration the Prices as reported by the Comm'ee, and have Agreed to the price of flour as above mentioned. The next under Consideration was the Price of Beef. this is not finished but will I believe pass agreeable to the report. many of us would be willing to Alter some Articles did we not see that it would derainge all we had before done without any Material Advantage, so that the prices I have mentioned, tho' only as reported from a Com'e from Each State will I believe be agreed to. Should any material Alteration take place so as to effect our state, we shall attempt a reconsideration of Quotas.⁴

I am, with all due respects to the General Assembly, your obedient and humble servant,

ABRA: CLARK

55. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby 19, 1780.

Sir,

The Decision of Congress yesterday "that I was not in Order in requiring the Yeas and Nays on the question of Order respecting the Motion which I had then the Honor to make" appears to me to be contrary to the *Rules* and *Practice* of the House, and to deprive me of the privilege of a Member thereof.

The *Rules* alluded to, are contained in the 10th and 12th Articles of those which were passed by Congress the 26th May 1778.

The *Practice* referred to, may be seen in the printed *Journals* of Congress of the Year 1779, wherein the Yeas and Nays have been taken on questions of order as follows, April 22, May 14th and 24, June 8th, July 30th, Octr 30th, and Decr 18th.

Having as I conceive clearly shewn that requiring Yeas and Nays on questions of order is warranted by the Rules and practice of the House, It may be proper to observe, that the following paragraph of a Report Vizt "Beef best grass fed which shall be delivered between the first of July and the 1st of Decr., shall be 5½ Dollars per hundred" was under the Consideration of Congress yesterday when I moved "that the paragraph of the Report of the Committee respecting the prices of Articles which were adjusted agreeable to the late Act of the State of N Jersey, be recommitted, and that, as the price of Flower is fixed by Congress agreeable to the price agreed on by the Convention of the States from New

⁴ The report of the committee for estimating supplies was brought in Feb. 9 and was debated from Feb. 16 to 25. Cf. nos. 38, 40, 43, 45, 49, *ante*, and nos. 55, 58, 60, 65, 67, 69-71, 87, *post*.

[55]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. X., f. 219; Mass. Arch., CXLII. 220.

Ham[p]shire to Pennsylvania inclusively, held at N Haven in January 1778, the Committee be directed to adjust the prices of other articles in the proportion adopted by the Convention", and that upon a question, whether the Motion was in Order I appealed to the House and required the Yeas and Nays, whereupon the president taking the sense of the House declared that the calling the Yeas and Nays in this Case was by the House determined to be out of Order.²

If the Decision of the House affected me only in a private Capacity, I should not hesitate a Moment to pass it over in Silence, altho my Feelings would be injured by being denyed a privilege which other Members under similar Circumstances had enjoyed; but as it affects me in a public Character, I am reduced to the disagreeable alternative of giving up what appears to me an important privilege of a Member of the House, or of defending the same against the Determinations of a Body, whose Honor I have much at Heart and shall always endeavour to support. the former, I am not authorized to do, and therefore I shall defend the privilege to the best of my abilities and leave the State which I have the Honor to represent to do the Rest.

Congress have wisely endeavoured so to frame their Rules, as to give every Member an Opportunity of shewing his Conduct to his Constituents, and I hold this as a privilege essential to the Interest of the publick, and to the Honor of every Member of Congress; for without it, should a Majority of the Members at any Time be arbitrary both in principles and practice, which I sincerely hope will never be the Case, they would oblige the others to leave the House, or suffer unmerited Censure.

In the present Case many precedents have been and more may be produced to shew that the Yeas and Nays have been frequently called on questions of Order, some of which have been determined in the Affirmative and others in the Negative; and if the House undertakes to determine on what Motions the Question of Order shall be decided by Yeas and Nays, I conceive that their Rules will only serve as Cobwebs to catch Flies, or in other words as pretexts to enable a Majority, if arbitrary, to bring on the Journals such part of the Conduct of each Member as they may think proper, and thus put a favorable appearance on their own unjustifiable proceedings, whilst they stigmatize those of the Minority, however wise or virtuous.

² The measure under consideration was the report of the committee on quotas and supplies (see nos. 43, note 3, 54, note 4, *ante*). Gerry is recorded in the *Journals*, Feb. 17, as having made motions to amend the report on the questions of the price of flour and the price of grass-fed beef, and also as having called for the yeas and nays on both questions. The proceedings on the 18th to which he refers (if they actually occurred on the 18th and not on the 17th, as seems probable) are not recorded in the *Journals*, nor even alluded to. Gerry at once absented himself from Congress (he does not appear among the yeas and nays on the 18th) and did not return, although he remained in Philadelphia for some months. See, further, nos. 59, 124, 137, 180, *post*. On a copy of the rules of May 26, 1778, which, together with other rules and resolutions, Gerry furnished in connection with his presentation of his case to the Massachusetts assembly (Mass. Arch., CXLII. 225-226) is found the following note: "N. B. In my Letter to Congress of the 19th Feby the 12th rule is referred to for the 16th." The reading appears to be "16th", but probably the 13th is meant, as rule 16 has no application to this case.

I think it peculiarly hard in the present Case, when the paragraph of a Report was under the Consideration of Congress, which as it respected some of the States appeared to me to operate great Injustice, and I made a Motion to prevent it, that the question of Order should be agitated; that the Decision of the House thereon should preclude me from their Sense on the Motion; and that whatever Reason I may have to suppose that Decision improper, I should be prevented from shewing the Impropriety or even the *Existence* thereof.

The House will probably remember that in a similar Case, when the Report for recruiting the army was under Consideration, I waved my privilege of appealing to the House on the question of Order, to prevent altercations on the question of privilege, and afterwards produced to them many of the precedents quoted herein, in Hopes that by convincing the House of the Facts, all Disputes relative thereto would have been afterwards prevented.

I am unhappy, that any part of the present Time of Congress should be spent on a question of Order; I did not agitate it, and only required a Decision in the usual Mode.

I shall only add Sir, that I think it my indispensable Duty to repeat my Requisition, as a Matter of privilege, that the Sense of the House be taken by the Yeas and Nays, "whether the Motion which I made yesterday for recommitting the paragraph of the Report respecting Prices then under the Consideration of the House, was in Order"; and I shall be under the Necessity of regulating my Conduct by the proceedings of the House on this Requisition

I have the Honor to be Sir with Respect

your most obed and very huml Sevt

E GERRY

56. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 22 Feby. 1780.

Sir,

By a Gentleman just arrived from the Havannah who left that place the 31st of Decem'r, I am informed that a Fleet lay in that Port ready to sail with between three and four thousand Troops supposed to be destined for Pensacola or Augustine.

That on their Passage to this Port they fell in on the 7th of January with the fleet that sailed from New York in Decem'r as they suppose, some fifty leagues from Land off against Georgia as near as he could judge. the weather being foggy, when they Discovered their Situation they made their Escape as soon as possible without being able to determine the number of Vessels in the Fleet, Condition, or Destination.

[56]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

57. THE BOARD OF WAR TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

WAR OFFICE Feby 22nd, 1780.

Sir,

. . . . In addition to those above mentioned² the board have sent all the returns in their possession. They do this in Consequence of your letter of the 17th instant being just now sent them by Congress. They are fearful that if they send in a report on that letter it may give an opportunity to some Gentlemen not well satisfied with the former resolution of unsettling the whole business, and by that means retard, instead of accelerating the Levying the Troops. They were about reporting originally on the plan mentioned by your Excellency, but found the Calculation they were enabled to make from the documents in their possession would be extremely inaccurate, and it was suggested that it would be better to get the Totals of the Quota's settled first, and let the deficiencies be an after consideration, supposing that the States on receiving the resolution would take the necessary previous Measures, and especially that it would prompt the Executives of the Governments whose Assemblies were not sitting to call them together, and by the time they were met your Excellency would have collected the necessary Information. But they see embarrassments take the matter in every point of view. Would it therefore not be best for your Excellency to make the best Calculations your present materials afford, and send an account of their supposed deficiencies to the respective States, and if you thought proper, you might inform them of more accurate returns being about collecting, and that so soon as you were enabled, exact information would be sent? Yet this latter might give pretexts for procrastination to dissatisfied States. At any rate they conceive it best not to stir the thing in Congress where great delay arose in the progress of the first report, on which the present resolution is founded from some of the Members disliking the comparative settlement of the Quota's.

Your Excellency will excuse the board, suggesting to you their opinion, and consider the reasons they assign as most proper for your private Information, than as coming *officially* from them. The State of Pennsylvania has been furnished with all the information the board could give, being requested thereto by the President, and the Assembly mean to invest the Executive of the State with Power to act in the case, in the recess of the Assembly, which might be a proper footing for every State whose assembly is likely to rise before the receipt of accurate returns, to put the Matter upon.

[P. S.]

[57]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (signed Richard Peters, "By order").

² In compliance with requests from Washington, Feb. 15 and 18, the board sent the returns of various corps and remarked that they were unable to furnish the other information which Washington had requested.

58. EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, February 22, 1780.

Sir,

We have for some time past daily expected Mr. Duane or Mr. Scott with the Act of Assembly, and the papers respecting the New Hampshire Grants. I do not know that the delay on our part hitherto has been attended with any greater disadvantages, than would reasonably be expected. It has encouraged the Vermonts, and is considered by their friends here as a circumstance in their favor.

The Attorney General from New Hampshire is now confined with the small pox by inoculation, and will not likely attend in 8 or 10 days: so that nothing will be done in the business till March, in all probability. The agents from Vermont are gone home without receiving any answer from Congress: those from the East side of the mountain still continue here waiting for the trial: some gentlemen are going home this week, who are the greatest friends to the proceedings of the people on the Grants, and probably will not return till after the hearing of the cause, which will be no disadvantage to us.²

Congress have for some time past been busily employed in forming estimates of supplies to be furnished by the different States for the ensuing campaign, and fixing prices to the particular articles; which has been attended with much difficulty, as always I believe is the case, when quotas are to be fixed: I expect it will pass in a few days, as the greatest part of the report has been agreed to though 'tis likely some alterations may be made. I enclose you a copy of the supplies required, and the prices as they now stand in which is included the necessary supplies for the Navy twelve months, and the supplies requested by our Allies. I hope this measure if pursued will be attended with the good effects expected from it, at the same time I fear more difficulties will be experienced in carrying it into execution than is at present imagined. If the money should continue to depreciate, as it has lately done here, it will be difficult for the States to furnish their quota of supplies, and pay one third of their tax into the Treasury, as is expected.³ . . .

59. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

PHILADELPHIA 22d Feby. 1780.

Sir,

I am informed by some of my Collegues, that Congress have not yet considered the Letter which I had the Honor of addressing them the 19th Inst containing a Remonstrance against their Decision of the preceeding Day, which I conceived had deprived me of an essential privilege of a

[58]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XII. 100.

² Cf. nos. 32, 38, 40, 43, *ante*, and nos. 60, 81, 90, 93, *post*.

³ Cf. no. 54, note 4, *ante*.

[59]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. X., f. 205; Mass. Arch., CXLII. 177.

Member of the House. the Reason assigned for this is, that some Gentlemen objected to my Mode of proceeding as unparliamentary, and said, that a Member who supposes his privileges invaded, should remonstrate in his place and may there be heard.

I know of no Resolution of Congress for governing their proceedings by Rules of parliament, neither will they apply in general, or in the present Case. nevertheless, I shall readily attend Congress, if they think it expedient, but cannot consent to take my place for these amongst other Reasons; *that* I have not the privilege *in Congress* of other Members, and *that* every Member, by the Rules of the House may require my Voice upon any question agitated and put whilst I am in Congress, in answering which I shall betray my Cause. When Disputes respecting privilege are not between Congress and a Member, the latter may complain in his place without these Inconveniences.

I conceive that the privilege contended for, is an essential one, and that without it, a Member cannot discharge his Trust. Congress have veiw'd it in this Light, or I presume they would not have ingrafted it into the Confederation; and twelve of the States are of the same opinion, or they would probably never have ratified it, without objecting to the Article establishing this privilege.

Several Days have elapsed since my absence from Congress, during which Time they have proceeded in the important Business under Consideration at the Time of my leaving it. if I ought to be restored to the privilege claimed, Congress will perceive, that in the present Case a Delay of Justice is a Denial of it to the State which I have the Honor to represent so far at least, as I am able to render it any services in Congress.

Congress will consider, or not consider, my Letter, and grant or refuse my Claim, as to them may seem meet; I am no Way solicitous about the Event, as it respects me personally; but as a Member of the House and Citizen of the united States wish to prevent a Measure which if confirmed by Congress, will as it appears to me, strike at a fundamental principle of the union.²

I have the Honor to be Sir with all due respect

Your most obt. and very [humble] Sevt.

E GERRY

60. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADA. Feby. 22d, 1780.

Sir,

I have the hon'r to inclose you the Transactions of the late Convention of Commiss'rs from the Eastern States, held in this City.² . . .

Nothing recent from Europe worth your Notice except that measures are adopted by France and Spain for Carrying on a Vigorous Campaign the ensuing year. I dread the Consequences of Calling upon the States for

² See the *Journals*, Feb. 22, and no. 55, *ante*; also nos. 124, 137, 180, *post*.
[60]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VII. 114.

² See nos. 18, 21, 23, 28, 30, 54, *ante*.

such Aid and Assistance in the present deranged state of our finances, as will enable us to Co-operate with our Allies in Carrying on the War with Success, or procuring a permanent, and advantageous Peace.

Congress are making out apportionments, and estimates for men and Supplies, which if I augur right will cost some time and Trouble or Else their Calculations will by no means Suit the meridian of N Hamp'e.³

You will also find inclosed the Copy of Charges exhibited by Col. Hazen against I. Tichener and *Others* as also an account when and where the ensuing is to be made. I Conceive it my duty to give this information that the State might have opportunity to add their assistance if Necessary, to investigate those fraudulent practices.⁴

61. JOHN COLLINS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA, February the 22, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I Received yours of the 18th yesterday and will Endeavor to give all the information I Can at present.

I have not heard any mention of your Resignation Since my Return to Congress, Neither have I heard of any New arrangement in your Department nither do I think there will be any soone.² European News we have none, and as to Peace, I can onely give you my opinion, which is we shall have no Peace this year, and my reasons for it is, Spain are not yet Ready for a Peace, they will conquer the Floredies and the Eastern banks of the Massicipi and will have to Settle with Congress how far they Shall extend East, this is onely my Opinion and the idea I have of what Spain will Clame, they undoubtedly will take Special Care to keep the united States from their Maxican Dominions and Shet all the world but themselves out of the Bay of Maxico and leave the Floradies and what they may obtain East of the Massicipi a wilderness to prevent the united States from giting too near their Strong Box; from the above you may Collect my ideas of Peace and the views of Spain.

as to money maters I can onely Say I hear dayly Complaints of the poverty of the treasury. We are now on the Report of the Committee for Settling the propotion Each State Shall Supply for the Support of the Armeiy if anything heave up relating to your Department, I will give you timely notice.

I am With Great Regard

your friend and humb'e Servt.

JOHN COLLINS

N. B. anything in my Power to inform you that Relates to you or your Department you may enquier with great freedom.

³ Cf. no. 54, note 4, *ante*.

⁴ Isaac Tichnor was deputy commissary of purchases at Coos, N. H. The others involved in Hazen's charges were Jacob Bayley, deputy quartermaster-general, and Matthew Lynes, deputy commissary of issues at the same place. Washington ordered a court-martial on Tichnor and Bayley and a court of inquiry on Lynes (letter to Col. Stephen Moylan Mar. 8, to Col. Joseph Cilley Mar. 9, in Washington Papers).

[61]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² See no. 26, *ante*, and nos. 68, 77, 109, 110, *post*.

62. JAMES LOVELL TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

General Washington

PHILADA. Feb. 23d, 1780.

From Expressions in some of your Excellency's Letters to Congress and in one lately to Baron Steuben I conceive that you imagine us more regularly informed than we have actually been about European Affairs—particularly about our Interests in France.

The Correspondence with our Ministers at foreign Courts passing especially under my Eye and Finger, I wish you to be persuaded that I will not omit giving you any Information in my Power from time to time which I can judge may conduce either to your Ease in the Formation of military Plans, or to your Relief under Anxi[e]ties about Supplies expected from Europe.²

With the latter View, I was putting some Facts together to warrant a Conclusion that our Letters to the King of France, and Invoices to our Minister there had arrived on the 10th of September. Luckily however I am not left to Inference, a Packet having come to my Hand from Doctor Franklin dated September 30th in which he mentions the Receipt and consequent Presentation of those Letters and Invoices. He signifies only his *Hopes* of obtaining all or a great Part of the Articles. But the Minister of France here had some Weeks ago known under a Date of October from Versailles that Supplies were certainly ordered, tho' it was not clear till now that such Order was posterior to a precise Knowledge of our Wants being conveyed to the King.

This is the only Letter received from Doctor Franklin since one of May 26 last year which came to hand Augst. 17th following.

Doctor Lee under Date of Decr. 8th from Paris has covered the King of England's Speech to his Parliament on November 25th and Sir Joseph York's Memorial to the States General of Holland on the 26th both which you will see in the Gazettes of Philada. They are uncommonly modest.³ I do not however conclude that England is without any Friends in Europe merely because no mention is made of them in the Speech from the Throne. For, Those should not be boasted of as Friends on one Side who mean to step out soon as Mediators between contending Parties. Nor is it good Policy to forearm a Foe by publishing well founded Expectations of new Aids.

The Stories of the Display of our 13 Stripes in Holland may be perhaps pleasing to certain Classes here, but I have some Proofs that Things have been conducted rather in Conformity to Dutch Politics, and in a

[62]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² Washington replied Mar. 4, touching all the principal matters in Lovell's letter. Concerning the matter of European news he said: "Be assured, Sir, I am fully persuaded that no intelligence on your part will be withheld that may be considered essential or assisting in the discharge of the duties of my station" (Library of Congress, Washington Papers). The letter from Washington to Steuben is probably that of Feb. 8 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 193, ed. Sparks, VI. 464).

³ Franklin's letter of Sept. 30 is in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 354; that of Arthur Lee, Dec. 8, *ibid.*, p. 419.

manner that will be productive of more solid Benefit than the Pleasure of indulging the little proud Affectations of our rising Navy.⁴

I am, with much Esteem

Your Excellency's Most humble Servant

JAMES LOVELL

63. THE MARYLAND DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

Sir,

We herewith forward to your Excellency the Act of Congress relative to furnishing the Officers with Cloathing, and in Compliance with your Requisition, moved that you might have Permission to draw on the Continental Treasury in the State for reimbursing such Supplies. The Congress declined to give their Opinion upon the Subject, and committed it to an especial Committee. when they report, we shall not fail to give you the Result of their Deliberation. in the mean Time, we think no ill Consequence can attend drawing on that Fund for the above Purpose.²

PHILADELPHIA Feb: 23d 1780.

64. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[February 23, 24, 1780.]

23. The Hon. the medical com't met in my chamber.

24.² Congress sit late upon very important matters.³ I wrote to the council of Massachusetts.

⁴The allusion is probably to accounts of the landing on the Dutch coast of John Paul Jones's squadron with prizes. See *ibid.*, III. 364, 367, 370, 375, 378, 384, 395-399, 404-408, 411, 419-426, 430-431.

[63]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 94 (signed by Plater and Forbes); *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 432.

² See the *Journals*, Feb. 23, 24. The letter to the delegates is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 88 (in council minutes of Feb. 17). The act which the governor requested and which the delegates transmitted was that of Nov. 25, 1779.

[64]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 90.

²The following is an entry in the *Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer* under this date: "1780, February 24. Went to the Treasury Board and applied for money to enable me to purchase forage for the horses belonging to the members of Congress, agreeable to resolve of Congress."

The resolve referred to was doubtless that of Feb. 16, directing Hiltzheimer to purchase necessary forage "for the use of the horses under his direction". The warrant (twenty thousand dollars) was ordered Feb. 26. A resolve of Oct. 13, 1779, had directed Hiltzheimer to provide for the horses belonging to members of Congress, but the commissary-general was instructed to supply the necessary forage and an account of its cost. Hiltzheimer was in turn to furnish each member from time to time with an account of the expense of keeping his horses, and the members were to make payment to the paymaster of the board of war. A further order for forty thousand dollars for the purpose was granted Mar. 23, and another for the same amount Apr. 20. See no. 176, *post*.

³The business was consideration of the report of the committee for estimating supplies. It was finished the next day, whereupon Holten wrote in his Diary, "Congress called upon the States for large supplies".

65. JAMES LOVELL TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

Feb. 24th, 1780.

Sir,

I forward the Gazettes to Boston for you as usual without knowing when they will find a Passage. Your Letter of Decr. 30² and one from Doctor Lee of Decr. the 8th came to hand two Days ago, yr. prior being May 26, recd. Aug'st 17th. I hope you have got News Papers from me often, tho' I have written few Letters.

The commercial Committee are impressed with your Sentiments respecting Draughts. They are a mere Name at present. I hope that Branch will for a Time be connected with the Admiralty Board till a new Arrangement can be formed to be executed by Persons not Members of Congress.³ We are about calling on the States according to the Staples so that the Prospect of suitable Remittances is enlarged. This Plan is consequent upon the Resolve of Decr. 14th.

I am, with great Respect, Sir

JAMES LOVELL.

[P. S.] The Chevalier de la Luzerne has expressed to me an Anxiety because we do not correspond by Cypher. I early communicated to you from Baltimore a very good one tho a little tedious like that of Mr. Dumas.⁴ I enclose you a Sample at this Time.

[65]¹ Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers, XVIII. 81; Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I., f. 263 (letter-book copy); Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 517. The letter in the Franklin Papers is marked "2plicate" and is addressed "Honorable Doctor Franklin, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America in France". It also bears a notation, presumably by the bearer, "James Lovell Cypher To be sunk in case of Danger".

² In his letter to Washington Feb. 23 (no. 62, *ante*) Lovell gives the date of Franklin's letter as Sept. 30, which is correct. That is the date in *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, and in the letter-book copy, which Wharton used. In the duplicate Lovell probably wrote "Decr." inadvertently.

³ A new committee of commerce had been constituted Dec. 14, 1778, and there appear to have been some hopes that thereafter the committee would lead a more useful existence. John Jay declared however in a letter to Washington Apr. 26, 1779, that the committee was then useless, and he gave some reasons why the business of this committee was not put on a different basis (vol. IV., p. 177). The committee itself, in a letter of July 19 to Oliver Pollock, apologized for its remissness in answering Pollock's letters, explaining that it was usually in a chronic state of dissolution, and made promise, by the hand of one member, Francis Lewis, to do better in future (*ibid.*, p. 330). Lovell indicates that the promise had not been kept, but this could not have been wholly because of the absence of its members. That the committee had many meetings in 1779 is evidenced by the Diary of John Fell. The committee appointed Dec. 14, 1778, consisted of Henry Laurens, Meriwether Smith, Francis Lewis, James Searle, and John Fell. Nov. 22, 1779, Cyrus Griffin took the place of Laurens, who had recently taken his departure, and Cornelius Harnett the place of Lewis, whose term had expired. Meriwether Smith had withdrawn at an even earlier date, but there is no record that his place on the committee was filled. Three members of the committee (a quorum), namely, Fell, Griffin, and Searle, were however in attendance at the time Lovell was writing. Why therefore he should have declared the committee to be one in name only is not quite clear. June 13 two new members, Edward Telfair and Timothy Matlack, were added, but Griffin, who had been appointed to the Court of Appeals, withdrew at once, probably the same day, and Searle took his departure not long afterward. No new appointments appear to have been made until Nov. 28.

⁴ For an explanation of the cipher communicated to Franklin by Lovell see this editor's note on "Ciphers of the Revolutionary Period", in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII.

66. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Feb. 24 [1780].

Dear Sir,

Besides the *Journals* of Jany. 1780 I send you two Pamphlets containing the Treaties between us and France in the Language of both Countries. When the Sheets were partly struck off order was given that they should not go into the *Journals* for other Reasons than because they were badly printed, badly, owing [to] the Want of Accents. I made the Printer complete a few of the Treaties as he had got the last Proof corrected before the Decision to leave the Sheets out of the *Journal*.²

We are bogueing in Congress, much divided upon a Report consequential of our promise made Decr. 14. It is impossible to be accurate but crying Iniquity may be avoided. The two great Rocks are, Shall we *now* state the prices at which the similar Articles shall be credited to all the States? shall we do it in *spanish Dollars*, would or would not the last totally destroy our Paper, that very Paper with w^{ch} the States must purchase³

67. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹Circular²

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 26, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 25th Instant by which the several States are called upon to procure their respective Quotas of Supplies for the ensuing Campaign in the Articles and Quantities specified in the Act.

Congress in assigning the Quotas have endeavoured to suit the Circumstances and Convenience of each State as far as possible.

You will observe that the prices affixed to the several Articles are in Spanish milled Dollars and the accounts are to be kept and finally settled in like Currency as a fixed Standard in order that equal Justice may be

329. For one instance of a limited use of the cipher see Lovell to Gates Mar. 1, 1779 (vol. IV. of these *Letters*, p. 84). For other instances see his letters of June 26, July 21, Aug. 10, Sept. 15, Dec. 4, 1781, in the next volume.

[66]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² Cf. no. 35, *ante*.

³ The debates concerning prices began Feb. 15, and the act was completed Feb. 25. See no. 54, note 3, *ante*, and nos. 67, 71, 87, *post*. By the "promise made Decr. 14" is meant the resolution of that day relative to quotas of supplies.

[67]¹ The text here used is that of the letter addressed to "His Excy the Govr. of South Carolina" (John Rutledge), kindly furnished by Mr. Fred M. Steele of Chicago, through the courtesy of Professor M. W. Jernegan. Other texts are: Mass. Arch., CCII. 76; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI.; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 26; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 434; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XII. 102 (to New York); *ibid.*, XII. 404 (to South Carolina); Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 303; *ibid.*, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI. 74.

² This circular was sent to the governors of all the states except Georgia, which was excluded from the arrangement "on account of her particular circumstances" (see the *Journals*, Feb. 1). Feb. 29 the President sent the act to Governor Richard Howland also (no. 70, *post*).

done to all the States and to prevent the great Inequality of Prices which hath happened in some Instances in different States and places for Articles of the same kind and quality

As it is not in the power of Congress at present to determine the just quota of each State, they have made provision in this as in former Acts that Justice shall be done to each State in the final Settlement of their accounts.

It is supposed that each State will cheerfully take upon themselves to furnish, collect and deposite the provisions and articles assigned to them respectively which being done will supersede the necessity of purchasing Commissaries and quartermasters in the several States.

In order to enable the States the more easily to comply with this act of Congress you will observe they are excused from paying into the Continental Treasury two thirds of the Monies which they were called on to raise monthly for [the use of]³ the United States by the Resolution of the 6th of October last.

Congress have thought it expedient to form the Estimate of supplies as large as would be necessary for the most vigorous Exertion in any Case that may be with probability supposed; but as the Scene of Action may change or from a Variety of other Causes and unforeseen Events the quantity of Supplies necessary to be furnished by all or any of the States cannot be reduced to a Certainty it is expected the Commissary General will give due notice to the several States of the kind and quantity of articles wanted from time to time, that they may be collected or deposited at the places assigned by the Commander in Chief.

The Importance and Necessity of a substantial Compliance with this Act of Congress are so obvious that nothing farther seems necessary to be added to excite the most vigorous Exertions on the part of the several States to carry the same into Execution.

68. JOHN COLLINS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. the 26, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I Wrote you the 20 instant² their had been then no mention of your affairs but on the 23 the Reports of treasury were Read, and two warrants on the Treasury pass'd in favour of your Deputy which I make no doubt you have Received account of before you Receive these

and mention was made about Regulations but were drop'd untill the incloasd plan was finished, and we had learned what affect it would have on the publick and your Department—it passed the finishing Stroak the 25 and will be Emeaditly Sent to the differant States. I must Confess it appears to me like takeing a leap in the dark—and Crouding the Ship through a Strait amongst Rock and Sholes in a thick fog. we may Run

³ The words in square brackets are not found in the letter sent to the governor of South Carolina.

[68]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² Presumably no. 61, *ante*, although that letter is dated Feb. 22.

the Ship a Shoar she may *poke* through : I have inclosed the plan and you will Judge for yourself.³

at all times when your leisure will permit a line from you Will be agreeable.

I am With unfain'd Regard yours

JOHN COLLINS

69. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Feb. 28th. [1780.]²

Dear Sir,

The Report which I hinted at, to you in my last, has passed, and will doubtless be officially sent by the Post Tomorrow.³ But, as Mr. Fessenden may get early to Boston, I inclose a Sketch which I made use of during the Debates. I do not chuse seperately from my Colleagues to descant upon the Principles of the Report. But I entreat that you would use your utmost Eloquence to promote this Business and every other essential to a *vigorous Campaign*. And I must confidentially entrust you with an Anecdote to prompt yr. Zeal. The Cheval'r De la Luzerne, from the purest Motives and a most cordial anxious Concern about the Affairs of America and the Alliance, was writing a circular Letter to the Govrs. and Presidts. of the respective States by way of friendly Stimulus, but his Delicacy led him to inclose his Sentiments to the Presidt. that the Opinion of the Delegates might be had. The *Letter* was a very good one; but the *Measure* was not agreeable,⁴ for several Reasons which an *old Veteran*, as you have been tautologically called, will easily conceive, at least upon casting yr. Eye over the 6th Article of the Confederation. I own that I felt no Zeal of Jealousy on this Occasion. But since the matter has been agitated and delicately quashed, I hope there will not hereafter be any Room to say that Congress have not Influence with the States nor chuse to let the Minister of France try his. He certainly has a Right to *treat* with particular States thro' Congress by the sd. 6th Article, in Implication. Surely then he may in that Chanel *exhort* and *stimulate* to the Fulfillment of Measures recommended by Congress. However, This being not the Question now, I recur to my Entreaty that you would be earnest in promoting all measures for a *vigorous Campaign*. Tho' we were enjoyned Secrecy; yet the Minister had no Idea that the *Governments* of the States should not know that there is some probability of an *armed* Negotiation; when the Proposals made last y[ea]r by Spain may be again advanced. The Enemy therefore should not be allowed to hold

³ See nos. 66, note 3, 67, *ante*.

[69]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² The letter is endorsed, "J. Lovell, Feb. 28th, 1778", and is found among the papers of that year.

³ The resolutions of Feb. 25 relative to quotas and supplies. See nos. 66, note 3, 67, *ante*.

⁴ The *Journals* contain no record of this matter; but see nos. 91, 92, 97, *post*.

any Parts of the United States on the Day of Cessation of Hostilities. We may be assured of the Resources of the Realme of France being used for the Purposes of grand Diversions in our Favor as well as Cooperations here if we get into a Condition for Vigor.

The order for this Day was to determine where we shall move to. That is put off for a Fortnight. I am well satisfied we shall not move at all.⁵ Another order for this day was a report upon the Letter from our State; put off till Tomorrow.⁶ It will cause much debating for I will strive to have something definite; whereas the Report touches only the charging all past Advances and Encreases of Pay as Deductions in the States Account against the Officers and Men. But it ought to be known whether the whole is to be a continental Expend.

I add herewith an Extract of the Ministers Communications. I give it to you as a Secret and no Secret to make the most judicious use of in yr. Power. I only say it is not a News Paper Business.

Yrs. affectionately

J L

29th Mr. Brailsford arrived this morning and has delivered a Letter with Instructions about the Penobscot affairs⁷ and Col. Allen the Agent

Fessenden has dilly-dallied and will be chopping and changing on the Road therefore I send all by Post which I intended by him.⁸

70. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA
(RICHARD HOWLY).¹

PHILADA Feby 29, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 25th Instant calling on the several States for their respective Quotas of Supplies for the ensuing Campaign

Although Georgia is omitted under her present Circumstances I have thought proper to transmit you the Act for Information; and that your State may conform thereto as far as they shall be able to afford Supplies.²

⁵ See no. 22, note 4, and no. 26, *ante*.

⁶ See the *Journals*, Feb. 15, 29, and no. 72, *post*.

⁷ Concerning the Penobscot expedition see the *Journals*, Mar. 22, Apr. 5, 6, 7, 8, and nos. 103, 105, 127, 131, 136, 138, 139, *post*.

⁸ Adams's reply, Mar. 25, to this letter and to that of Mar. 9 (no. 81, *post*) is in *Writings*, IV. 183.

[70]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 306.

² The following letter from Governor Howly to General Lincoln (copied from the original, then in possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia) is apropos here:

"Augusta Jany. the 23^d, 1780

"Sir., I recd. your letter covering some acts of Congress, and another of the 16th inst. respecting the publick monies. I laid them before the assembly, and inclosed you will find their Sentim'ts on that head.

"The matter of supplies in this place is necessary. I shall in a few days give orders for a parcel of Wagons to be Sent for Salt and Such other things as can be Spared.

"I observed, in your favour, that you was informed combinations were formed to Supply the Confederals, only on certain conditions, and wished the civil to interpose. the Q'r M'r applied on that Occasion last novemb'r to the assembly then Sitting and a resolve was passed on the 30th of that month, fully empowering the Q'r M'r to take Corn at

71. THE NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
NORTH CAROLINA (RICHARD CASWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 29th 1780.

Sir,

You will receive, from the President of Congress, sundry Resolutions which are the result of much deliberation; and such as the Necessity of our affairs, rather than choice, has determin[ed] us to adopt.² This Necessity arises from the state of our circulating currency; and from the impossibility of having recourse to further Emissions of paper on public credit. The currency is no longer capable of procuring any given quantity of supplies; because, it is impossible to say what quantity of it will be Necessary for purchasing the commodities required, whose prices rise beyond any imaginable proportion; and the press, being once shut up, cannot again be opened with any prospect of affording relief.

The only resources, now, for furnishing the Supplies for the War, are the contributions of the States, and what may be obtained by loans. The latter, after many trials, is found to yield but little aid, and that little, extremely burthensome to the community. The former is the true and unfailing fountain of the Strength of a Nation, especially, a free One, but it is not in the power of Congress to call them forth, otherwise than by Requisitions to the several States; and, if the States fail to comply, it will be utterly impossible to carry on the War.

While Congress could raise supplies by means of Emissions on public credit, a failure of Exertions in any one or more of the States would not [only] have been fatal, but, since that can no longer be done, it is unquestionably clear that a failure in any State, who furnishes considerable supplies, might be attended with consequences, in the last degree ruinous to the Cause we are engaged in; and which is now happily drawing to a glorious conclusion. In a word, Sir, the Exertions of Congress are no longer competent; and, unless the States exert themselves, the Cause is utterly lost; and we shall be left in a situation the most wretched among human beings—that is, exposed to all the Oppressions and Insults of enraged, Victorious, and avaricious Tyranny.

It is much to be wished that the contributions could be made in money, so as to answer the Exigencies of the war. Such a mode would be most easy in Execution, tho, perhaps, not equally easy and beneficial to the whole, for that part of the Community, which is near the principal Scenes of Action, would be able to demand, and have, a greater proportion of the public money for their produce; and, of course, pay their quotas with much greater ease than those more remote. So that, not only the difficulty of contributing would be unequal, but the quantity of Contribution

6 Dollars pr. Bushel and forage 9 D's pr. Ct. [hundred-weight], and this priviledge was allowed, only for the confederal Service; but probably, of this you had no notice.

"It will give us Satisfaction to be *Enabled* to proceed with Alacrity in Support of the common cause. I trust the bravery and fidelity of our Citizens will always recommend them, in the first Class of distinguished Patriots. Request the latest intelligence."

[71]: N. C. Hist. Comm., original (in part; see note 3, below) and draft, both in the writing of Thomas Burke.

² See no. 67, *ante*.

would be unequal also. Contributions in money must be always subject to this inequality, until some mode can be fallen upon for estimating the quotas in proportion to the value of the produce of labor; but this cannot be effected during the War.

There is another objection to Contributions in Money, at the present period, which renders it altogether ineffectual.

So urgent, and incessant are the demands of the public, for Necessaries to support an army, which must disband if not daily supplied, that those who pay taxes have it in their power to insist on any price they please, and, no doubt, will demand higher in proportion to the Tax they expect to pay. This alone is sufficient to render the taxes unequal to the Supplies, but if to the force of this principle be added the force of that attention which each Individual has to his own Interest, and always determines the Seller to take advantage of the Necessity of the buyer, the force, also, of the abusive System of public purchasing, which, so long as our Necessity continues cannot be corrected, and of the fluctuation which the Events of War always produce in the hopes and fears of men, when all these, Sir, are added, their united Operation will render it impossible to make any given Sum of our Money represent a given quantity of any Commodity. indeed we find, by experience, that all calculations of this kind are vain. For tho' the States should tax to the amount of all the Money in circulation, the urgency of the public demands, and the avarice of Individuals, would raise the prices to so enormous an heighth, before it could be collected, that the money would go but a very little way in purchasing supplies: so that tho' the Community should be oppressed by Taxes, the Necessary Articles for carrying on the war could not be obtained.

The contributions of the States must Necessarily be in the Specific commodities wanted for the support of the war. The powers of Government which the States possess enable their Magistrates to procure them by a variety of Means. they can be obtained on certificates redeemable at a succeeding Assembly; for which redemption, a tax can be calculated, because, the purchase is previously made, and the price known, and the holder can discharge the Tax by those very certificates. Some can cause them to be collected by Specific Contribution, and some, we hope, can obtain them by that most desirable mode of contracting. But, we need not suggest the various modes, and our anxiety for the success of this most Necessary Measure, has carried us into the mentioning those few we have Suggested, not any opinion that the general Assembly will have Occasion for our Advice in a matter, to which their own wisdom is, infinitely, more competent.

We call it, Sir, a most Necessary Measure. We will venture to repeat that it is indispensable. We cannot see any thing that can be adopted, in lieu of it, that promises, even the most distant prospect of relief, and we hope from it, for many Essential advantages to the united States in general, and to our own in particular. As to the last, we shall only say that our Industry will be applied for the discharge of our part of the public burthens, at the same rate with that of the other States, which our local disadvantages would prevent were we to pay in money only. As to the

former, we hope the Measure will remove the public Necessity by the provision of Magazines previous to the want of them, that the supplies, being furnished by all, and the remote coming in aid of those more near, will prevent that excessive demand, and excessive advantage taken of the public, which were the Consequences of procuring them only in the Neighborhood of the Army. That the evil of a numerous Staff department, established in Such a manner as to enhance the most ruinous abuses, will be entirely removed. In a word Sir, will give us plenty of supplies, without incurring heavy public debts; without giving partial advantages; without causing partial burthens; without leaving us exposed to the abuses of peculation, or danger to our affairs from the precarious subsistence of our army. If these happy effects should flow from it, our resources will be as inexhaustible as our Industry. Money will attain to its true use and value, for, in Ordinary Commerce, no individual can be under such Necessity as the public who are maintaining a War for their very Existence. If prices of Necessaries continue high, those who want them must retrench in the use of them; or increase their Industry to enable them to purchase. the product of that Industry will no where find that Necessity which, at present, every one finds in the public. The Market of high prices must be sought among the affluent, who will thus contribute to the support and increase of Industry, but, even among those prices will find limits beyond which they cannot go, and Commerce will so regulate itself³ that even paper money will find a certain fixed value as the general representative of Industry—an Event which may in vain be looked for so long as the Necessity of the public is suffered to continue, by neglecting or failing to foresee and provide for the demands before they arrive.

On perusing the Report it will be found that Congress have allowed liberal prices for every article and all as near as could be in the same proportions. the Prices of the year Seventy four were assumed from the best information that could be obtained, and fifty per cent were added in Consideration of the particular Circumstances of the War. The whole indeed will operate as a loan from the Staple States to the whole union of which they must afterwards be charged with their proportions and be creditors for the surplus. the States who have not staples, or fail to supply, will be debtors to the whole Union. it will easily appear to you that it was Necessary to fix the prices in Specie because nothing that is fluctuating could measure with the whole of the amount of Supplies or the several proportional parts, and Consequently nothing else could be adopted for doing Justice to the whole or to each. You will find the quotas assigned to North and South Carolina far beyond what is their supposed proportion but the prospect of a vigorous campaign in the southern States, the probability of great Armaments being there employed, the impossibility of supplying them with provisions from any other States, with other reasons which will occur to you, determined the Delegates of those States to assume the quotas as they now are, and induced Congress to make the Requisitions. the Same consideration will explain the Reasons

³ The remainder of the original is missing. From this point the text is printed from the draft.

for assigning the different commodities as they appear in the Resolves. We shall only observe that North Carolina assumed the flower because South Carolina could furnish none, and the Troops from Virginia and north Carolina cannot be Subsisted upon Rice. We will now Sir dismiss this subject, first praying leave to press its importance in the most Strenuous Manner on the General Assembly.⁴

72. THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

PHILADA. the 1st of March, 1780.

Sir,

We have been honored with your letter of the 13th of January last signed in the Name and Behalf of the General Assembly and enclosing one of the same Date to Congress; and we embrace the earliest Opportunity of transmitting a Resolution which They have passed in Consequence thereof.²

We perceive "it is the Expectation of the State that all the Expences (being in their Nature only a Fulfilment of the original Engagement of Congress to their Army to pay them a certain Sum as Wages) will be charged by Congress to the Debt of the United States and to the Credit of that State"; And in Compliance with the Desire of the Hon'ble Assembly to know "whether this Matter has been settled, or considered, and what our apprehensions of it are", We beg Leave to inform them that we do not recollect any Act of Congress which settles the Matter; but we conceive they have no Intention of conducting it agreeable to the Expectations of the Assembly. This Opinion is founded on the Debates of Congress previous to their passing the Resolutions of the 17th of Augst. last as well as on their late Resolve of the 9th of February respecting "the reasonable Expence incurred by any State in raising more than its just proportion of the Troops Serving in the Army". And we apprehend it is the Intention of Congress that the Expence of making good the original Contract to the Officers and Soldiers shall be defrayed by each State so far as it respects "their just Proportion of the Troops actually Serving in the Army from time to time".³

73. THE NEW HAMPSHIRE DELEGATES TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE (MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADA. March 4th, 1780.²

Sir,

We have the Hon'r to transmit you some extracts from the Communications lately made by the Minister of France, respecting the disposition

⁴ Cf. nos. 54, 66-69, *ante*.

[72]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 82 (in the writing of Lovell, signed by Gerry, Lovell, Holten, and Partridge).

² See the *Journals*, Feb. 29, and no. 69, *ante*.

³ Cf. no. 42, *ante*.

[73]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VII. 119.

² "Congress recd. a packet from France this day by way of Boston" (Samuel Holten, Diary, Mar. 4). See the *Journals*.

and probable Intentions of the several Powers in Europe, by which it will appear Necessary for the States to exert every political Nerve in preparing for a most Vigorous Campaign the ensuing Year; as well to Co-operate with our Allies, if Necessary, in offensive Measures, as for the defence of these States. We have no other recent intelligence from Europe worth Communicating.³

Our finance tho. much deranged are rather upon the recovery.

We heartily regret the Necessity of asking such extraordinary aid and efforts from our fellow Citizens as Congress have by their late resolves, with Great reluctance, been obliged to do.

The spirited and Patriotic exertions of the state upon former occasions gives us reason to hope they will not reject the proposed Measures.

Every one here has a Psalm and a Doctrine in finance, and whenever any important Conclusions can with Certainty be Drawn, Shall lose no time in Transmitting the Intelligence.

We have the Hon'r to be with great Esteem your Hon'rs Most obedt. and very Humble Servts.

NATH'EL FOLSOM

NATH'L PEABODY

P. S. The last wednesday in April next will be appointed as a day of Fasting etc.

74. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA March 6, 1780.

Sir,

. . . . From the Intelligence your Excellency must have received from the southern Department it is presumed the Necessity of reinforcing the Southern Army hath called forth the Exertions of Virginia and the more southern States ²

Your Excellency's Dispatches of the 9th Ultio. have been received and laid before Congress.³

³ See the *Journals*, Jan. 25, 26, 28, 31; also Luzerne to Washington Jan. 23 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, II. 382), and Washington's reply Feb. 4 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VI. 457). Cf. the letter of the Rhode Island delegates Mar. 1, in Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 274.

[74]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 341; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 306.

² Huntington transmitted the act of Mar. 6 respecting the filling up the continental battalions. Letters of similar purport were written to the governors of North Carolina and South Carolina (Letter-Book, pp. 307, 308), and the act was also transmitted to General Lincoln (*ibid.*, p. 309). The letter to North Carolina is in the Caswell Papers, and in *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 351.

³ Jefferson's letter of Feb. 9, which relates to the boundary controversy between Virginia and Pennsylvania, is in *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, II. 97. See also *ibid.*, *passim* (index, Pennsylvania), and *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII., *passim* (index, Virginia).

75. SAMUEL HOLTEN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA March 6th, 1780.

I had the honor of addressing you a few days since with my colleagues upon public business, which I hope came safe to hand.

The British King has not thought proper to mention america in his late speech; I am at no loss how to acct. for it in my mind, for if he had observed upon the state of this Country as being in rebellion, I have no reason to think it wou'd be likely to answer a valuable purpose for him, at the several Courts in Europe at this day. His holding up his own immediate danger (no doubt) he apprehended wou'd be more likely to prevail with some of the powers in Europe to assist him, at least, to become mediators; and if they should, and the terms proposed by them cou'd not be complied with by Congress and her ally, the mediating powers would join with him in the war: altho' he may have no expectation of subjugating america, yet he will be very loth that we should continue sovereign and independent, or treat with us as such; and if he should be brought to treat with america as Independent, I suppose he will insist upon holding such parts of the united states, as his armies may be then in possession of; If this may Be considered as the state of our national affairs in Europe, it must appear evident, that all the exertions in our power ought to be made to drive the enemy from every part of these states.

The enhanced prices of all the necessaries of life, the great demands for money, and the exhausted state of the public treasury, greatly embarrasses our affairs; how far it is in the power of the Hon'ble Court to assist Congress, or what sums of money the good people can pay in, is best known to their immediate Representatives; But surely these are matters that require the greatest care and attention, as well as exertions.

By letters from General Lincoln dated the 31st of January,² which came to hand this day, we are informed that the enemy have arrived in force, in the State of Georgia, but have no particulars as to their numbers; It is supposed to be the Fleet that sailed from New York some time since.

Congress have resolved to recommend to the several states, to set apart the last wednesday in April next, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer.

76. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

Sir,

PH., March 6th, 1780.

In the letter which I had the honor to address your Excellency on the 15th ult:² from Saratoga I purposed personally to have explained my-

[75]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 88.

² The letter of Lincoln mentioned in the *Journals* Mar. 6 is dated Jan. 29.

[76]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 153, f. 515; *ibid.*, Washington Papers (autograph copy); *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 407. Sparks prints this letter as if to Washington, in spite of the fact that the letter itself contains rather clear evidence that Schuyler was writing to Congress and not to Washington, and in spite of the further fact that in his letter of Mar. 7 to Washington (no. 77, *post*) he mentions that he is enclosing for Washington's perusal a copy of the letter which he had written to Congress on the subject of his appointment.

² Schuyler's letter of Feb. 15 was read in Congress Feb. 28.

self to Congress on the Subject of the appointment of the 21st of January last³ but reflecting that notwithstanding the entire confidence I entertain of the honor and candour of every Individual Member of Congress, It is nevertheless possible that thro want of perspicuity⁴ in Expressing myself or misapprehension in others, what I may verbally deliver on the Subject may be unintentionally Construed or repeated in a sense widely different from my Intentions—this Consideration Induces me to Convey my determination in writing.

Every reflection Sir I have made, since the receipt of Your Excellencys letter of the 24th January, on the appointment mentioned In It, has Confirmed the conclusion I very Early drew that I could not Consistently with my honor and reputation accept of any employment under Congress In a Station either less honorable or less Important than that which I once had the honor to hold. And when the Circumstances which led to my quitting the Army shall recur to Congress, I trust they will acquiesce In the Justness and⁵ propriety of this determination on my part.

I do not mean Sir to Convey the most distant Idea that I Sollicit a restoration to the rank and place I held In the Army;⁶ It is true that I quitted It with reluctance and that I have often since lamented that I was drove to the necessity of doing It, Yet the delicacy I entertain with respect to the feelings of others who might possibly Conceive themselves Injured by a perfect restoration of my rank, added to other Considerations have Induced me to lay aside every wish for a reappointment. But Sir as I am incapable of withholding any Services my Country may deem me Capable of rendering, as a reform In the Civil departments of the Army is of the highest necessity and as Congress have thought proper to apply to me for my Aid on the Occasion, permit me to tender them an offer of my services as a member of their house on a Committee to Consult with the Commander In Chief and the heads of the several civil departments of the Army, and to Adopt such Measures as will have a probable tendency to compleat the great Object of the resolution of the 21st January; As a member of such a Committee I should Esteem It my duty to visit every part of the Continent for the purpose of Introducing good order and a proper oeconomy and should deem myself fully rewarded for every possible Exertion In the Success of the business and the Approbation of Congress.⁷

I am Sir very respectfully

Your Excellencys Most Obedient Hum'e Servt.

PH. SCHUYLER

³ See no. 19, *ante*.

⁴ The word is thus written both in the letter sent and in the autograph copy.

⁵ The words "Justness and" are not found in the printed text, but they are in the copy which Sparks used, as well as in the letter sent. Sparks doubtless found the words illegible.

⁶ At this point in the autograph copy, though not in the letter sent, are the words "for altho".

⁷ Cf. no. 77, *post*.

77. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA March 7th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I arrived on sunday but did not take my seat In Congress until this Morning as I deemed It prudent previously to adress them on the Subject of their appointment of the 21st January which I did by letter Copy whereof I have the honor to Inclose for Your Excellency's perusal.² I believe there is a determination not to Accept of any Services I may be able to render them In the line In which I have offered them. Many here affect not to see the propriety of the distinction I have drawn, but I shall be satisfied If the Candid and Ingenuous, who are not always a majority In or out of doors, shall discover that it is not one, without a diffirence.

.

I believe It will be necessary for Gen. Greene to address Congress very pointedly on the Subject of the waggoners as I find a disposition In many to have them drawn from the Army. the reasons why they should not, If even the Army would after all be sufficiently in force, will be Obvious to him, and I wish him to Adduce them fully, to Corroborate what I shall deliver on the subject before his letter arrives.³

Our Finances are Completely deranged. a Committee of the whole have had them under Consideration for some time before my arrival. they have been on the business to day, without making any progress. It seems a paradox that the whole should be more Incompetent than a part, but I am so perfectly persuaded of It that I shall Strive to get It referred to a few. I have thrown together my Ideas on the Subject how they will be accepted I must leave to time tho I believe some good would result If they were adopted.⁴

78. THE BOARD OF WAR TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.¹

WAR OFFICE March 7, 1780.

Sir,

We are alarmed and most feelingly distressed at the Accounts we have just received from the Commissary General of Issues of the State of the Magazines of Provisions at Camp. Unless the speediest Relief is afforded it is by no Means improbable that the Army will be obliged to disband,

[77]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed Sparks), II. 411.

² Schuyler's letter to Congress was read Mar. 6 (no. 76, *ante*). See also the *Journals*, Mar. 10; cf. nos. 86, 88, 98, 110, 111, 128, *post*.

³ Schuyler possibly alludes to the action taken by Congress on Greene's letters of Dec. 12, 1779, and Feb. 16, 1780 (read Dec. 17 and Feb. 22, respectively). Mar. 4 a committee reported a draft of a reply to these letters, which, after amendment, was adopted Mar. 16. The letter sent, Mar. 16, is in the President's Letter-Book, p. 317. Cf. nos. 26, 61, 68, *ante*, 109, 110, note 3, *post*.

⁴ The *Journals* do not record any meeting of the committee of the whole Mar. 4 to 8. The discussion of the financial situation doubtless came up Mar. 7, upon a report of the board of treasury upon specific financial questions. In accordance with Schuyler's suggestion, the matter was referred to a committee Mar. 9. See, further, the *Journals*, Mar. 11, 13 to 18, and no. 88, *post*.

[78]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 176; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 444.

the Vicinity of the Camp and indeed the whole State of Jersey being exhausted by its Exertions for the Supply of the Troops this Winter. We have therefore most earnestly to request the Assistance of your Excellency and the Hon'ble Council upon this disagreeable Exigency and we beg you will cause as much *Flour* as possible to be forwarded that the Distress likely to fall on the Army and the dangerous Consequences which may probably attend it, may be prevented.²

We have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect
your very obed Servants

RICHARD PETERS
By Order

His Excellency Govr. Lee.³

79. THE MARYLAND DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

Sir,

We are honor'd by your Excellency's Favor of 18th last. The Minister of France knows very well, however wrong he may have deemed the Measure, that the seizing the french Flour was to relieve the exceeding great Distress of the Army, and we have never understood, or even heard it suggested, that the Conduct of the State was imputed to any other Motive. We have no Reason to think that he doubts the Attachment of Maryland to the Alliance, and have heard him express Pleasure at the Receipt of your Excellency's late Letter, which he says is fully satisfactory. We have set before him, in the clearest Point of View we cou'd, the Extent of your Powers which will not permit the Suspension of any Law, without an Exception for that Purpose, and that it is your Duty to see all Laws executed in the utmost Extent; of all which he appears fully persuaded. The Consequences which he mentions to have imparted to one of us were, that as he found the Supplies were uncertain, and not to be depended upon, even after being purchased and stored, he could not, under such Uncertainty, invite a french Fleet to our Coast. We have ever esteemed it our Duty, and hoped we had discharged it, to communicate to the Governor and Council, in Recess of Assembly, all Matters of Importance acted upon in Congress which may relate to Maryland; therefore are at some loss for the Meaning of your last Paragraph, as we know of no Matter of Importance, relative to the State, lately discussed which has not been forwarded.² there is indeed a Report of a Commit-

² Cf. the *Journals*, Mar. 6 (report of board of war), and no. 79, *post*.

³ The letter bears an endorsement, "Reced. by Thos. Sim Lee 6 oClock in the Evening of the 10th of March". The reply is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 107. The board's letter, embodied in a circular to the county commissioners, is *ibid*.

[79]¹ *Md. Hist. Soc.*, Red Book, V. 52 (signed by Plater and Forbes); *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 442.

² The letter to which the delegates are replying is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 80, and relates mainly to the seizure by the state of Maryland of flour purchased for the French. See also *ibid.*, pp. 41, 43, 44, 52, 58, 61, 66, 80, 87, 88, 93, 108, 113, 387, 396, 401-402, 409, 421-424, 438, 439, 442, and Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 453-457.

tee on the Application of Mr. Holker for three thousand Barrels of Flour over and above the Quantity last assigned, which, when passed, we shall not fail to communicate.³

PHILADELPHIA March 7th 1780.

80. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[March 8, 9, 1780.]

8. I met the medical committee. . . .

9. Congress has been in a committee of the whole on finance. . . .

81. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

March 9, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . By some fatality the Letter of our Court of Decr. 2d never reached Congress but in a Copy two days ago; ² Nor had a Line from you or anybody else come to the Delegates on the Subject. The next Post will probably convey a Proclamation for Fasting etc. on the last Wednesday of April.³ New York presses Congress hard upon the Resolves in regard to Vermont but I believe there will be much parrying. The plain Truth is the People of the Grants gave assurances, to our half Com'tee that visited them last Summer, of a Willingness to submit to a Dicision of Congress New York did the same. We asked others to follow. The Grant People now refuse. New York and N. H. are desirous of our going on. 3 States cannot vote two are represented by Members not here in Sepr. and Octr., Ellery and Burke who *will not* believe they have any right whatever to discuss the Independ'ce of Vermont. Others wish the Discussion 10 years off. Thus stands the Matter. But I heartily wish to know what Mass: has to say ⁴

82. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE
(THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE).¹

PHILADA March 10, 1780.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your Letter of the 8th Instant, with the Intelligence therein referred to received from Le Comte de Vergennes

³ See the *Journals*, Mar. 6, 11, and no. 85, *post*.

[80]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 90.

[81]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² The copy of the Massachusetts letter of Dec. 2, which was read in Congress Mar. 7 and related to the subject of the New Hampshire Grants, was transmitted by the council with a letter of Feb. 7 stating that the general assembly had appointed a committee on the matter. See nos. 93, 103, *post*; also Adams to Lovell Mar. 5 and 25 (*Writings*, IV. 180, 183).

³ See the *Journals*, Mar. 11.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Mar. 2, 21; *cf.* no. 43, note 2, *ante*, and nos. 90, 93, 106, 108, *post*.

[82]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 313.

and M. Gerard which you was pleased to communicate all which has been laid before Congress

The Regard and Affection his most Christian Majesty has been pleased to testify towards these United States in granting the Request respecting the Officers in the Department of Engineers is very pleasing and satisfactory.

The kind Offices of M. Gerard and the Commandant at Martinique are very acceptable and claim particular Notice as evident Proofs of the Friendship and Regard which delineate the national Character of our good Allies.²

83. JOHN COLLINS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA, March the 10th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have nothing of Consequence to inform y[ou] the Committee appointed to take into Considerati[on] your letter, Reported a day or two past, you w[ould] be Requested to Continue in your office of Qu[arter Master] General—the Commitioners to Regulate the De[part]ments of the army are here. A Committee of Congr[ess] Consisting of three are appointed to Join them [in] their Consultations. the Report of the Comm[ittee] on your letter is Refer'd to them, and what th[ey] may Produce is uncertain.² I Shall not be very particular, as I am inform'd by Mr. Michell y[ou] are Expected in this City in a day or two.

I Shall be glad to see you and hope you w[ill] Calmly Reflect before you Resine your Post.

my kind Regard to your Lade and all my good Frien[ds]

I am with friendly Reg[ard] yours

JOHN COLLINS

N.B. the Commit. is but this afternoon appoint'd.

84. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[March 10, 11, 1780.]

10. I met the committee on Finance twice this day.

11. I was with the com't of Finance the chief of the day. I dined with the minister.

² See the *Journals*, Mar. 10. Luzerne's letter of Mar. 8 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 540) does not however mention the extract of a letter from Vergennes.

[83]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² The committee on Greene's letters reported a draft of a reply March 4, which was adopted Mar. 16, after having been referred to the new committee of Mar. 10, that is, the committee appointed to join with the commissioners provided for by a resolution Jan. 20. See nos. 19, 61, 77, *ante*, and nos. 98, 109, 110, note 3, *post*.

[84]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 90.

85. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

PHILADELPHIA March 11, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of this Day wherein the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut are respectively requested to deliver Mr Holker agent for the Royal Marine of France certain specified Quantities of Flour, and other Provisions on or before the first Day of May for the use of the Marine of France

which Articles are to be considered as part of the Quotas of Supplies called for from those respective States by the Resolution of the 25th of February last.

As this Provision is wanted to supply the Fleet of our Ally in America it is not doubted the several States will readily comply with the Request of Congress.²

86. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO ———.¹

PHILADELPHIA March 11th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I arrived here on Sunday, on Monday I advised *Congress*, that I could not consistent with my honor serve under the appointment they had been pleased to make. The other Commissioners were ordered to proceed in the business, but intimations having been given that my Aid was necessary, a Committee was appointed and I put on it.² As this does not comport with my Ideas of propriety I continue to refuse. Men of Sentiment approve my firmness and delicacy, others are chagrined but dare not drive me to a pointed explanation, which I will never give otherwise than in writing, that my Constituents and all my Countrymen may see my Principles.

The subject of Finance has for some time past engrossed the attention of Congress in a Committee of the whole, but paradoxical as it may seem, that a part should be more competent than the whole, it has been thought necessary to refer the business to a lesser Committee composed of Burke, Elsworth, Holton, Houston, Livingston and Schuyler.³ a Report will

[85]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 28; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 447; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI. 80; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 316. The letter-book copy is addressed to the President of Pennsylvania, and bears this notation: "N. B. The like to the Governors of Maryland and Connecticut."

² See *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 127, 130-131.

[86]¹ British Public Record Office, A. W. I., 189: 203 (new ref., C. O. 5: 1110). The letter is marked, "Copy No. 2", and bears the notation: "Rebel Intercepted Letters No. 1 and 2 taken at Paramus the 23d of March 1780 (No. 1) In Major Genl. Robertsons of 26 March 1780." It was printed in the *New York Royal Gazette*, Apr. 1, 1780. A text is in *Doc. Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, VIII. 788, where is found also General Robertson's letter. The other intercepted letter was from Francis Lewis to Morgan Lewis, Mar. 11, which was also printed in the *Royal Gazette* Apr. 1, but is not found in *Doc. Col. Hist. of N. Y.* It is in P. R. O., C. O. 5: 898.

² See nos. 76, 77, *ante*. The committee which was appointed Mar. 10 brought in a long report Mar. 27. See also the *Journals*, Mar. 28, and nos. 110, 111, *post*.

³ Nearly all these names appear in incorrect forms in the copy (as, for instance, "Burch", "Scuyler"). They are here made to conform to the spellings used by Schuyler in his letter to Washington Mar. 13 (no. 88, *post*).

probably be compleated by Monday, my object is a fixture of the present Circulating Medium at a given ratio, calling it in, speedily destroying it, a new Emission quot[a]ed to States and sent forth on permanent funds, the Quantum to be emitted to be proportioned to the periodical destruction of the present Bills, the new ones to bear a Specie Interest payable at their redemption or in bills on France at the option of the holders. I believe the reports will bear this Complexion, but what transformation it will undergo in the House is impossible to determine, as every Man wishes to be thought a Financier and must have his Ideas. It will probably be like Joseph's coat, a composition of patches party coloured.⁴ I can say nothing yet about your Department, a few days will enable me to do it, and you will have the necessary communications, as far as shall be in my power to afford them. the Vermont business is not yet on the Tapis.
⁵

87. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
 (MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADA. 13th March 1780.

Sir,

You will doubtless have the resolutions of Congress, respecting the Quotas of men and Supplies, to be furnished by the respective States,² officially Transmitted to you previous to the receipt of this Letter And on the 4th instant the delegates of N. Hamp're did themselves the Hon'r of inclosing you Extracts from Communications lately made by the Minister of France; as also the answers Congress made to those Communications, by all which you will be able to form some Ideas of the Necessary Measures to be taken for the ensuing Campaign, as also the situation. and views of the *Allied Powers*.

The Numbers of men assign'd for New Hamp're to furnish is about one 6th part more, in my Opinion than would be their Just Quota. Yet as Congress did on the 9th ulto. Resolve, "That the reasonable expence any State hath incurr'd or may incur by raising and having in the Continental Army, more than what shall hereafter appear to have been their Just proportions of the Troops actually serving in the said Army from time to time, shall be allowed to Such States and Equitably adjusted in a final Settlement of their accounts with the United States", the Injury will not be so great, or in other words a prospect of future Justice will make the present Grievance more Tolerable. As to the apportionment

⁴ See the *Journals*, Mar. 9, 13-18; also nos. 88, 98, 100, *post*.

⁵ It is uncertain to whom this letter was written. In his letter to Clinton Apr. 18 (no. 141, *post*), Schuyler speaks of its capture, but he does not mention the name of his correspondent. What he says of "your Department" in this paragraph suggests General Greene, but in the succeeding paragraph (here omitted) he alludes to some "financing Ideas" which would, he thinks, benefit his state, uses the words "our Legislature", and otherwise writes in a manner which seems to indicate that his correspondent is a New Yorker.

[87]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VII. 125.

² See the *Journals*, Feb. 25. Cf. nos. 54, note 4, 67-71, *ante*.

and prices of supplies, appear to me an Object of Very Great magnitude and ought to be thoroughly investigated. Tho I cannot say the amount of Supplies allotted to New Hamp're to furnish, Estimated at the rates affixed to them, very far exceeds their due proportion, Yet I must Confess I feel no Small degree of Anxiety when I take a short retrospect of the various Maneuvres *practiced* in order to obtain those resolutions, Especially that for affixing prices; which must evidently appear to every impartial person, well acquainted with the rates at which those articles were formerly, or are at the present day usually sold, in the various parts of the Continent, respectively Call'd upon to furnish the same. it was by no means founded upon those Just and impartial principals of equality and reciprocity which ought, at all times, to Govern in every important decision, as being the only Sure means of Cementing the Union of these States, Or whereby a Nation Can ever rationally expect to be *Exalted*.

The ratio by which those prices in *specie* were pretended to have been determined was for all articles of American produce at 50 pr. cent Advance upon the prices such articles were usually sold for at the places of delivery, in the respective States in the year 1774, And Articles Imported from foreign ports in the Same proportion with a reasonable additional Allowance for the Charge and Risque of Importation.

Let us now examine how far this Rule has been observed? Indian Corn in the Southern States was formerly sold at from 21. to 24. 90ths of a Dollar per Bushel, it is now rated at $67\frac{1}{2}$ 90ths, which in stead of being 50, is 200 per Cent advance, Rye, Oats, and Many Other Articles of Short forrage nearly in the same proportion! The price of the best first Crop Hay at the Market was formerly about 6. or 7. Dollars per Ton, it is now rated at more than Cent. per Cent ³ advance above the former prices. The price of Merchan'ble flour in this City was formerly about Two Dollars per Cwt. Tho it was often Lower. Now rated at 4 Dollars and $\frac{1}{2}$, which is 125 pr. Ct. advance—but enough has been said to Shew that such States, whose distance from the Theatre of *War* or other Circumstances will not Admit of furnishing their proportions, of these and many other articles rated in a Similar manner, will be Charged in a Specie Account from 100, to 150 per Cent advance above the former prices upon an average. And it ought to be here observed, the various articles were assigned to the respective States previous to affixing the prices.

Let us now pay a short visit to the Eastward, Say New Hampshire. Their delegates Consented to the article of beef or other Meat equivalent supposing it possible to furnish that Article. They also Consented to *same part* of the Article of *Rum* not doubting but the price of both Articles wou'd be rated in Just proportion, with Other Articles of Supplies Call'd for, and in hopes as the Sea port there was Open, it might be in the Power of the state to furnish at least a part of the Rum, but at the same time, they were the rather induced to Consent to that article, for want of ability to furnish Others, and more Necessary, Supplies, and Apprehending, also, that a failure in furnishing the Rum, would not be attended

³ "Centum per centum", that is, one hundred per cent.

with so disagreeable Consequences, to the public, as a failure in many Other Articles of Supplies, and of course the State would Escape the most pointed Censures consequent upon Such neglect though unavoidable.

But to the point, It is now time to enquire how, and in what manner That State is to discharge it Self from the enormous Debt bro't upon her in Consequence of the high, and unequal, prices affixed as aforesd.? By furnishing Grass fed beef at 52 and $\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars pr. Hundred wt. I mention Grassfed because those who wou'd wish to keep their Cattle till after the first of December for a higher price must begin to feed with Corn and other dry forrage, by reason of the winter Setting in, at least a month earlier there, than in Connecticut and the States to the Southward, which will be Such an additional and partial Expence I expect very little beef will be furnished from that State after the 1st of November

The price of Good beef at that Season of the year was heretofore usually about four Dollars pr. Hundred wt. and is now rated at five and a half Dollars per Ct. which is not 50⁴ pr. Ct. advance from the Old price. And as to the Rum though I by no means pretend to be master of Merchantile affairs Yet I will Venture to assert that no man Can import that article, at this day, by Exporting flour at the price affix'd, So as to be able to Sell the Rum here under about 2 Dollars $2\frac{3}{4}$ ths or three Dollars pr. Gallon if he Can for that the present Rule of barter here is from a Gallon to a Gallon and a half of Rum for one hundred of flour, hence it is obvious that my calculation upon this Article is well founded. And that New Hampshire must furnish Supplies at a very Great loss, when Compared with the allowances made for most part of the Articles to be furnished by Other States, or Else be Charged in an immoderate Special Debt⁵ to the united States, upon interest, that will not only far exceed their Just proportion of the Necessary Expence of furnishing Such Supplies, but their ability to discharge! The loss that New Hampshire will Sustain upon a moderate Calculation by the unequal manner in which those prices are affixed upon the Supplies Call'd for the Current Year will amount at least to 50,000 Dollars in Specie while other States differantly Circumstanced will Gain in proportion to your Loss, and which mode if Continued but for a few years will entirely mortgage the State. upon this view of Things you will pardon me if, as a Citizen, I Venture to express my Sentiments upon a Subject So Vastly important in its Consequences And which So Essencially effects the interest of a State I have the hon'r to represent

And hope it will not be Conceived that I have the most distant wish to retard, or discourage the State from furnishing all the Supplies in her powers, as the existance of the Army and Support of the Cause of Amer-

⁴ The copyist has here written "210", but it is evident from the context that the figures should be 50. Peabody's contention is that although the new prices were to be approximately fifty per cent. advance upon the prices of 1774, in some instances the advance was as much as one hundred and fifty per cent., whereas in the case of grass-fed beef the advance (from four dollars to five and a half) was not as much as fifty per cent. The first "Ct." in the line is of course for hundredweight.

⁵ The meaning seems to be, a debt in specie.

ica very much depends upon the immediate and vigorous exertions of the Several States. Nor ought there to be any responsibility in Congress for the Consequences in Case of a failure. my only Aim by this representation is to give you the Ideas I have upon the Subject, and if possible to induce the State to take Such measures in furnishing the supplies Call'd for as may reserve to the State or her Delegates in Congress the full and indisputable right, and Power, at any future period, when our public affairs will admit, of investigating the Subject and endeavouring to obtain a redress of the Greivance and Compensation of the injury Complained of; in Such Sort that no act the State may adopt Respecting the Subject may by any Construction whatever be deemed an acquiescence in the System adopted by Congress before alluded to, for furnishing Supplies for the Army.

It has Incessantly been my most Ardent wish, and aim, that Congress would fall upon Some Eligible Mode for freeing the public from the intollerable burden they have for a long time been Groa[n]ing and Traveling under even untill Now, in Supporting Legions of Continental Sinecures who appear in Swarms like Locusts, upon the Land of Egypt, and not only draw Numberless rations; but are in every other respect rioting upon the blood and Treasures of the virtuous Citizens (if any Such there be) in these united States.

By making Calculations upon indisputable documents in my possession I am, with astonishment Convinced that there is not one moment to be lost, in retrenching public expenditures, loping off every Exuberance in order to introduce a more oeconomical System. It will be in vain for these States, in future, to attempt Sustaining the burdens She has but too long been Crouching under, and I have good reason to hope some Spirited and vigorous measures will immediately be adopted for effecting So desirable an object.

Tho. in the present Situation of our public affairs, and the deranged State of our finances the Expenditures might be nominally very large in order to prosecute the war with Success, or negotiate, for *peace* with any Tolerable degree of policy or advantage.

However the present prospect in my private opinion, promises no other alternative, than abject Slavery on the one hand, or on the other, to exert every Nerve, to Carry on the war with redoubled vigor the ensuing Campaign, and I hope No Citizen of these States will hesitate, in hi[s] Choice a Single moment.

I have the Hon'r to be Sir, with the most entire Sentiments of Esteem,
Your Hon'rs most obliged obedt. And very Humble Servt.

NATHL. PEABODY

P. S. Mr. Livermore is determined to Set off for N. Hamp're as soon as the Traveling will permit and will be able to give full information upon many important matters.

88. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA March 13th 1780.

Dear Sir,

Since my last the business of Finance has been Committed agreeable to my wish Livingston, Holton, Houston, Elsworth, Burke and Schuyler were appointed they have put the finishing hand to the business this day. I sincerely wish the supposed Sanctity of the day may have an Influence on the deed. the report will be delivered to Morrow² The Great Object In view is Speedily to Call out of Circulation the present circulating medium, to give It In the Interim a permanent Value by assigning a certain proportion to Each State for the purpose of redemption, to Emit new Bills on State Credit and to found them on Specific and permanent tax by Bond as a farther Security In case of the failure of a particular State to pledge the faith of the Confederacy, and to Issue them In a limited proportion to those now In circulation and as these shall be destroyed, so as that their [*sic*] shall never be of old at 40 for 1 and new at par above ten Million In Circulation. The New to bear Interest payable In Specie at the End of Six Years or Annually by both, on france;

Altho Congress found me determined not to accept any office which would carry the appearance of my being their servant they had the Indelicacy to appoint me one of a *Committee* to assist Gen: Mifflin and Mr. Pickering for the purpose mentioned In the resolution of the 20th January. I am determined not to Commit my reputation on a Business which I foresee from the Manner In which It will be Conducted, will neither redound to the honor of the agents or the service of the public, to say not a word of the Indelicacy with respect to others.³ . . .

89. JOHN MATHEWS TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA March 14th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I received your very obliging and friendly favour yesterday, and imbrace this earliest opportunity of acknowledging it.

It contains matter of high importance, and truly deserving the serious consideration of that body of which I am a member. Your observations instantly flashed conviction on my, before, bewildered senses. they at once evince the experienced soldier, and deep Politician, and I return you, Sir, my most sincere and hearty thanks for them. But alas! either from the obstinacy, or some thing worse, of the men I have to deal with, I have very little hopes of stimulating them to any acts that will tend to the salvation of those devoted Countries. Were an angel from heaven to perch on the back of the Presidents Chair and proclaim the immediate annihila-

[88]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² The committee's report was brought in on Monday, Mar. 13. From Schuyler's expression relative to the "sanctity of the day" it is inferred that he was writing on Sunday, Mar. 12, and not Mar. 13, the date given to the letter. Concerning this committee see no. 77, *ante*, and nos. 93, 94, 98, 100. *post*, and the *Journals*, Mar. 9, 13-18.

³ Cf. nos. 19, 76, 77, 86, *ante*, and nos. 90, 98, 110, 111, *post*.

[89]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVII.

tion of the southern States, unless something vigorous, and effectual was done, and even point out the mode, I sincerely believe, as soon as he had taken his flight, and the surprise had subsided, they would just sink again into the same torpid State in which he found them.² As a proof of this, I will beg leave to inform you of what passed yesterday. I received your letter just as I was going to the house. I took the first opportunity after I got there, of informing them, that I had a few hours before received a Letter from a Gentleman, for whose opinion, I entertained a very high respect, and whose information was to be relied on, And stated the contents of your letter, as matter of information and not opinion, thinking, by giving it this turn, to attract their serious attention. I thought myself well justified in doing so, as your opinion had as much weight in my mind as if you had told me it was founded on information you had received from Genl. Clinton. I then took the liberty, by your permission, of proposing the plan of operations for the Southern Campaign, agreeable to your Ideas. I was asked, "from whom, and whence. I had my information, and whether I knew the person to be a Whig". I answered I was not at liberty to say from whom, or whence, I had my information, it was enough for them to be told it was undoubted. That the person was as good a Whig as any in that house.³ They for a little while seemed to be alarmed, and I thought disposed to act like the Guardians of the *United States*. But as soon as selfishness, and the apprehension of danger to *these States*, from the adoption of such a plan, had repossessed their minds, every art and contrivance was made use of to silence the just demands of the southern States for support, and the business was at last got rid of, by the old, Stale trick of proposing a Committee to go to Camp to consult with the General. This I rejected with indignation, too well knowing it's tendency, that is, merely to save appearances, without the least intention of doing any thing. Thus you'll see, my Dr sir, how little is to be hoped from the best plan, that human genius can invent, whilst mens minds are warped by self-interest, and the danger is at a distance.⁴

. . . .

² Cf. no. 3, *ante*.

³ The letter of Gates which Mathews read in Congress may be the same that Lovell refers to in his letter of Apr. 16 (no. 136, *post*).

⁴ The *Journals* contain no intimation of these proceedings. Schuyler also mentions, in his letter to General Greene Mar. 22 (no. 110, *post*), that a motion to send a committee to camp to confer with General Washington had been without effect, but he does not indicate the date when the motion was made. From this statement of Mathews it appears to have been made on Mar. 13. Similar motions had been made earlier, one on Jan. 10 by Gerry and Peabody, and one on Jan. 19 by Livingston and Gerry. Gerry's motion of Jan. 10 was upon a series of resolutions for the reduction of the army which had been offered by Livingston Jan. 8 and are printed in the *Journals* under Jan. 10. Gerry's proposition, in so far as it called for sending a committee to camp, was negatived, but Livingston's proposed resolutions were referred to a committee (Gerry, Livingston, and Mathews), who took counsel of General Washington (see no. 8, *ante*). The motion of Livingston and Gerry, Jan. 19, was referred to a committee (Gerry, Livingston, and Houston), who brought in a report the following day, recommending the appointment of a commission (one member of Congress and two outside commissioners) for regulating the staff departments, etc., and including a proposition that the commission should repair to headquarters. This report was adopted. See the *Journals*, Jan. 20, 21, 22, and no. 19, note 3, *ante*. On Jan. 29 the committee of Jan. 10 on Livingston's resolutions laid before Congress Washington's reply to the committee, Jan. 23 (*Writings*,

90. SAMUEL LIVERMORE TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA March 14, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have been now five weeks in this city my time in Congress expired the last of Feb. Nothing is yet done about Vermont but delay from time to time. Massa. Bay is not ready and they with Connecticut and Rd Island I believe are all Vermonters, against us behind the curtain. However I dont give it up: on the other hand the prospect looks better and better. I think we shall make something very grand out of it: but perhaps not at this time. My being out of Congress is very detrimental, everything is transacted behind my back in a manner.²

As to news it is much in favour of America from every quarter. The Spaniards it is said have taken the English settlements on the Mississippi. The fleet that saild from N. York for Georgia and Carolina are dispersed by storms, very few arived the 7th Feb., which is the latest account we have from thence. Ireland seems to be on the point of a revolution.

The state of our currency is unfavourable, the talk of exchange between paper and silver sixty for one. Beef is sold 5, 6, and 8 dollars a pound, and other things in proportion. Expenses are beyond imagination.

Congress have in hand a plan for setting the money on a better footing whether it will succeed I can't tell. The plan is to emit 10 million Dollars to carry an interest of 6 per Ct. per An. to be paid in solid coin. This will it is thought make the paper as good as hard mony. 5 mil'n of this is to redeem all the present currency at 40 for one, the other 5 million is to carry on the war.

The plan is warmly supported and as warmly opposed. There are other plans, but all are for making money to carry an interest to be paid in silver.³

91. THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA 15th March 1780.

Sir,

We have the Honor to inclose You for the Information of the General Assembly, a Copy of a Letter which We have lately received from the

ed. Ford, VIII, 174), whereupon the resolutions and Washington's letter were referred to the board of war. On Feb. 19 the board brought in a report, strongly urging that a committee with ample powers should be appointed and that it should repair immediately to headquarters. See nos. 76, 77, 86, *ante*, and nos. 110, 111, *post*. The refusal of Schuyler to serve on the commission of Jan. 20 was equivalent to its nullification. Finally, on Apr. 6, a suitable occasion having offered itself, Livingston again moved for the appointment of a committee to proceed to headquarters, and the motion was adopted. See nos. 130, 132, 135, 141, 144, 145, note 2, *post*.

[90]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 A 156; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Weare, p. 155a.

² Livermore had been commissioned especially to prosecute the claim of New Hampshire against Vermont, and had been appointed a delegate to Congress mainly to facilitate that purpose. His credentials are in the *Journals*, Feb. 7. See no. 108, *post*.

³ See no. 88, *ante*.

[91]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 99 (in the writing of Gerry, signed by Gerry, Lovell, Holten, and Partridge).

Minister of France, and of our answer to the same:² We submit it to the Consideration of the Hon'le Assembly, whether it will not be expedient to prevent a Publication of both.³

92. THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE
(THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE).¹

PHILADELPHIA 15th March 1780.

Sir,

We were honored yesterday with your Letter² informing Us of the favorable Light in which his most christian Majesty has been pleased to view "the Reception You met with from the Council and State of Massachusetts during your Residence in Boston"; and We are impressed with a grateful Sense of your friendly Disposition in acquainting his Majesty of the Zeal and Efforts of that State "in the common Cause".

We shall embrace the earliest Opportunity of transmitting this Information to the Legislature of the State, and have every Reason to believe, that it will be highly pleasing to them, as We assure You Sir, it is to their Delegates.

Any Civilities that could have been offered on the part of the State, would in our Opinion be but feint Representations of their Attachment to and Affection for your illustrious Sovereign, or of their Friendship and Esteem for his Minister; and be assured Sir, that nothing can be more endearing than the Disposition you have manifested, in thus cultivating a reciprocal Confidence between his Majesty and the State.

We conceive ourselves authorized to say, that the Inhabitants of Massachusetts will use their utmost Efforts for bringing the present War to a speedy and happy Issue, and that the vigorous Exertions of our great Ally would operate as a powerful Motive, if any was wanting to produce this Effect

² The following is the copy (marked "Translation", in the writing of Lovell) of Luzerne's letter (Mar. 14) as transmitted by the Massachusetts delegates (*ibid.*, CCII. 100). The reply of the delegates is no. 92, *post*. Cf. Luzerne to Trumbull Sept. 24, 1779, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., II. 439.

"Gentlemen, I did not fail to inform his Majesty of the Reception I met with from the Council and the State of Massachusetts during the Time I was in Boston. He was highly gratified by the Marks of Attachment which you were pleased to manifest to him upon that opportunity in the Person of his minister. He charges me to express his Satisfaction to the Representatives of the People of your State, and I eagerly seize this Occasion to acquaint you Gentlemen that I do not suffer the King to be uninformed of their Zeal and patriotic Dispositions nor of the Efforts which they propose to make for the Support of the common Cause, and I have not the least doubt but this Information will be fully as agreeable to him as the former. I have the honor to be with the most perfect Attachment"

³ Cf. no. 69, *ante*, and no. 97, *post*.

[92]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 102 (in the writing of Gerry, and signed by Gerry, Lovell, Holten, and Partridge). The letter bears the notation, "Copy of a Letter from the Delegates of Massachusetts to the Minister of France".

² See no. 91, note 2, *ante*.

93. EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, March 15, 1780.

Sir,

We were honored with your favor by General Schuyler, who arrived here the day after Genl. Scott, since which time we have not been able to bring on the business of the New Hampshire Grants, although it has been the order of the day for some time past; the attention of Congress being almost entirely taken up, in endeavoring to establish their finances and prevent a further depreciation, which in these parts is at the rate of 60 for 1, with respect to specie; and much higher when compared with the necessities of life. The plan before the house is generally, to call in all the money in about one year by taxes and destroy it, to be received in taxes at the rate of forty for one in specie. As fast as the old money comes in, new issues in the proportion of 20 for 1, for the purpose of purchasing supplies or other expenditures of the war; each State to appropriate funds for the redemption of the new money, and for the payment of the interest in specie. I expect the plan will be finished this week, and will be immediately sent to the different Legislatures.² The enclosed letters, though dated the 2nd of December were not received by the President till the last of last week, which makes some suspect they were antedated; as their delegates declared a few days before that they had no advice from the State respecting the controversy and that they would not put in any claim.³ There is no doubt but they design if possible to cause delays and had rather the independence of those people should be admitted, than they should be under the jurisdiction of New York. I depend that next week this business will be taken up, and after passing a resolution against the independence of the Grants, a Court will be formed for the hearing of the parties that are ready. 'Tis likely New Hampshire and we can agree on the persons for the Court, which will save much time, although 'tis not likely they can suddenly be convened.⁴ As we have so many members from our State here, and the expense of living is so enormous, I think it will be prudent for me to return, which I conclude to do as soon as the travelling will admit, which I trust will meet with your approbation. The Act of Assembly for limiting the boundaries of the State was agreeably received by a great majority of the States and was referred to a special Committee to report thereon; which will be done soon as they find the House have time to receive it.⁵

I have the honor to be, Sir,

your most obed. and very humble Servt.

EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU.

[93]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XII. 104.² See the *Journals*, Mar. 18; cf. nos. 77, 86, 88, *ante*, and nos. 94, 98, 100, *post*.³ The reference is to a letter of Dec. 2 from the Massachusetts council, received by Congress Mar. 7. See no. 81, *ante*.⁴ The Vermont question was taken up in Congress Mar. 21, but was immediately postponed, and was not resumed until May 23, See nos. 43, 81, 90, *ante*, 106, 108, *post*.⁵ See the *Journals*, Mar. 7, and no. 29, *ante*. The New York act, "to facilitate the completion of the Confederation", which was presented Mar. 7, authorized the dele-

94. ROGER SHERMAN TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 15th Mar., 1780.

Sir,

I have the hon'r to transmit to your Excellency an extract of a letter from the Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay, respecting the making good to the officers and soldiers of the army the original contract, and a resolution of Congress in answer thereto. Also a paper containing a recommendation for a general fast. Congress have for some time past had under consideration a plan for calling in the outstanding bills of credit, and introducing a stable medium of trade; it has been several times debated and recommitted. It was resumed yesterday in a committee of the whole and the principal parts of it pretty unanimously agreed to. I expect it will be compleated to-day or to-morrow.² The Assembly of this State are waiting only for the completion of it. I have not time to state it to your Excellency, as Major Blackden, by whom I send this, is waiting; but it is similar to what I communicated in a former letter, with some improvements. We have no late news from Europe or the Southern States.

95. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JOSEPH REED.¹

CARLISLE 15th March 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have at some length lately wrote my Colleagues in Congress on the propriety and necessity of a limitation of prices by Authority, being daily more and more convinced, of the expedience of that measure, and that we have not another, possessed of sufficient energy and requisite dispatch, for the recovery and progress of our affairs—which are too important at this crisis to be risqued on the operation of slow or doubtful measures—nor have I any doubt but that the law if heartily and any how generally is gone into, will operate and have effect, as beside the requisitions of candid and disinterested men, even those who are much less so, begin to be alarmed at the near approaches of a total stopage of the circulation of the money, and earnestly wish for some certainty respecting it's value, of

gates of the state to assent to limitations upon the western boundary of the state. It is printed in *Clinton Papers*, V. 499, with the date Feb. 18; but the certified copy (*Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 67, vol. II., f. 250) bears the date Feb. 19, and a copy in *Md. Hist. Soc.*, Red Book, VII. 66, has the same date. The committee to whom the act was referred appears to have made no report when, April 28, a "Remonstrance" of the Virginia assembly, dated Dec. 14, 1779, relative to the question of Western lands was presented to Congress. It does not appear from the *Journals* that any action whatever was taken on the remonstrance at the time, but June 26 the New York act, the Virginia remonstrance, and the Maryland instructions and declaration on the same subject, which had been presented to Congress May 21, 1779 (see vol. IV., nos. 285, 291, 293, 298, 330), were referred to a committee. This committee brought in a report June 30, which was the subject of discussion at intervals during the summer. See nos. 288, 422, *post*.

[94]¹ *Mass. Hist. Soc., Collections*, seventh ser., III. 21.² See the *Journals*, Mar. 18; cf. nos. 77, 88, 93, *ante*, and nos. 98, 100, *post*.[95]¹ *N. Y. Hist. Soc., MSS. of Joseph Reed*, VI.

which at present they have next to none. The topicks of argument in favour of this measure, must often have appeared to your excellency; arising not only from the necessity of the case, from publick and private utillity, but also from the baleful consequences which but too easily present themselves under the want of it. so numerous are the offspring of these different sources of argument, and so plain, that in writing to any wise and good man, I must check the variety of pointing them out, lest I shou'd abuse his time, or tacitly impeach his observation; nor are political arguments (tho' fully sufficient) the alone supporters of the doctrine of a general limitation in the present hour, as those of a moral nature also fall into the consideration, altho' we hope there will be no occasion for their publick appearance.

All the Objections I have yet seen to a regulating law, appear to be inconclusive—an idle refinement of civil rights and lethargick timidity make up the best half of them — nor can the past efforts of the Massachusetts-bay be thought sufficient, being without the present pulse of necessity, the sanction of Congress, or the knowledge of concurence in any other state; no wonder then, that their efforts proved abortive. A crafty evasion or elusion of the Law, is the stronghold of it's opposers. to this disease, no doubt corrosives must be applied. let them do it at the risque of something considerable (but much less so than the safety of their country), perhaps the loss of Ears that refuse to hear, or some quick sensation to an unfeeling hand. In circumstances like ours, to call the above an Arbitrary Law, is rather a reproach than a Compliment to government, the ultimate design whereof is the safety and happiness of the whole. There is also a different line of regulation incumbent upon Congress and equally necessary with that which respects the States as mentioned on the other side. The reformation of abuses and retrenchm't of all unnecessary expences is a great salutary work, indeed some observant men of my acquaintance say it ought to be done previous to a limitation of prices, that it wou'd greatly contribute to the effect of that Law, and is the least encouragement the States can have for their trouble in making and vertue in executing it, that after all, their property be not totally embezled thro' want of System and Economy. This is perfectly my own Opinion with this difference, that instead of either of these means taking any remarkable lead of the other in point of time, they ought to run hand in hand, but in the order of things the regulation or limitation of prices as the only basis of every other amendment shou'd first be known, for until some certain value is affixed to the currency, Congress have no rule whereby to fix their Salleries, nor to make any other useful alteration with effect. I have used the name of Congress in this business of reformation, but well know they cannot do it to publick satisfaction, neither is it possible for the Commander in Chief of our Army, and except his advice in some particular cases and information in others, it is a shame to put it upon him, and what I hope in it's full extent he will not undertake. In short the States or their Executive Councils and they only are competant to this business—and some candid inspectors to make report, or other useful intelligence must

at least be had from every County—this is not only essential to the gaining of facts, but by it the people will see that a reformation is intended; for at present chagrin prevails so far, as to excite hard surmises and very disagreeable opinions. the business in question therefore clearly involves two Ideas—the one that it be rightly done, the other that as far as possible the body of the populace have evidence that it is so. by this means confidence in our publick councils may be restored, unanimity and alacrity excited—the best means these, of securing our future efforts and payment of the publick debt. Congress ought fully and explicitly to authorize the States in the business above (as I have lately hinted to my Colleagues) and cannot be too early in advising the publick, that they will thoroughly inspect and reform such abuses as have been but too obvious even to vulgar sight. If any such resolution as this shou'd be made in Congress, I cou'd wish it dispersed in a number of hand-bills as the News-papers have not a general extent—considering it not only as a mean to animate the hopes of the people, but a good preparative to the limitation of prices by Law, especially if Congress shou'd think proper to express such desire.²

I long to hear from the General—how he views things, and from what Sources he looks for a remedy. Am too long a writing him but wanted an Opportunity. It's said that an application has been made to the Assembly, that what is called Coll: Flowers Regim't of Artificers or tradesmen shou'd be considered on a footing with the Pennsylvania line, or in other words, make a part of the State Quota of troops. the effects and views of this motion if gone into may be easily seen. I hope the assembly have not exposed themselves in attempting it. Nothing of the same size requires regulation more than the business of this place, but if the Board of War, under whose conduct it has always been, do not make the alterations themselves, this branch must fall in with, and be subject to the general line of reformation, whensoever that may happen.

You must be puzzled at the Alterations and new State-quotas talked of in Congress, of which I had a hint from Mr. Bryan—but no probable progress, nor uniformity of procedure, under any alteration whatever, can I possibly see short of a known or fixed value to our money, at least for some time. It is amazing to see how some otherwise judicious men, will venture to go on, and expect to succeed in the great business of America, without any rational foundation-data, or given point! it is more than any Mathematician on Earth ever pretended to. General Green I hear is a sanguine asserter of the saving efficacy of deep Taxation, that alone is his infallible Nostrem—A deep delusion, a shameful error. Taxation to the present demands of America is like the Gentlemen's Dinner to his appetite, what he had was good, but neither enuff nor half enuff.

I am dear Sir with perfect Sympathy and Esteem,

Your Excellency's Most humble Servt.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

² Cf. nos. 12, 21, 52, *ante*.

[P. S.] Some time ago I wrote Mr. McClane,³ that I cou'd not possibly attend Congress sooner than the begining of May and the prospect of a late spring but farther confirms that determination, but hope that a Supplement to the Bill may have passed this last session—not in the addition of Dollars but of Delegates.

Respects to the Ladies and to Coll: Petit if in Town

96. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADA Friday 3 C'k P. M. 17th march 1780.

Sir,

I have only time to observe that Congress have this moment received the following information, and may probably be depended upon as to substance—viz: Mr Temple is comning out with the following propositions to Congress. G. B. to acknowledge the Independance of all the States except So. Carolina and Georgia, and that part of Massa. bay Call'd the Province of Maine, this together with So. Carolina and Georgia to be given to G Britain Mr. Temple to be allowed to Draw for whatever Sums of money he pleases. The following propositions were offered by the B. King and rejected by Mr. Temple viz. the United States to Join their Arms with G. Britain vs. Spain. if this cannot be obtained, the said States not to assist Spain against Britian. if this shoud be rejected then to make the best Terms on this Head he Can.

This intelligence Comes from Hollan[d] to a Gentleman of high rank in this City by a letter dated 29 Decr. 79. The post waiting ²

97. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

Friday March 17, 1780.

D'r S'r,

You will recollect what I told you of the wish of the Minister to write to the several States. He readily quitted the Scheme. But you will find he has taken an Occasion thro' us to speak to our State. I had sketched a Reply to him more *general* than what you will see transmitted, but I own the Example of Delegates from other States on various Occasions is a great Argument in favor of the *particular* manner which the Opinion of my Colleagues decided. It is not however necessary to *publish* that we are as partial as they.² a Gentleman of high rank in this City is told from Holland Decr. 29th That Mr. Temple is coming out with the following proposals to Congress. "G Britain will acknowledge the Independ'ce of

³ James McLene, delegate in Congress from Pennsylvania.

[96]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VII. 127.

² A letter in almost identical language, to Josiah Bartlett, dated "Friday 4th h P. M. 17th M'h 1780", is in the Bartlett Correspondence, Dartmouth College Library. The *Journals* contain no record of the matter. Cf. nos. 97, 98, 116, *post*.

[97]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² See nos. 69, 91, 92, *ante*.

all the States except Sth Carol'a and Georgia and the Province of Main w'ch are to be given to Great Britain. Mr. T is to be allowed to draw for whatever Sums of money he thinks proper". The following were offered by the British King and rejected by Mr. T—"The U. S. to join their arms w'th G B. *against Spain*. If this cannot be obtained, the s'd States not to *assist Spain* against G Br. If this sh'd be rejected then the best Terms possible on this Head to be made".³

I cannot say what Credit is to be given to this Information but I know the Hint will make you watch and put Things together as they turn up tending to prove or disprove the Story now told.

I suppose you are convinced that nobody can tell what Value *common Consent* will from day to day put upon our continental Bills. 300 for one may be demanded next Week, tho' it is evident that there is not enough now for the Prices current. Something must immediately be done I hope we shall decide Tomorrow;⁴ and I doubt not the States will provide Funds. Pennsylvania is most earnestly engaged in providing for her Quota. It behoves our State to be looking about for her Foundation whether in Plate or Lands or both. But I shall lose the Post if I do not drop any further Explanation.

Y^rs
J L

98. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA March 19th 1780.

. . . . Advices tho not official have been received two days ago via Holland that Mr. John Temple was to repair to these states charged with propositions to congress from the Court of London, the Substance of which are an acknowledgment of our Independance, provided they retain Canada In all Its Extent—that we cede South Carolina and Georgia and what they call the province of Main now part of the Massachusetts State, and that they also retain Acadia with Its dependencies—to leave us at Liberty to fulfil our Engagements with france but to observe a perfect neutrality with respect to them and Spain²

The report on Finance is agreed to without any Material alteration from what I think I stated in a former letter³

The Committee appointed to Arrange the Civil departments in Conjunction with Messrs. Mifflin and Pickering have not yet reported. as I refused to attend I can only Judge of what It will be from the Ideas which Some of the Gentlemen have Communicated on the subject, which are not Consonant to mine.⁴

³ Cf. no. 96, *ante*, and nos. 98, 116, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Mar. 18; cf. nos. 88, 90, *ante*, and nos. 98, 100, *post*. Holten records in his Diary under Mar. 18, "Congress agreed to call in all the paper currency by taxes" (*Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 90).

[98]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² Cf. nos. 96, 97, *ante*, and no. 116, *post*.

³ See no. 88, *ante*, and no. 100, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Mar. 27, and nos. 61, 77, 83, 86, 88, *ante*; cf. nos. 102, 109, 110, 128, *post*. For a history of this matter, particularly in so far as appertained to the department of quartermaster-general, see G. W. Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, vol. II., ch. IX.

99. JOHN MATHEWS TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN (?).¹

PHILADELPHIA, March 19th 1780.

Dear Sir,

The Committee have nothing new to communicate, therefore do not write by this opportunity.²

I most anxiously wait for the arrival of Mr. Kinloch,³ or some express, to get some information of your situation, and the movements of the enemy. for we have received no accounts from your quarter since the 29th Jany. announcing the appearance of the enemy off our coast. We have had a variety of reports here respecting them, but on which not the least dependence is to be placed. I think it cannot be many days longer before we must hear from you. . . .

100. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular

PHILADELPHIA March 20, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 18th Instant calling upon the several States to bring in the Continental Currency by monthly taxes, or otherwise as shall best suit their respective Circumstances in proportion to the Quotas assigned to each State by the resolution of the 7th of October 1779, and making provision for other Bills to be issued in Lieu thereof under the restrictions and regulations in the Act.

This Act is the result of much Labour and Deliberation, as the happiest Expedient that could be adopted to extricate these States from the Embarrassments of a fluctuating Medium and at the same time in some Measure afford the necessary means for supporting the ensuing Campaign.

You will readily perceive the Importance of this measure and the indispensable Necessity of unanimity in the States in conforming thereto.

[99]¹ Haverford College, Roberts Coll., 722 (copy).

² A standing committee (originally Laurens, Marchant, and Holten) had been appointed July 8 to correspond with the commanding officer in South Carolina and Georgia (usually referred to as the commanding officer in the Southern department), that is, General Lincoln, and Mathews had been added to that committee Nov. 10. On Mar. 7 he had written a letter "In behalf of the Committee", in which he says, "Yours of the 31st January we received the 5th Inst." (see no. 75, *ante*), and adds: "A copy of the act of Congress respecting the co-operation of the Spaniards with you in the reduction of Savanna and St. Augustine has been transmitted to the Governor of the Havannah." (The letter was formerly in possession of Mr. D. McN. Stauffer of Yonkers, New York.) That letter and this of Mar. 19 were both no doubt addressed to General Lincoln. The act of co-operation to which he refers was that of Dec. 16, 1779. See the letter of President Huntington Dec. 18, 1779, in vol. IV., p. 540.

³ Francis Kinloch, who had been chosen a delegate to Congress from South Carolina Feb. 1, took his seat Mar. 25.

[100]¹ N. C. Hist. Comm., Caswell Papers; N. C. State Recs., XV, 359; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI.; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI, 105; N. J. State Lib.; N. J. Rev. Corr., p. 215; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII, 31; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 318.

It is requested that there may be no Delay in taking this Act under Consideration, and that the assembly if not sitting may be convened as soon as possible for that purpose, and that the Laws that may be enacted in pursuance thereof be transmitted to Congress without Delay.

The new Bills will be struck under the Direction of the Board of Treasury and sent to the several States in due proportion.

You have also enclosed an Act of Congress of this Day recommending the revision of such Laws as may have been passed making the Continental Bills a Tender in Discharge of Debts, etc.²

101. JAMES MADISON, JR., TO JAMES MADISON, SR.¹

PHILADELPHIA Monday March 20th, 1780.

Hon'd Sir,

The extreme badness of the roads and frequency of rains rendered my journey so slow that I did not reach this place till Saturday last.² The only public intelligence I have to communicate is that the great and progressive depreciation of the paper currency had introduced such disorder and perplexity into public affairs for the present and threatened to load the United States with such an intolerable burden of debt, that Congress have thought it expedient to convert the 200,000,000 of Dollars now in circulation into a real debt of 5,000,000 by establishing the exchange at 40 for 1, and taxes for calling it in during the ensuing year, are to be payable at the option of the people in Specie or paper according to that difference. In order to carry on public measures in future money is to be emitted under the combined faith of Congress and the several States, secured on permanent and specific funds to be provided by the latter. This scheme was finally resolved on on Saturday last. It has not yet been printed but will be immediately. I shall transmit a copy to you by the first opportunity. The little time I have been here makes it impossible for me to enter into a particular delineation of it. It will probably create great perplexity and complaints in many private transactions.³ Congress have recommended to the States to repeal their tender laws, and to take measures for preventing injustice as much as possible. It is probable that in

² See nos. 77, 86, 88, 93, 94, 97, 98, *ante*, and nos. 101, 102, 104-109, *post*.

[101]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers; Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, I. 58.

² In a letter to Richard Henry Lee, Mar. 20, William Shippen remarked, "Young Madison one of your Delegates came into Congress yesterday" (Univ. of Va., Lee Papers). "Yesterday" was, however, Sunday. Madison's first attendance was Monday, Mar. 20; therefore Shippen doubtless wrote on Mar. 21.

³ See the *Journals*, Mar. 18, and no. 100, note 2, *ante*. Samuel Chase wrote to Richard Henry Lee from Annapolis, June 9: "Do you know when the Resolve for the Continental Bankruptcy, 18 March, passed that there were but ten States represented, five for and four agt the Measure, one state divided—three unrepresented" (Univ. of Va., Lee Papers). Chase presumably obtained his information from George Plater, the only Maryland delegate in attendance, but in any case he was misinformed. There were eleven states represented, and the vote was six ayes, four noes, and one (New Hampshire) divided. Three states (Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina) had but a single delegate in attendance, but, while in the cases of Delaware and South Carolina one delegate could cast the state's vote, Maryland required two. Plater's vote (which was in the negative) was accordingly ineffective. Georgia was the only state which had no delegate on the floor.

the case of loans to the public, the state of depreciation at the time they were made will be the rule of payment, but nothing is yet decided on that point.⁴ I expect to be more at leisure to write fully by next post.

102. THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, March 20th, 1780.

Sir,

The President will transmit to your Excellency the resolutions of Congress for sinking the continental bills of credit and issuing new bills on the credit of the several States, which we hope will be approved by your Excellency and the Honorable the General Assembly.

It was judged impracticable to carry on the war another year with the present currency, and no other plan has been proposed that appeared so likely to relieve us from the embarrassments of a fluctuating currency as that which has been adopted by Congress. The depreciation here has been at the rate of sixty for one and in the Southern States from forty to fifty. Neither the scarcity or the collection of taxes have had any effect to appreciate, or fix, its value. 'Tis apprehended that the new bills will be effectually secured against depreciation, from the smallness of the quantity to be in circulation, the funds provided for their redemption, the shortness of the period, and the payment of an annual interest. The preparing them under the direction of the Board of Treasury, and the insurance of payment by the United States in case any State shall by the events of the war be rendered incapable of redeeming them, will give them a currency throughout the United States and be a security against counterfeits.

This emission of bills will not only introduce a stable medium of trade, but increase the revenue the amount of five millions of dollars equal to specie. The six tenths of the bills to be emitted will enable the States to purchase the specific supplies called for by the resolution of the 25th of February last, and the remaining four tenths will supply the continental Treasury for paying the army, etc., while the States are collecting in the old bills by taxes; and although it is recommended to collect in the continental bills by monthly assessments, it may be expedient to give the people an opportunity of paying the whole at one payment. It may also be expedient for the States to allow new bills to be exchanged for the old, that the old may be drawn out of circulation as soon as possible to prevent further imposition by counterfeits, and if there should be a scarcity of money people might be allowed to pay their rates in provisions, to be delivered at the magazines at the prices fixed by Congress. The new bills will be prepared and forwarded to the States as soon as possible.

We hear that the Honorable Assembly have ordered a new emission of bills. We beg leave to submit to your Excellency whether it will not

⁴ See the *Journals*, Mar. 20, and nos. 102, 104, 105, *post*. Concerning the matter of the tender laws see the *Journals*, Feb. 14, 29, Mar. 11, 20. Concerning the payment of interest and principal of loan office certificates see no. 102, note 2, *post*.

[102]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 26 (signed by Sherman and Ellsworth).

be expedient to stop the issuing of them, and immediately adopt the plan recommended by Congress. We should be sorry to have that fail of the good effects expected from it by any act or omission on the part of the States. The same proportions are kept up in the present requisitions as in the resolution of the 7th of October last, wherein Connecticut is rated much too high, but hope that wont prevent her compliance, at least to the amount of her quota, which would be about one twelfth part, in case none of the States were disabled by the events of the war from raising their quotas. Perhaps her quota in present circumstances would be more than one eleventh part of the whole. Repeated assurances have been given by Congress that those States which do more than their proportion shall be equitably compensated.

There is a report before Congress for fixing the rate in specie at which the loan-office certificates shall be paid.²

It is expected that a new regulation of the Quarter Master's and other staff departments will soon be established on the most economical plans whereby much expence will be saved. They will be accommodated to the late regulation of making the purchases by the States. The prices of the specific articles to be furnished by the States were estimated at about 50 per cent above the prices in 1774. They include all expences of purchasing and delivering them into the magazines. The motives for adopting that measure were, the rendering the supplies more certain and equable among the States, and to prevent frauds and abuses, and the aid of the States in procuring supplies was found to be absolutely necessary.³

By a letter from General Lincoln of the 22d ultimo, we are informed that part of the British forces that left New York were landed on St. John's and James's Islands, near Charlestown, the numbers not ascertained, but he thinks there is a good prospect of making a succesful opposition to them. Mr. Lawrence⁴ expected to sail for Europe the 26th of Feby.

103. THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA 20th March 1780.

Since the receipt of your letter of Feby. 9th the attention of Congress has been so engaged with the Affairs of the army and Finance, as to pre-

² The report was brought in Feb. 17. The motion there referred to was no doubt the motion of Roger Sherman Jan. 4, which was referred to Sherman, Houston, and Forbes. The index to the *Journals* erroneously assigns this committee to Bache's letter. On a further motion of Sherman, Mar. 21, the report of Feb. 17 was recommitted, and Schuyler was substituted on the committee for Forbes, who was ill and died four days later. A new report, drawn by Houston, was brought in Mar. 25. For the course of the matter see the *Journals*, Mar. 28-31, Apr. 18, 24, 25, 27, May 2 (*cf.* May 20, 24), June 20-22, 26-28. *Cf.* nos. 120, 128, 142, 281, 286, *post.*

³ See nos. 77, 88, 98, note 4, *ante*, and nos. 102, 109, 128, *post.*

⁴ Henry Laurens, chosen commissioner to Holland Oct. 21, 1779. He did not however depart upon his mission until Aug. 13, 1780. For some account of the reasons for this delay see Wallace, *Life of Laurens*, pp. 353-368; also Laurens's letters to the committee of foreign affairs, Jan. 24, Feb. 14, 24, in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 467, 494, 516. Meanwhile he was again elected (Feb. 1) a delegate to Congress, and occupied his seat in that body for a short time before sailing for Holland.

[103]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 104 (in the writing of Gerry, signed by Gerry, Lovell, Holten, and Partridge).

clude an Opportunity of making any propositions respecting the expenditures of the State in the penobscot expedition; but we hope this Business will not be much longer delayed. The Resolution mentioned in your Letter would be useful on this occasion, and not being able to find it in the *Journals*, after the most careful Examination thereof, We are under the necessity of requesting you to point it out.² We are nevertheless convinced of the Justice of the claim, and shall prefer it to Congress by the earliest Opportunity.

104. JAMES LOVELL TO JOHN ADAMS.¹

March 21st 1780.

. . . . It is recommended to redeem the continental Currency at 40 for 1 and to model the Tender Laws equitably. It is a Thing of uncertain Event and the Bal'ce of Blessings and Cursings consequent cannot shortly be fixed. It is one of those Decisions about which much very much may and will be said on both Sides. I believe that most of those who said nay here on the Determination were glad it was carried agt. them. I cannot see how the Continent can suppose that Congress has any separte Interest to guide their Determination on this important Point.²

yrs. aff'ly
J LOVELL

105. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

21st of March, [1780.]

Dear Sir,

. . . . You will find we have been forced, by the enormous artificial Depreciation added to the natural, to come to a decisive Recommendation about the Redemption of the present nominal Debt at an equitable Ratio; and consonant Measures as to the Tender Laws.² If our People of Mass. are paying as the People of Pensylv. They will be glad to have some Bound set to a cruel Fluctuation. I am astonished whenever the Post arrives to find I have not a single Line from you, in particular that you have not been minute about Vermont or the *Resolve* of Congress on which the Penobscot Expedition was founded.³ There is no great Task in finding Resolves of a quite contrary Spirit, but my Eyes and Head have suffered in Search of what is positively asserted in a Letter from our State of Feb 9th. I wish one of the 4 Delegates there had pointed to the Date. I do not comprehend Mr. Ward in that Number.

We can only go upon the Reason and Justice of the Mass. Claim to be reimbursed.

² Concerning the search for the resolve alluded to see no. 105, *post*. Concerning the Penobscot expedition see the *Journals*, Mar. 22, Apr. 5-8; also no. 69, *ante*, and nos. 105, 127, 131, 136, 138, 139, *post*.

[104]¹ Adams MSS., Boston.

² See the *Journals*, Mar. 18, 20; cf. nos. 100, 101, 102, note 2, *ante*.

[105]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² See no. 100, *ante*.

³ See Adams's letters to Lovell Mar. 5, 25 (*Writings*, IV. 180, 183), and nos. 19, 81, 103, *ante*.

I find nothing more favorable than the 1st Resolve at the Head of the 25th Page of the 1st Vol. the bottom of Page 101 with the Top of 126, Near the Bottom of 127 in Regard to N Carolina.

The 4th Paragraph Page 171 is ag'st us also the 2d Resolution from the Bottom of 235 and what relates to the River Delaware. I shall be much ashamed to find that I have overlooked so important a Resolve if it really exists.⁴

106. SAMUEL LIVERMORE TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA March 21st, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Our plan of Finance has at length passed the Congress: but not just as I expected. As it is lengthy and you will have it officially transmitted I need not copy it. It keeps up the idea of forty for one: but as it proposes sinking the whole paper Currency in six years, I fear the burthen will prove too great: it depends on the several states adopting the plan by Acts of assembly for that purpose, which it is tho't will not be complied with.²

Vermont business hangs by the eyelids, Massa. Bay not ready.³ I am tired of waiting and must set out as soon as travelling will permit.⁴

107. THE RHODE ISLAND DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
RHODE ISLAND (WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA March 21st 1780.²

Sir:

In our last letter we informed your excellency that the haughtiness of Great Britain had determined her to try her strength another campaign.³

It is unnecessary to say it behoves the United States to be fully prepared to resist her greatest efforts; but it is our duty to tell you plainly that unless immediate and essential relief is given to our embarrassed finances it will be impracticable. The sinews of war must be braced, and more regular

⁴ Lovell was presumably using the Aitken edition of the *Journals* (1777). His references accordingly appear to indicate the following resolves, although some of them require an exceedingly liberal interpretation to make them applicable to the Penobscot case: Oct. 8, 1774; May 15, 1775 (respecting New York); June 23, 1775 (respecting New York); June 26, 1775 (respecting North Carolina); July 18, 1775 ("That each colony, at their own expence", etc.); Nov. 4, 1775 (closing, "the expence to be paid by the said Colony").

[106]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 A 160; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Weare, p. 558.

² See nos. 100, 101, *ante*, and nos. 107-109, *post*.

³ Cf. nos. 108, 126, 127, 138, 187, 188, *post*.

⁴ Livermore's term as delegate had already expired. See no. 90, *ante*. He took his departure shortly afterward. See no. 147, *post*.

[107]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1779-1780, p. 82; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 287.

² As printed in Staples this letter is dated May 21, but the contents clearly show that it was written in March. Moreover Collins, who signs the letter with Ellery, was not in Philadelphia May 21. He obtained leave of absence May 10, and Ellery says in his letter of May 16 (Staples, p. 286) that he "left this place last week, and, it is said, has gone home".

³ Probably the letter of Mar. 1 (Staples, p. 274).

and more ample supplies bro't into the Treasury than it hath received for months past or our military preparations must cease and the most pernicious consequences ensue.

Congress have long seen with alarming apprehensions the crisis to which a continued depreciation of our paper currency would one day reduce our affairs.

They have given frequent and faithful warnings to the several States; and have exerted every power on their part to avert the impending mischief; but to little or no purpose. The evil like an uncontrouled torrent hath advanced on with rapid progress, and now threatens to overwhelm us. Under these circumstances Congress have thought it necessary to adopt a new plan of finance; and have accordingly come to the decisive resolutions which we now have the honour to inclose to you.⁴

The main objects of them you will readily perceive are; by one operation to give an establishment to the paper medium, to realize the nominal debt of the United States, and find supplies for the treasury. . . .

108. THE NEW YORK DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, March 21, 1780.

Sir,

We do ourselves the honor to refer your Excellency to some important resolutions which passed Congress on Saturday, and will be transmitted to you by the President.² whether their effect will be such as we wish, time alone can discover. Our hopes are sanguine. as the minutes of Congress will shew that we unanimously concurred in them, we think it proper to lay before your Excellency our reasons, not only as a justification of our conduct to our constituents if contrary to our expectations the measure should not meet with their approbation, but in order to explain more fully the principles upon which the determinations of Congress were formed. The continued and rapid depreciation, notwithstanding the pressure of taxes, which was severely felt in many places; the exhausted state of the public treasury; the utter impossibility of procuring a supply in any other way, adequate to the demand by taxation, even if the people could have submitted to have their burthens doubled upon them, called aloud for some firm and decided alteration in our system of finance. In vain we endeavored to borrow in aid of the taxes, the monied interest availing themselves of our necessities refusing to lend, though we offered them near fifty per cent advance on sterling bills. This evil increased upon us every day, and loans become more difficult when the depreciated state of the currency reduced the relative quantity below what was necessary as a medium of commerce, in which situation of things no person would lend unless upon such a premium as would be sufficient to indemnify him for the capital drawn from trade; and even then only slowly, and in small

⁴ Doubtless the resolutions of Mar. 18.

[108]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XII. 107.

² See the *Journals*, Mar. 18, and no. 100, note 2, ante.

quantities, as the necessities of the public daily giving him hopes for more advantageous terms.

In this situation nothing was left us but some firm and decided measure, or public bankruptcy and ruin. We flatter ourselves the part we have taken will do justice to individuals as far as it can be done with safety, and enable the public to make those exertions on which the happiness of its members depend. The farmer will acknowledge the propriety of a measure which compels him to pay to the public no more than the value of what has been received to his use, and the money holder if he reasons justly, will be satisfied with the real worth of the commodity with which he purchased that money, instead of a visionary wealth which every hour diminishes in his hands, and which must have vanished into air, as the cause on which it was borne could no longer be supported. The continuation of the tax to the amount required, though desirable and to be complied with if possible, must however be limited by the situation of every State. Perhaps with us it may be advisable after the establishment of funds, to take in part of the old by exchange for the new emissions in order to lighten the tax; perhaps too it might be advantageously funded upon our confiscated estates and back lands. The resolution to receive specie and the new bills at 40 times the nominal value of the bills of credit now in circulation is founded upon a belief that that is about the average value at which it was received by the present possessors of them. this may indeed bear hard upon individuals, but in so great a work it cannot but be, that private interests must yield to public utility. It may be asked, what will secure the new emissions from depreciation? We answer, first the reduction of the whole debt to so moderate a compass as to render the payment of it easy; second, the funds on which they are to be issued, which it is expected will be sufficient to convince the creditor of the public that his money rests on a firm basis. These are the only securities a community can give, and these have always been sufficient, if a State did not either outrun its resources, or neglect to apply them to the maintenance of public credit. We flatter ourselves the State will see the necessity of such established system of taxation as will enable the public creditor to calculate the value of his security, without which a paper credit must always fluctuate. Besides the advantages which we have already stated as the probable consequences of this measure, and those more obvious benefits that arise from throwing off an unjust and cumbrous load of debt which threatened for ages to clog the industry of our people, From having some fixed standard by which to ascertain the pay of our officers, civil and military, from checking the idleness and dissipation which a fluctuating medium always occasions, and from banishing their baneful spirit of jobbing and speculation, which disordered Finances and a heavy public debt never fail to give birth to.

We had reasons arising from the peculiar situation of our State which attached us to the measure. We had little room to hope that Congress would make us those allowances in the liquidation of the public debt, which as we conceived, our distresses entitled us to; since, though they acknowledged the weight of our present burthens, yet they seemed to sup-

pose and perhaps with some degree of justice that our future resources were fully sufficient to enable us to bear any proportion of the debt, which by the terms of the confederation could be imposed on us. Had they therefore under this impression adopted any system of appreciation for which taxation was the basis, our State would have been unable to tax in proportion to its neighbors, would necessarily have fallen a sacrifice to that appreciation. From this evil we are now happily secured, since whatever time our necessities may oblige us to take for the redemption of the public debt, we are assured that the value of money cannot increase to our ruin.

We have dwelt thus long upon this subject, because we are sensible that a measure in which numbers are interested must have many difficulties to struggle with, and impressed with its necessity and importance, we wish to bespeak for it the support and patronage of the State.

The business of the Grants still drags on heavily;³ at present we are prevented from proceeding by the sickness of one of the representatives from Maryland, whose absence breaks up the Congress. if agreeable to the Spirit of the resolutions of Sept'r last, the States that are interested in the controversy should stand aside. We shall omit no opportunity of bringing it on, when a convenient season offers.

We have the honor to be with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obt. humble Servts.

JNO. MORIN SCOTT.

WM. FLOYD.

PH: SCHUYLER.

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON.

EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU.

109. JOHN COLLINS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA, March the 21st, 1780.

Dear Sir:

I Received yours of the 19th this afternoon, would incloas'd you this days paper but make no doubt you will Receive it per post in which you will find what accounts we have from Carolina. Euopen News we have but little, none but what has been published, we may expect another Campaign Except the Irish affairs diverts our Enemies from it, and if they should, it will be happy for this Countrey.

the Committee fror Regulateing the Quartermasters and Commissarys Department have Given in their Report but it has not as yet been Read. I will send you a Copy as soon as it is.² you say you are Exceeding sick of your Deparm't and wish to git out of it if it Could be don in Charrector. I make no wonder at it, for I know it must be Extreem troublesom. I am not able at preasent to give you any advice, but would Readley do it if I Could, but I will make this Observation, Popularity once lost justly or unjustly, is not easely Regained by the best of men. you are in the

³ See the *Journals*, Mar. 21; cf. no. 106, *ante*, and nos. 126, 127, 138, 187, 188, *post*.

[109]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² See no. 110, note 3, *post*.

prime of life, let not a little difficulty Discourage you. if I can be of any service to you you may depend I will serve you as far as is in my power.

Congress has finished their plan of finance. I will send you the scheme per next post. We have goan on the plan adopted by the New England States to git rid of their Oald tender, a silver Dollar is to pay 40 paper Dollars for taxis, and as the money now in Circulation is paid in, it is to be Distroyed, and new money issued Carring 5 per Ct. intrest. I hope the Scheme will answer as well as it did in New England, but the Event must be left to time.³

I have not had one line from Rhode Island since I left it. Should be glad to hear how the people at large Relish my leaving the State in the manner I left it.

my Respects to your Lady, I am with Regard yours

JNO. COLLINS

110. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA March 22d 1780.

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I was favored with Yours of the 18th Instant.

On the first day I took my seat In Congress I enquired what Measures had been adopted towards a plan for the Military operations of the Campaign. finding none and being Informed that the propriety of Sending for General Washington and you had already been agitated and deemed unnecessary, I waved saying any thing on the Subject, and advised the General of It, Stating at the Same time the line of Conduct which I had pursued with respect to the appointment they had made me as one of their Commissioners to arrange the Civil departments of the army. that letter his Excellency had not received when Yours was written but as I am Informed It went by a Safe Conveyance from hence, It is probably before this come to hand and the General will advise You of Its Contents. Since writting that letter the necessity of a Conference with the General and You appeared to me to have Increased and It was moved but without Effect—this I forgot to advise his Excellency of In my last and Intreat you to do It for me.²

There never My Dear Sir since the Commencement of the Contest was an hour In which as It appears to me our Affairs were more Critical, and perhaps our Councils were never weaker, our Exertions less and torpor Greater. I have fruitlessly rang every change on this Subject but despair of Inducing measures which have a tendency to extricate us from the present distresses and which surround us on all quarters.

Assailed on the one Side by duty and affection to my Country, on the other by those Sensations which cannot permit me to Join in wounding the feelings of those I Esteem I am agitated by a dillenna the most disagreeable possible. that You have been treated with Indelicacy and dis-

³ See no. 100, *ante*.

[110]¹ Collection of the late James H. Manning of Albany, N. Y.

² Concerning the proposition to send a committee to camp see nos. 8, note 2, 19, note 3, 89, note 4, *ante*, and nos. 111, 128, 130, *post*.

respect I am unhappily too well aware of, that my assent to the offensive measures has never been given You will believe, that I have proposed a line of Conduct on their part which promised to make Attonement I assure You of. I have deprecated the Idea of appointing others to form a System for Your Conduct In the department which You Conduct, and have repeatedly recommended to give You power without limitation In the business and all that Confidence which It is for the public Interest you should have, and without which no man can Effectually Serve It. what will be done to Morrow when the report of the Committee and Commis-sioners is made I cannot say. I shall be totally Opposed to the *Enacting* of any System whatever, even If I should approve the principles of the System, for I wish You to be perfectly free of every Shackle. If they enter Into my Views former Sins will In a great measure be done away and I shall In that case not think It Inconsistent with my feelings to recommend, or with Yours to Continue Your attention to the Important department. If you can Continue without a Sacrifice of reputation, you will Conceive It Your duty so to do both from public and private Considerations. In the last I allude Specially to our friend the General. what must be his Situation with a New Man and most probably an Incompetent one, In a department the head of which, must of necessity be Confidentially trusted on a variety of Occasions.

I am happy to find Your sentiments on the Subject of the new adopted mode for obtaining Supplies so perfectly Coincident with mine. I have more than once openly and without reserve declared that It would draw In Its train the ruin of the Army. Letters from Colo: Blaine already tend to verify the Assertion, and many Members begin to think with me on the Occasion. perhaps It will Introduce a reformation; that It may, and that Such measures may be adopted as will Secure us Your Services I most Earnestly wish and will most Strenuously Contend for. Let me Intreat You to take no hasty decided measure; Your Country is in danger, Your General and Your friend In distress, and Your friends here feel for both of You.³ Adieu. I am D'r Sir with truth and Esteem Your most Obedt Hu[mble] Servant

P SCHUYLER

III. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA March 22d 1780.

My Dear Sir,

. . . . I do not recollect If [I] advised you that the propriety of a Conference with Your Excellency had a second time been Insisted on, and that the same opinion as on the first was prevalent.²

³ Cf. nos. 26, 61, 77, 109, *ante*, and nos. 120, note 3, 128, 156, *post*. See also Washington to Schuyler Mar. 22 and 31 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VI. 489, VII. 3), to Greene Mar. 26 (*ibid.*, VI. 492), and Greene to Washington Mar. 31, Apr. 2 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, II. 422, 426). Other correspondence between Washington and Greene on the subject is in the Washington Papers.

[111]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² See no. 110, note 2, *ante*.

Messrs. Sherman and Jones are to morrow to report the System they In Conjunction with Gen: Mifflin and Mr. Pickering have formed for Conducting the Civil department of the Army. I am afraid (from what I have learnt) It will not only be Inadequate but If adopted wound, or rather give additional Soreness to the wounds already given the Q. M: G. as I do not Concieve In our present Circumstances that any System however Judiciously Compiled can apply I shall do my endeavours so far to overturn the proposed one as that If even good, It shall only go as recom-mendatory. this may probably make some attonement for the Indelicate Inattention which Gen: Greene has Experienced. I have Intreated him to take no hasty decided Step and have taken the liberty to point at the Consequences of a change In that department at this Conjuncture.³

112. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, March 23, 1780.²

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 21st Instant, Recommending to the Governments of the several States to suspend making new Appointments of Officers in the Regiments of their respective Lines except when the Commander in Chief or Commanding Officer in the Southern Department shall deem such appointment indispensibly necessary.³

The Design of this Act is to aid the Intentions of Congress in retrenching the supernumerary Officers as soon as Circumstances will admit without doing Injury or Injustice to the Officers.⁴ . . .

113. THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, March 23d, 1780.

Sir,

We are honored with your Excellency's dispatches of the 10th instant, by Brown, and shall pay due attention to the several matters and instructions therein communicated. In particular, with regard to debts due in Connecticut for beef purchased under the late Commissary General Wadsworth, we shall again urge in Congress, as we repeatedly have done, the

³ Cf. nos. 98, 110, *ante*, and nos. 128, 130, *post*. The report on the quartermaster's department is in the *Journals*, Mar. 27.

[112]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 320; *ibid.*, Washington Papers; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 142.

² "Congress have adjourned to Saturday, tomorrow is good Friday" (Holten, Diary, Mar. 23).

³ Cf. no. 113, *post*.

⁴ The letter-book copy has this notation: "N. B. The same excepting the last paragraph to New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, General Washington, and Genl. Lincoln." The additional paragraph to Governor Trumbull summarized the action respecting Jesse Brown, the express rider. The letter to Washington also omits this paragraph respecting the design of the act.

[113]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 30 (signed by Sherman and Ellsworth).

necessity of furnishing money to discharge them. But, Sir, there have been many and urgent calls for money which it has been impossible for Congress, with a nearly exhausted treasury, to comply with; and the same difficulties will remain so long as the several States are dilatory in collecting their quotas of money, or when collected apply it to other purposes than the payment of continental warrants.

The reduction of the battalions in the continental army is a matter now before Congress, but is attended with difficulties. Tho' oeconomy pleads strongly in favour of the measure, yet it is doubtful whether there will be sufficient time to adjust and settle an intire new arangement of the army before they may be called to take the field; and as every new arangement is also found to be a new source of discontent, it is the opinion of some to postpone this reduction until there shall be fewer other causes of discontent in the army than at present. It has also been observed that should the battalions not be reduced at this juncture, yet considerable savings may be made by the several States forbareing to fill up vacancies in their respective lines, which are already numerous should they not become more so. Our endeavours however shall not be wanting to carry our instructions upon this head into effect.²

II4. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, March 23, 1780.

Sir,

Permit me as a private citizen to express my wishes that the late resolutions of Congress on the subject of finance may meet your Excellency's approbation and support.² Your Excellency must have long seen with alarming apprehensions the crisis to which a continued depreciation of the paper currency would one day reduce our affairs. It is now, Sir, just at hand. Without more stability in the medium, and far more ample supplies in the treasury than for months past, it will be impossible for our military preperations to proceed, and the army must disband. The present moment is indeed critical, and if let slip the confusion and distress will be infinite. This, Sir, is precisely the point of time for the several Legislatures to act decidedly and in a manner that the world will forever call wise. It is now in their power by a single operation to give a sure establishment for publick credit, to realize the publick debt at its just value, and, without adding to the burdens of the people, to supply the treasury. To furnish one common ground to unite their exertions upon for the accomplishment of these great purposes, your Excellency will easily perceive to be the spirit and design of the resolutions above referred to. They speak a language too plain to need any comment. I will only add concerning them that they have been the product of much labor and discussion:

² See the *Journals*, Mar. 20, 21, 25; cf. nos. 8, note 2, 11, 112, *ante*, and nos. 145, 172, 206, *post*.

[114]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 28.

² The reference is to the resolutions of Mar. 18.

and tho' some States may have reason for thinking they are not the best possible, yet they are the best Congress could agree upon; and should these be rejected I confess I do not well see on what ground the common exertions of the several States are to be united and continued hereafter.

Your Excellency will forgive me the very great freedom of this letter, and permit me the honor of subscribing myself,

With the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedt., humbl. servt.

OLIV'R ELLSWORTH.

115. THE SECRETARY OF CONGRESS (CHARLES THOMSON) TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADA. March 23, 1780.

Sir,

I am honoured with your letter of the 10th instant, accompanied with sundry state papers, for which I thank you and shall have them deposited in the office. My view is to have as compleat a collection of the public papers of every State as I can deposited here, where the delegates from the several States may have access to them, and as the governments are new and doubtless many experiments must be made in legislation before they can reach perfection, I would wish to have the first essays as well as those perfected by experience. The former may to a legislator in another State be almost as useful as the latter. They may serve as landmarks and teach him the folly of repeating or attempting a similar law in his own State, and thus by the experience of one benefit may redound to all.²

I now enclose you the Journal of Congress for Feby. last, and am, with due respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servt.

CHAS. THOMSON.

116. THOMAS MCKEAN TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.¹

Dear Sir,

Your esteemed favour, of the 15th last month, with extracts from your much injured brother's letter, to the President of Congress, and the copy of Doctor Berkenhout's letter to yourself, inclosed, came safe to hand.² Next to the approbation of my own conscience, it has always been my wish to obtain that of the wise and good, and I confess I am happy in having yours. I flatter myself the time will shortly come, when the honest laborers in the cause of freedom and their country, will at least meet with the

[115]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 32.

² See no. 31, *ante*.

[116]¹ Am. Phil. Soc., Lee Papers, II. 138, no. 38; Lee, *Memoir of Richard Henry Lee*, II. 176.

² Lee's letter of Feb. 15 to McKean is not found in *Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (ed. Ballagh), but he had evidently enclosed to McKean a copy of the pamphlet containing principally Arthur Lee's letter of Feb. 10, 1779, of which he had had 500 copies printed and had been distributing. See his letter to Samuel Adams Jan. 18, to Governor Trumbull Jan. 22, to Roger Sherman Jan. 22, and to Arthur Lee Apr. 24. *Ibid.*, II. 168, 172, 173, 175.

reward of being known; and when also the double-dealing artful pretenders will be discovered. . . .

There has been a virtuous band in Congress from the beginning of the present contest, but they were never so few, or so much opposed as just after you and your good brother left us. In the Winter and Spring of 1779 there was a cabal whose views I could not fathom; there were some possessed of restless spirits, and who endeavoured to set member against member, and the Congress against the states, particularly Pennsylvania and those of New-England, and the states agst. Congress. Every artifice was used to instil prejudices against all our foreign Ministers and Commissioners, particularly your *brothers*, and I really believe, if I had not in April last gone off the Bench into Congress, in the face of a Vote of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, that they would have been recalled without exception. My fears were that at that critical period, when it had been propagated in Europe, and some uneasiness discovered on that score by the court of France, that we were listening to overtures from Great Britain, a change of men might have implied a change of measures and given some countenance to the report; and for this reason I thought it wrong to recal any Gentleman in such a conjuncture. The vote was taken with respect to Doctor Franklin, and being determined in the negative, it was postponed as to the rest until I was absent on the circuit.³ Places I saw were sought after [by some?] and vacancies were necessary for the purpose of obtaining them, but I could not think this was the only thing in contemplation: tho' I may have been mistaken, as harmony seemed to be restored in some measure, upon the appointment of Messrs. Jay and Carmichael. The death of Mr. Drayton, and the considerable change about that time of the members, several of them not having been re-elected, left us pretty quiet ever since, tho' prejudices still too much prevail.

When I reflect on the assiduity, the zeal, the fidelity, the abilities and patriotism of Doctor A. Lee, I cannot help deploring his fate, and reproaching the ingratitude of Congress; but Sir, it is with pleasure I can assure you, that he has many unshaken friends still remaining in that Body, who have never seen him, and who esteem him only for his public virtues. I profess myself one of these, and he has at least *my* warmest thanks for his substantial services rendered to my country.

I cannot think it any reflection on a Gentleman's heart, that he has been mistaken in entertaining too good an opinion of another, nor am I at all surprized that even you should have been led into an error with respect to Doctor Berkenhout, after perusing his letter, and knowing his insinuating address; but I shall say no more on this head, as I am really apologizing for myself.

³ It would appear from the *Journals* that McKean came into Congress Apr. 22, 1779, cast his vote against the recall of Franklin, and immediately took his departure. See these *Letters*, vol. IV., pp. 173 n., 174 (Fell's Diary, Apr. 23, 1779). In a letter to John Adams Nov. 8, 1779 (*ibid.*, p. 510), McKean says, "Doctor Franklin, I really believe, would have been recalled last April only for myself". The letter to Adams and the statement to Lee, above, would seem to suggest that McKean was an active participant in the proceedings of Congress during April of that year, whereas the *Journals* record only a brief attendance on one day, Apr. 22.

The deranged state of our finances has given us infinite trouble and concern; A new plan has been adopted, which is published in the News-Papers, to which I shall refer you—if it can be carried into execution it will be a great relief to us; and I see nothing else left but for every Whig to exert himself in its support.

There is no great prospect of peace, tho' the late intelligence from Europe is otherwise favorable. I suspect that Mr. Temple,⁴ (who came over in 1778 with Doctor Berkenhout,) will shortly venture here again with propositions (perhaps secret) to acknowledge the Independence of the States, except South Carolina and Georgia, and that part of Massachusetts, formerly called the Province of Main, on condition of our neutrality between Britain and Spain—he is to have power to draw on two merchants in London, of his own nomination *ad libitum*. This is not mere conjecture or report; but it may not be attempted to be carried into execution, as I think, upon the best reflection he must despair of success. Can they suppose that these States will be so perfidious to one another, or to the auxiliary of their Ally—that they are so corrupt, so base? Can they be taught to believe, that a virtuous people can grow so extremely wicked by a war of five years continuance? *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*.

PHILADELPHIA March 25th 1780.

117. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[March 25-27, 1780.]

25. The Hon. Mr. Forbes, a member from the State of Maryland, deceased. I dined with the minister of France.

26. I attended the funeral of Mr. Forbes. Colo. Hendley² arrived here.

27. . . . Congress had letters from Mr. J. Adams.

118. JAMES MADISON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA March 27th 1780.

Dear Sir,

Nothing under the title of news has occurred since I wrote last week by express² except that the Enemy on the 1st of March remained in the

⁴ Cf. nos. 96-98, *ante*.

[117]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 91.

² This was doubtless Col. David Henley of the firm of Otis and Henley. A memorial in behalf of his firm was presented to Congress May 24. See, further, the *Journals*, May 26, June 17, 28. It happens that a letter from Samuel Adams to James Lovell in behalf of the firm was written on the day of Henley's arrival in Philadelphia, although Adams does not mention that he had gone thither. The letter is in Adams's *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 142, among the letters of 1779. It is in fact one of three additions to Adams's letter of Mar. 25, 1780, to Lovell (*ibid.*, p. 183). See no. 132, *post*.

[118]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings of Madison* (ed. Hunt), I. 59.

The Madison Papers listed as Accession 1081, acquired by the Library of Congress in 1910, were not used by Dr. Gaillard Hunt in his edition of Madison's *Writings* (New York, 1900-1910), although they had been used by Henry D. Gilpin in the *Papers of James Madison* (Washington, 1840). Gilpin however made many omissions from the letters, and Hunt only reprinted such texts of those letters as were found in the *Papers*. Accordingly, while there are numerous excisions from the letters as printed in the present collection of *Letters*, many passages have been included which are not found in the printed texts named.

² This letter has not been found.

neighbourhood of Charlestown in the same posture as when the preceding account came away. From the best intelligence from that quarter there seems to be great encouragement to hope that Clintons operations will be again frustrated. Our great apprehensions at present flow from a very different quarter. Among the various conjunctures of alarm and distress which have arisen in the course of the revolution, it is with pain I affirm to you Sir, that no one can be singled out more truly critical than the present. Our army threatened with an immediate alternative of disbanding or living on free quarter; the public treasury empty; public credit exhausted, nay the private credit of purchasing Agents employed, I am told, as far as it will bear, Congress complaining of the extortion of the people; the people of the improvidence of Congress, and the army of both; our affairs requiring the most mature and systematic measures, and the urgency of occasions admitting only of temporizing expedients, and these expedients generating new difficulties; Congress from a defect of adequate Statesmen more likely to fall into wrong measures and of less weight to enforce right ones,³ recommending plans to the several states for execution and the states separately rejudging the expediency of such plans, whereby the same distrust of concurrent exertions that has damped the ardor of patriotic individuals must produce the same effect among the states themselves—an old system of finance discarded as incompetent to our necessities, an untried and precarious one substituted, and a total stagnation in prospect between the end of the former and the operation of the latter. These are the outlines of the true picture of our public situation. I leave it to your own imagination to fill them up. Believe me Sir as things now stand, if the States do not vigorously proceed in collecting the old money and establishing funds for the credit of the new, that we are undone; and let them be ever so expeditious in doing this, still the intermediate distress to our army and hindrance to public affairs, are a subject of melancholy reflection. Gen. Washington writes that a failure of bread has already commenced in the army; and that, for any thing he sees, it must unavoidably increase. Meat they have only for a short season and as the whole dependance is on provisions now to be procured, without a shilling for the purpose, and without credit for a shilling, I look forward with the most pungent apprehensions. It will be attempted I believe to purchase a few supplies with loan office certificates; but whether they will be received is perhaps far from being certain; and if received will certainly be a most expensive and ruinous expedient. It is not without some reluctance I trust this information to a conveyance by post, but I know of no better at present, and I conceive it to be absolutely necessary to be known to those who are most able and zealous to contribute to the public relief.

March 28.⁴

Authentic information is now recd. that the Enemy in their passage to Georgia lost all their Horse, the *Defiance* of 64 guns which foundered at

³ The words between "Congress" and "recommending" are not in the printed text; nor, in the next sentence, the word "true" before "picture".

⁴ This addition of March 28 is not in the printed text. The remainder is a summary of John Adams's letter of Dec. 16, 1779. Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 427.

sea, three transports with troops, although it is pretended these troops and the men of the *Defiance* were saved, and one transport with Hessians of which nothing has been heard. . . .

119. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

March 28th 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . We are really in Pain here continually about Supplies of every Kind. No Man can tell what will be the Event of the Measures recommended to the States. It lays with the Farmer to say whether he will at any Rate furnish the Army. He may see now that his Labors are not mortgaged for Generations to make Silver and Gold of That which by general Consent has been reduced to meer Rags a second Time. The whole daily Allowance which you mention² will not here purchase two Pounds of Mutton, the Price of that Article being from 13 to 15 Dollars pr. lb. Indeed, Sir, I am totally unable to go on at this Rate. For if I could do without any Cloathing myself will my whole Income give Food alone to my Dependents? Yet they look for Raiment also from my Labors.

You will have accounts from your military Officers in regard to the Wants of the Army. Transportation is the grand Difficulty at this Period. Our public Horses have been starved for Want of Forage tho' there has been given to that Department almost Paper enough to litter the whole number.

By Mr. Partridge³ I shall send my Accounts his Expenditures being a just Test of mine lately; and as to former Time the moderate Footing will be sufficient. . . .

120. ROGER SHERMAN TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA Mar. 28th, 1780.

Sir,

. . . . The report for ascertaining the value of the loan office certificates is to be taken into consideration to day.² a report was made Yesterday by Commissioners for a new arrangement of the Quarter Masters department, and for forwarding the Supplies procured by the Several States, to the Army.³ We have no news from the Southward but what is included in the Paper enclosed. I expect to return home next Week.

[119]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² The reference is to Adams's letter of Mar. 5 (*Writings*, IV. 180), which Lovell mentions in the beginning of his letter as "received yesterday". In it Adams says: "I wish you would send your Account of Time and Expences to the Assembly. Twenty five Dollars pr Day and Expences were allowd to me for the year 79. I inform you of this that you may judge whether the Allowance for Time and Service is raised in Proportion to other things."

³ Partridge took his departure Apr. 9. See no. 131, *post*.

[120]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 A 165; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Weare, p. 574.

² See no. 102, note 2, *ante*, and nos. 142, 281, 286, *post*.

³ See nos. 19, note 3, 110, note 3, 111, *ante*. The report of the committee and commissioners, which is found in the *Journals* under March 27, is characterized by

Schuyler (no. 128, *post*) as "the first part of a voluminous system" (it occupies 38 pages of manuscript and 18 pages of printed text). The committee was instructed to confer on the subject with General Greene, who had come to Philadelphia the day before, having been urged to do so by General Washington, to endeavor to bring matters respecting his department to a full explanation and conclusion (Greene to President Huntington, Apr. 3). Greene had for several months been setting forth to Congress and to Washington the difficulties of his situation, and as long ago as Dec. 12, 1779, had asked leave to resign (see vol. IV., pp. 539, 542, 543, and the *Journals*, Dec. 17, 1779). That letter, as well as a subsequent one of Jan. 13, had been referred to a committee, and when Greene had waited another month for an answer and received none he wrote Congress again (Feb. 16). Referring particularly to his letter of Dec. 12, he said: "This representation is, I trust, too important not to be deemed worthy the particular notice of Congress. I shall be obliged to consider its being unanswered as a full proof, that it is their wish the Agents should all be dismissed; and that all further provision for future operations be discontinued; and shall govern myself accordingly. I ever have thought, and still think myself bound to accommodate my conduct to the views and wishes of Congress, whether implied or expressed, as far as the nature and circumstances of the trust committed to my care will admit." This letter was referred (Feb. 22) to the same committee to whom the previous letters had been assigned. It was not however until Mar. 4 that the committee offered the draft of a reply, and it was not until Mar. 16 that the reply was adopted. Extracts of Greene's letters of Dec. 12 and Jan. 13 are in Greene, *Life of Greene*, II, 259, 264.

Writing to Washington Mar. 22, Greene said: "I shall set out early in the morning for Philadelphia; but can plainly see, little is to be expected from it; unless it is dismissing myself from the department; which I most devoutly wish." He adds: "I am very confident there is a party business going on again; and as Mifflin is connected with it, doubt nothing of its being a revival of the old scheme." *Ibid.*, p. 274.

Mifflin himself furnishes contributory evidence that Greene's opinion was at least in part correct. Mar. 23 he wrote to General Gates: "I have been three Weeks under the character of State Cobbler—our Report will go in To Morrow. It is founded on some of your old Ideas which we found must in Spite of Envy and Pride and Malice come again in Fashion" (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVII.). The next day being Good Friday there was no meeting of Congress, and the report does not appear to have been presented until Monday, Mar. 27. The following day (Mar. 28) Greene wrote to Washington:

"Yesterday I had a conference with a committee of Congress. The public is insolvent to all intents and purposes. The treasury is without money, and the Congress are without credit. . . . The best people in Congress think the new system for drawing supplies from the States, will be found totally incompetent to the business. There is a new arrangement of the Quarter Master Department made by Mifflin and others, and now under consideration before Congress for adoption. The scheme is too complex and tedious, for such heavy and pressing demands as are frequently made upon the Department. I am told it is to be confirmed without alteration. General Schuyler and others think it will starve the Army in ten days. . . . General Schuyler and others consider it a plan of Mifflins, to injure your Excellency's operation. Mr. Shearman and Mifflin are in close league in the business. I am now fully convinced of the reality of what I suggested to your Excellency before I came away." Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Life of Greene*, II, 275.

March 31 Greene again wrote to Washington, commenting in particular upon the situation in Congress. Among other things he said: "The business of finance is yet a matter of speculation. Nothing can be determined upon it from present appearances. Most people are silent upon the subject; and this I interpret into a favorable symptom. I find the measure passed in Congress but by a majority of one; and the Members are more split and divided about the matter now, than any other order of men; indeed some of them reprobate the measure. . . .

"Nothing is done on the Quarter Master Department. The new System I mentioned in my last, is yet undecided on. The more I view it the less I like it, and the stronger my conviction is, that it is calculated not less to embarrass your Excellency, than to disgrace and injure me" (*ibid.*; *Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, II, 422). See, further, nos. 128, 156, *post*.

⁴The paper enclosed by Sherman was probably either the *Pennsylvania Gazette* or the *Pennsylvania Journal* of Mar. 22, each of which contained an "Extract of a letter from Charlestown (South Carolina), Feb. 25, 1780. Arrived by an express last Saturday night". The item mentions the distribution of the British army, supposed to be under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, at Port Royal, John's Island, Stono Ferry, and James Island, with a table of distances to Charlestown from various points. The American defenses, it is stated, are being strengthened, although the forces are too weak for such extended lines.

121. ABRAHAM CLARK TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY
(WILLIAM LIVINGSTON).¹

PHILADA. March 30, 1780.²

Sir,

There is now stored at or near Squan a quantity of Blankets designed for the use of the Army; These with other Articles of Cloathing are under the direction of the board of War 'till put under the care of the Clothier General. How and from whence those blankets came to the above place, I am not able to inform your Excellency, but it appears they are of British Manufacture and on that Account liable to seizure, and it is said that a Number of the Inhabitants of New Jersey having knowledge of the said goods are determined to avail themselves of the Law authorizing Seizure in case of removal; This embarrasses the board of War. The Law eluded [*sic*] to impowers the Commander in Chief of the Army or your Excellency to grant pass ports for the safe conveyance of any goods even in case they Actually come out of the Enemies Lines. As those blankets are the property of the United States, and at this time much wanted, the granting of a pass port for their safe removal appears a Necessary and Justifiable measure, for the obtaining which, the Secretary of the board of War will wait upon your Excellency, which I presume your Excellency will not hesitate in granting, or advising the Commander in chief of the Army to do it, that the board may proceed in the business with Safety.³

122. JOHN DICKINSON TO ARTHUR LEE.¹

Sir,

. . . . As to the Subject of your last, I count it a real Misfortune, that an Apprehension of Duty to my Country in discharging a Trust reposed in Me, should compell Me to act in such a Manner as to give pain to a Man I sincerely esteem, and to draw Complaints from one whom I affectionately wish to oblige, and to the utmost of my power to honour.

Do not imagine, Sir, that the "arts of" your "Enemies" have erased from my mind those favorable Sentiments I have ever entertained of You, since I have had the Pleasure of your Acquaintance.

Your Friends can witness, that throughout the Debates in Congress relating to You, I allways bore open and faithful Testimony of the Ability, Zeal, Courage, Integrity and Diligence manifested by You in the support of our Cause; and that in Confirmation of what I said, I mentioned your Correspondence with Me in very dangerous Circumstances on points of the last Importance.

[121]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² Under Mar. 30 Samuel Holten records in his Diary, "Mr. Maderson and Mr. Killosch dined with us". They were doubtless James Madison and Francis Kinloch.

³ This letter (original) was transmitted to Washington by Governor Livingston Apr. 3, with the remark that, as it was an affair wholly pertaining to the army, it seemed most proper that the passport should come from General Washington, but that he was ready to lend his concurrence if Washington deemed it necessary. Washington transmitted the passport to Governor Livingston Apr. 4.

[122]¹ N. Y. Pub., Lib., Misc. MSS., Dickinson; Va. Hist. Soc., Lee Trans., V. 20; R. H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II, 313.

They also can testify, that I more than once in Congress express an earnest Concern, that the Question to be voted on was so worded, that if determined on one side, it would seem to injure You, and actually proposed an Alteration of the Question.

Your Brother Colonel R. H. Lee will do Me the Justice to acknowledge, that I laid my Difficulties before him, prior to the Decision and desired, that your Friends might all unite [in] procuring You some other Appointment than that to Spain, that in Consequence of some Intelligence You had in Holland, which he mentioned to Me, I proposed to him an Employment there at present and that I represented to him the Impossibility, in my Opinion, of supporting in Congress the Commission to Spain.

In mentioning these Things I cannot forbear saying, that it appeared plain to Me, that if some of those who truly loved You, had not mingled too refined a Policy with their Affection, the Vote would not have look'd so severe as it does: Nor, when they perceived, that some Gentlemen who thought the employing You in Spain unadvisable, were at the same Time averse to any Resolution that might tho only by Implication reflect on your Honor, they seemed to expect some Advantage even from the Harshness of the Question.

But, while I thus interested Myself in what concerned my Friend, the Conduct You object to was influenced by two Reasons, that leaving the Qualities of your Head and Heart unimpeach'd, would have led Me to the same Conclusion, if You had been my Brother. Those were, a Coolness in the Court of Versailles towards You, and the Difference with Dr. Franklin. When it was considered, that the Connection between the Branches of the House of Bourbon is so intimate, and that a Harmony between Ministers who are to negotiate with them, especially on the same Subject, and those most momentous ones, is so necessary, all private Regards gave Way to the Superior Force of public Obligations. To wound, and mourn, falls to the Lot of more than "Brutus".²

KENT March 30th, 1780³

123. THE BOARD OF ADMIRALTY TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
NAVY BOARD OF THE EASTERN DEPARTMENT.¹

March 31, 1780.

Sirs,

The enclosed are Copies of Papers sent by Captain John Orde senior Officer Commanding the British Ships of war at Halifax, directed to Congress and by them referred to this Board, who are of opinion that you Gentlemen should make a strict enquiry into the truth of these allegations, and report thereon to this Board as soon as may be. By Captain Ordes letter it is probable the Owner of the schooner may be at Boston, if so,

² For the proceedings in Congress to which this letter chiefly refers see the *Journals*, March to June, 1779, *passim*.

³ Dickinson was chosen in December, 1779, a delegate for the state of Delaware but did not attend during the period covered by this volume.

[123]¹ Paullin, *Out-Letters of the Marine Committee and Board of Admiralty*, II. 175.

and the facts relative to the Clandestine taking of said Schooner be true, the Boards opinion is that she should be restored to the owner with all reasonable damages that have accrued to him by said Capture, but this should by no means be made a Continental Charge, as the Privateer *Revenge* was private property.² Your letter of the 24th of November mentions a Box of types, Paper and other Materials for Counterfeiting the Currency, taken by Captain Nicholson and lodged in your custody. It is the direction of Congress that the same be forwarded in a secure way to the Treasury office in Philadelphia. The Board have yesterday reported to Congress a plan for furnishing you with Money, by the Sale of Rum and sugars in the possession of Mr. Bradford, that you may be enabled to supply Colo. Langdon etc :³ I am directed again to urge your transmitting the general Accounts, and also that you will furnish the Board with the names and present condition of the Packet Boats under your direction.

I am Sir's

Your Hble servant

JOHN BROWN Secy

124. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

PHILADELPHIA 3d April 1780.

Sir,

I was honored on the 22d of February last, with your Letter inclosing a Resolution of Congress of the same Date :² and having since been frequently informed by Members of the House, that there was a general Disposition therein, to consider with Candor my Letter of the 19th Feby last, I have patiently waited more than a Month for an Answer to the same. I have also omitted to communicate the affair to the State which I have the Honor to represent, lest their Harmony with Congress might be interrupted at a Time when the publick Interest renders it necessary, that every State should support them. but seeing no longer a prospect of being restored to the privilege of a Member, or even of having my Claim to it considered, painful as it is to contend with a Body of which I have long been a Member, or to adopt any Measures which may appear inconsistent with an ardent Desire to promote their Dignity and Honor, I am nevertheless constrained by a Sense of Duty to my Country and Constituents, to enter into a full and free Discussion of this Subject, and to close it with Congress.

The Decission of Congress "that I was not in order in requiring the Yeas and Nays on a Question of Order" was, as I conceive, clearly against the Rules and Usage of the House, referred to in the Letter last mentioned: Congress have undoubtedly a Right to alter these whenever they think it expedient, but they will give me Leave to deny their Authority, for

² The letter of Captain Orde, which was read in Congress Mar. 27, has not been found.

³ Such a report is found under Mar. 29; see also the *Journals*, May 27, June 13. Cf. no. 38, *ante*. See also *Out-Letters*, II. 165, 167, 180, 184, 194, 206, 210, 211.

[124]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. X., f. 211.

² See nos. 55, 59, *ante*.

determining that a Member is out of Order, when he conducts agreeably to both. had Congress at that Time tho't it necessary, and actually passed a Resolution to discontinue the Yeas and Nays on Questions of order, still it is difficult to conceive, that as impartial Judges, they could determine a Member to have been out of order, for using that privilege previous to the passing of such a Resolve.

If that Decision was intended as an Act for discontinuing this privilege, it may be necessary to enquire, how the States are to be informed of the Conduct of their respective Members in Congress? or, by what Means the Fountain of the Confederacy is to be kept pure, and Members supported in the faithful Discharge of their Trust? perhaps it will be said, that the privilege of requiring the Yeas and Nays is still continued, excepting on questions of Order, and is sufficient for the purposes mentioned. but the Answer to this is plain, that the Conduct of Members may thus appear on all propositions decided by Congress; but will be concealed on all Motions by them suppressed, which is the particular Greivance now complained of. under such Circumstances, if a Member makes a Motion, and a Majority are disposed to be arbitrary, they may call him "to order", and silence him, whilst strictly conforming to the Rules of Usage of the House—they may thus prevent propositions, however useful and necessary, from being considered by Congress—they may for partial or private purposes, devise and pass plausible Resolutions, and refuse to consider Motions for detecting the fallacy of, or for amending them—they may continue to debar particular Members from the Use of their privileges, and, by preventing Entries on the Journals, may conceal from the States, the Conduct of themselves, and others, in the premisses. Whereas, by continuing the Yeas and Nays on Questions of Order, every Member may have an Oppertunity to check or expose such arbitrary proceedings; and the Stigma will rest on those who adopt them. But what is the Sense of Congress, and of the several States on the Subject, in the Articles of Confederation? therein it is expressly provided, "that the yeas and Nays of the Delegates of each State *on any Question*, shall be entered on the Journal, when it is desired by any Delegate"; from whence it is evident, that no Member can be deprived of the privilege of having the Yeas and Nays on a question of Order, when the Articles of the Confederacy are fully ratified, without a direct Violation thereof.

If on the other Hand, the Decision was not intended to discontinue this privilege, I am no longer at a Loss for the Reasons of its not being entered on the Journals; because it would thus become a general Rule, and equally affect the several Members, but the proceedings of Congress on this occasion, will still appear extraordinary; for they have not only adjudged a Member to be out of order, whilst strictly conforming to the Rules and Usage of the House, but leaving these unaltered, which establish the contested privilege, they have in Effect determined, that Congress have a Right to support some, and restrain other Members in the Use of the same privilege, and have thus impaired that equal Representation in Congress, which is considered by the States so essential to their Liberties.

With Respect to the Resolution of Congress of the 22d of Feby last, relative to the Mode of hearing a Member who thinks himself aggrieved, It may suffice to shew, that it does not apply to the present Case. the Resolve is as follows "That any Member thinking his privilege infringed by anything said or done in the House, ought of Right to be heard in his Place". It appears by the Journals of that Date, that the Words "and not otherwise" were moved as part of the original Proposition, and rejected by a Division of the House; by what Rule of Construction then does the Resolve determine, that a Member shall not "be heard" *unless* "in his Place["]? but should even this be admitted, yet it is presumed, that Congress did not mean to subject a Member to an *ex post Facto* Act, which under the appearance of regulating the Mode of supporting his Claim, materially affects the Claim itself. When an essential privilege of a Member is infringed *by Congress*, and he cannot obtain Redress, it becomes his Duty to appeal to his Constituents; and how is he to make his Conduct appear, if in defending his privilege he is confined to the Mode prescribed by the Resolve? should he propose *in his place* any Entry to be made on the Journals, Congress may prevent it; and if he is unguarded in his Expressions to the House, they may order the same to be recorded, whilst those of other Members to him, however exceptionable, may pass unnoticed. an Instance of this happened at York Town, and may occur to the Memory of a Gentleman now in Congress, who will do me the Justice to acknowledge, that with him I then opposed such ungenerous proceedings: but if his opinion is altered, as it appears to be on this occasion, he has undoubtedly a precedent to support it. indeed had the Resolve applyed, what it proposes has been done in the present affair, and without Effect: for it is well known, *that* the Member *in his place*, repeatedly required the Yeas and Nays on the Question of order; *that*, when the Right was disputed, he produced in its Defence, the Rules and Usage of the House; and *that* he considered the Decision, as having the appearance of an arbitrary proceeding. It is evident by the Journals, that when the Resolve was under Consideration, a paragraph for taking the Sense of Congress on Matters of privilege "in preference to any other Business" was expunged from the original proposition, by a Vote of the House: this, together with the Resolve itself, which involves a plain question of privilege in Disputes about the Mode of claiming it, has eventually been the Cause of deferring an Answer to my Requisition of the 19th of February, untill Gentlemen have had an opportunity of carrying thro' their favourite plan, then under Consideration. And if it was the Intention of Congress, by that Vote to negative the paragraph, a Majority of the House may at any Time avoid the opposition of a Member, by depriving him of his privilege and obliging him to submit to the Greivance, or with draw from the House during their Pleasure. Upon the Whole, Sir, Is it not evident from undeniable Facts, *that* a Member of the House has been thus compelled to an explicit Remonstrance against their proceedings? *that* he has contended *merely* for the essential privilege of manifesting his Conduct in Congress? *that* he is justly responsible for his own, but not for another's Conduct? *that* in claiming his privilege, he has neither re-

ceived that Support nor Attention, which as a Member he had a Right to expect? and *that* he is under the disagreeable Necessity of submitting to a dangerous Attack, made thro him, on the *Liberties of the House*, or of referring the Matter to his Constituents? these are Considerations which, however veiw'd by the House, are weighty in his Mind, and have made it his Duty to adopt the alternative, whilst he thinks himself deprived of his Seat in Congress.³

I have the Honor to be Sir, with the highest Respect,

your most obedient and most hum. Servt.

E GERRY

125. WILLIAM ELLERY TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA April 4th 1780.

I received your Excellencys favour of the 8th of march and advert to the contents of it.²

. . . . Now, Sir, if we have any men belonging to our State in Col. Sherburn's regiment, in the guards, etc., etc., whose times do not expire by the last day of next Sept., and I imagine we have, they must be counted towards our quota, and of consequence, included in the number of our men, as well as those in Greene's and Angel's regiments, and therefore if the supposition I have made proves true, we shall not have one-half of our quota to raise, if about one-half of it is now in Greene's and Angel's regiments. I have been the more particular because I should be very sorry to have a State whose quota is disproportioned to its abilities, attempt to do more than is required of it. Sensible that our quota was too large I moved and urged that it might be reduced to 700, but could not get Congress to agree to it. When the Arrangement was made at York Town, One regiment only was assigned to us; ³ and, perhaps if we had not been so forward to raise a regiment of blacks, without the request or even the knowledge of Congress, one regiment only would now have been required. Our State hath sometimes, by too great an ardour injured itself. . . .

³ See the *Journals*, Apr. 3, 15, 17. The letter was read in Congress the same day, whereupon a motion was made by Gerry's colleague, George Partridge, and seconded by Peabody of New Hampshire, that the letter be taken into consideration the following day, but the motion met with a negative. On Apr. 15 however a motion by Schuyler and Livingston that Gerry be heard Apr. 17 on the subject of his letters prevailed, and Gerry was so notified by the President. Gerry's reply, Apr. 17 (no. 137, *post*), read in Congress the same day, without being a point-blank refusal to present himself in Congress, appears to have effectually discouraged Congress from taking any further action upon the matter. [125]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1779-1780, p. 88; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 277.

² Governor Greene's letter is in Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 276. It mentions a resolve of the Rhode Island assembly to raise 810 men including those in Colonel Greene's and Colonel Angell's regiments, which were about half the number called for. Ellery quotes the paragraph of the resolve of Congress (Feb. 9) defining the application of the provision with regard to quotas, and then proceeds as in the extract quoted. Cf. no. 142, *post*. Governor Greene's reply to this letter, Apr. 17, is in Staples, p. 279.

³ Cf. Ellery to Governor Cooke, Mar. 1, and Apr. 5, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 165, 168.

When the account hinted at comes forward I shall exert myself to have it paid, and shall take notice of the bounties we have proposed to pay, and make use of every other argument to accomplish the wishes of the State which my invention can suggest.⁴

126. THE NEW YORK DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA April [4, 1780.]²

Your Excellencys letter of the 9th ult: Covering the Resolution of both houses of the Legislature of the 8th March, and Your Letter to Congress were delivered on Yesterday.

The President read Your Letter and a Committee was appointed to report on It. from what passed In the house on the Occasion we have not a doubt but the requisition on the part of the State will be fully complied with.³

We shall do ourselves the honor to address you on the Subject of the Vermont business In a few days.⁴

We have the honor to be with the highest Sentiments of Respect and Esteem

Your Excellency's Most obedient Servants

JNO. MORIN SCOTT

PH: SCHUYLER

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON

WM. FLOYD

EZRA LHOMMEDIEU

127. SAMUEL HOLTEN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA April 4, 1780.

. . . . The committee that has under consideration the affair respecting the charges of the Penobscot expedition have not yet reported, but

⁴ The remainder of the letter pertains chiefly to a matter brought before the board of admiralty by Governor Greene. The governor had stated that the *Pigot* galley, a vessel in Rhode Island waters, "was so rotten and so dull a sailer, that she was unfit for service", and proposed that she be sold and another vessel purchased for a cruiser. Ellery did not believe that Congress would be disposed in any case to provide the cruiser desired, especially in view of the fact that the treasury was in such a state that "they have it not in their power to purchase a piece of one". "Indeed", he added "we have two vessels on the stocks, and for want of money, we cannot even launch them." He was convinced that the board of admiralty was in favor of selling the *Pigot* and likewise that the proceeds would not be used for purchasing a new vessel but would be applied to the ships now building. He had therefore induced the board to continue the vessel in the service for the present and would put off as long as he could any determination upon the governor's request. See, further, Greene's letter to Ellery Apr. 17, and no. 150, *post*.

[126]¹ Library of Congress, U. S. R. (in the writing of Philip Schuyler).

² A part of the date has been torn off, but the letter is endorsed: "April 4th 1780 Letter from the Delegates in answer to the Govr. of the 9th ulto. cov'g Resolution of Legislature respect'g the rais'g of Men for the Defence of the Frontiers."

³ See the *Journals*, Apr. 3, 4; *cf. ibid.*, June 1, and nos. 128, 179, 209, 214, *post*.

⁴ See nos. 127, 138, 187, 188, *post*. *Cf.* nos. 106, 108, *ante*.

[127]¹ Mass Arch., CCH. 121.

when I consider, it is no more than just, that the United States should pay the reasonable expences I don't *even* doubt, but that Congress will be of the same opinion and determine accordingly.²

The business respecting the New Hampshire grants (so called) is not to be taken up till nine states are represented in Congress, exclusive of the states which are supposed to be interested, and it is not my expectation that it will be determined upon at present, nor my desire that it shou'd till after the war.³ . . .

128. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA April 5th 1780.

My Dear Sir,

On the 3d Instant I was favored with Your Excellency's letter of the 30th ult. I have for ten days successively deferred writing In hopes that I should have been able at last to have advised you that public business was closely attended to In this quarter, and that we had adopted measures to disencumber us from that variety of embarrassment we experience, but alas! we have made little or no advances.

Mifflin Pickering Jones and General Sherman have furnished the first part of a Voluminous system for the quarter Master department. The Second part is to direct the Commissary General of Issues in the discharge of his Duty, and the third will point at the regulations for the Hospital. I do not mention the purchasing Department because that is to be abolished the States are to do all; As General Sherman roundly asserts that System will strike off four thousand Officers from the Civil departments. as It is replete with absurdity and petitesse ² It will pass into a law unless It should be thought proper to Confer with the Commander In Chief on the Subject.³ There has been some wicked work respecting a Certain appointment which Gen: Greene will advise you of Verbally.

The Gentleman I have last mentioned addressed Congress in a letter of the 3d Inst. wishing for their Sense on his General Conduct in the Q Master department, a Resolution was proposed, That Congress had full Confidence In his Integrity and ability, and requesting his future exertions. This brought on much debate, amendments were moved, and the house got Into heats, and an adjournment was deemed necessary to give the Members time to Cool. A member more zealous for the Generals reputation than prudent Observed that he was an Officer In whom the Commander In Chief had the highest Confidence, that he was the first

² See the *Journals*, Mar. 22, Apr. 5-8; cf. nos. 103, 105, *ante*, and nos. 131, 136, 138, 139, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, Mar. 21; cf. no. 126, *ante*, and nos. 138, 187, 188, *post*. Holten further mentions that Mr. Partridge is about to return home, and in his Diary under Apr. 9 he records, "The Hon. Mr. Partridge left us".

[128]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 427; Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, II. 257, 278 (extracts).

² There is little doubt that the word is "petitesse". This word and the preceding "and" were omitted by Sparks. Cf. no. 120, *ante*.

³ See the *Journals*, Mar. 27, 28; cf. nos. 98, 102, 109-III, 120, note 3, *ante*, and nos. 130, 132, *post*.

of all the Subordinate Generals In point of Military knowledge and ability, that In case of an accident happening to Gen: Washington he would be the properest person to Command the Army, *and that General Washington thought so too* another Observed that, he had a very high Opinion of G. Greens Military abilities, that he believed the General had too, but that he believed no person on Earth was authorized to say as much as the words, above scored, Implied I mention this that your Ex: may guard against any Misapprehensions which this may occasion with your Officers; Gen: Greene will Inform you who delivered the Imprudent Speech.⁴

Yesterday Your Letter of the 2d was read.⁵ there appeared a disposition in many to leave the whole business which was the subject of It, to Your discretion. Great part of the Morning was Spent on the Subject before the resolution took place which will be transmitted by the President.

Some days since I moved for a Committee to prepare a letter to the States to call on them for Exertions more Competent to the Great Object we have In view after some altercation a Committee was appointed. Elsworth Muhlenberg and Schuyler composed It They prepared the letter and reported, but some Gentlemen were averse at the decisive plainness with which we Intended Congress Should address the States whilst others Contended that we should Speak still more pointedly. after a whole days Debate, the letter was recommitted.⁶

⁴ See the *Journals*, Apr. 4; cf. *ibid.*, Mar. 28. There is no definite clue to the identity of the member who made the "imprudent speech". Greene's letter to President Huntington Apr. 3 gave a résumé of his previous representations and stated that he had been waiting a whole week for an answer from the committee concerning matters which he had presented for their consideration, and that, as he found he was not likely to obtain an answer, he proposed to set out for camp the day after tomorrow (that is, Apr. 5) and there wait the issue of the business. The *Journals* record that the letter was read Apr. 4, although the endorsement says, "read the same day" (that is, Apr. 3). See Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 277-279, particularly the extract of Charles Pettit's letter to Greene, Apr. 8. Greene also wrote to Washington Apr. 3, stating the situation, and then adding this comment:

"The new System for regulating the Quarter Masters department, is now debating before Congress, and as the members are generally unacquainted with the nature of the business, I am perswaded it will pass. I foresee the disagreeable consequences that it will produce; and have only one consolation upon the matter; which is it will open a door for me to get out of the department. I have advised many Members of Congress to send a committee of the best informed Members of their body to Head Quarters; and there with the Heads of the Departments and such General Officers as it may be necessary to consult in the business, fix upon a plan properly adapted to the Service, and the nature of the Country. But I am perswaded it will have no effect, as I am convinced the plan now before Congress is connected with other designs, of a private and personal Nature." Washington Papers.

When it was decided to send a committee to headquarters, Mifflin and Pickering were thanked for their services in connection with the arrangement of the staff departments and the remainder of the business was referred to the newly appointed committee (Apr. 14). This committee presented on June 17 a revised system, which, after some further revision (see the *Journals*, June 19, 30, July 5, 6), was adopted July 15. See nos. 156, 257, 258, *post*.

⁵ According to the *Journals* Washington's letter of Apr. 2 was read in Congress Apr. 5, and the consequent resolution is found under that date. Under that date also Samuel Holten sets down in his Diary, "Congress approved of Gen. Washington's sending Maryland and Delaware troops to So Carolina" (*Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 91). Possibly Schuyler's letter should have borne the date Apr. 6.

⁶ What Schuyler here relates concerning the proposed letter to the states is only the beginning of the difficulties encountered in putting that communication into accept-

I have entreated Gen: Greene to remain a day or two longer In town, that I may be able to advise with him on the measures necessary to be pursued to prevent the Ill Consequences of his being driven to the necessity of a resignation which I conceive would at any time be an Event to be much lamented but In the present Conjunction ruinous. . . .

129. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹PHILADELPHIA April 7th 1780.²

Sir,

I have the honor to Intreat your Excellency to lay before Congress the Inclosed bill drawn by Major General Sullivan on me, the receipt of

able form. Schuyler's motion, which was seconded by Roger Sherman, "that a committee of three be appointed to prepare and report a letter to the executive powers of the several states, stating the necessity of procuring and forwarding immediate supplies of provisions, etc., for the army", was made Mar. 28. The draft reported by this committee, the text of which is in the *Journals*, Apr. 4, is in the writing of Oliver Ellsworth. Schuyler says it was recommitted. It was in fact referred to a new committee consisting of Livingston, Burke, and Mathews. This committee made its offering Apr. 7 but appears not to have been able to get its letter accepted, for "after debate" it was recommitted. The text of this draft does not appear to have been preserved, but on Apr. 10 the committee submitted another draft, drawn by Burke, which will be found in the *Journals*. It is not recorded what consideration was given to the latter that day, but it was finally taken up Apr. 20, debated, and referred to still another committee, namely, Ellsworth, Ellery, and Clark. This committee in turn brought in a draft on the following day, but which one of the committee wielded the pen, whether Ellsworth again tried his hand, the *Journals* do not state. At all events, it was "debated by paragraphs, and sundry amendments made", and was then referred to William Churchill Houston "to re-draught the same with the amendments". Houston presented his draft Monday, Apr. 24, "which was read and agreed to". The circular letter is found in the *Journals* of the day, printed in the same type as the body of the *Journals*, not in a smaller type, as is usual in the case of embodied documents. Numerous texts of the letter exist. It is printed, for instance, in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 203, and in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 480. As addressed to the governor and the legislature of Maryland it is in *Md. Hist. Soc.*, Red Book, VII. 35; to Massachusetts, in *Mass. Arch.*, CCII. 160; to Connecticut, in *Conn. State Lib.*, Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 159; to New York, in *Harvard Univ. Lib.*, Sparks MSS., XII. 111.

[129]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 153, vol. III., f. 519.

² The *Journals* of Apr. 7 record the presentation of a bill in favor of Mrs. Mary Carew drawn by James Willing on Robert Morris, William Smith, and Henry Laurens (members of the committee of commerce in 1777). This was referred to the committee of commerce, but no further record of the matter appears in the *Journals*. On May 11, however, a memorial from Mary Carew was presented but this memorial has not been found. A deposition of James Searle, made Oct. 31, 1785, although the proceedings concerning which he deposes are referred by him to the "year one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight or nine", probably appertains to the bill and the memorial presented at this time (see vol. IV., p. 32 n.). The deposition (*Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, Conarroe Coll., I. 89; Etting Coll., VI. 69) follows:

"James Searle of the City of New York Merchant aged forty seven years and upwards being produced as a witness on the part of the defendant and examined on the behalf of the Plaintiff deposeth as follows

"Imprimis, To the first Interrogatory this deponent sayeth that he does not know the Plaintiff but is well acquainted with the defendant whom he has known about forty years. That he well knows James Willing the brother of the Defendant and has known him about fifteen years. That the said James Willing was a prisoner in New York in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight or nine. That this deponent heard Mary Carew the wife of the Plaintiff say at the time of her application to a Committee of Congress called the Commercial or Secret Committee that she had supplied James Willing when a prisoner with necessaries and further sayeth not

"Secondly, to the 2nd Interrogatory this Deponent says that in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight or seventy nine and during the captivity of James Willing this deponent and Francis Lewis and John Fell Esquires were Members of a Committee of Congress called the Secret or Commercial Committee. That he well remembers that

the Indian in whose favor It passed is Indorsed. In the present State of Affairs I should have deferred the application for a reimbursment to a future day and have added this to the other Charges which I have against the public for Specie advances since the adjustment of my accounts in 1777 had I not found It beyond my power to repay the person from whom I borrowed the money under a promise to replace It at an early day.³

I have the honor to be with very sincere Esteem and respect

Your Excellencys Most Obedient Servant

PH: SCHUYLER

130. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, April 8, 1780.²

Dear Sir:

. . . . The pride, the folly, and perhaps, too, the wickedness of some on a certain floor, combine to frustrate every intention to promote the public weal, and relieve my amiable Chief from his well-grounded anxiety; the few that feel for him, and are alarmed at the critical state of our public affairs, in every department, within as well as without, have not been able to carry a measure which they believed would have had salutary consequences. They have now proposed that a Committee should repair to head quarters, invested conjointly with the General, with a kind of dictatorial power in order to afford satisfaction to the army, and to arrange the great departments thereof. Livingston, Elsworth, and Matthews, are appointed to prepare Instructions. Some good may result, if gentlemen who love the General, are not jealous of the army, and of a generous turn are sent; but should General Sherman³ be at the head of the Triumviri, the General will be tormented with a thousand little propositions which Roger has thrown together, and which he entitles a System. I shall not be sent on this business, "because, it would not be proper to send a person who, as he has been in the army, will probably have a bias in its favor". This reasoning is conclusive.⁴

Mary Carrew presented a bill of exchange to this Committee of which this deponent was Chairman drawn by James Willing on Robert Morris William Smith and Henry Laurens Esquires who had composed a former Commercial or Secret Committee of Congress. That to the best of this deponents recollection the sum contained in the said bill was one hundred and fifty pounds or thereabouts. That this deponent informed Mary Carew that Congress were not possessed of any hard money And that this deponent in the name of the Committee offered to pay the said bill to the said Mary Carew by an order on the Continental Treasury at the exchange then current in Continental money. That the said Mary Carrew absolutely refused to receive such money saying that it was of no use to her in New York. . . . JAMES SEARLE.

"The above named James Searle. . . . before me Jas. Duane Comr."

³ The letter was referred the same day to the board of treasury, whose report, dated Apr. 8, was presented Apr. 13. This report, which concerns also a letter from General Greene Apr. 5 and referred to the board Apr. 6, is endorsed: "2d part passed April 13, 1780. 1st part referred to Mr. Schuyler [erased] Mr. Ellsworth Mr. Ellery [erased] June 5 Mr. Houston Mr. Holten." See the *Journals*, June 5.

[130]¹ *Works* (ed. Hamilton), I. 135.

² Under this date Holten records in his Diary, "Mr Livermore and his son set out home".

³ Here, as in the letter of Apr. 5 (no. 128, *ante*), Schuyler applies the title "General" to Sherman sarcastically.

⁴ The question of sending a committee to headquarters had been brewing for three months. For its earlier history see no. 89, note 4, *ante*; cf. nos. 8, note 2, 111, 120.

131. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

1780, March 22. The Delegates of the State of Massachusetts Bay, in Pursuance of their Instructions contained in the Letter of Mr. President Powell of February 9th, moved the following Propositions, *vizt.*²

Congress determined to commit the Propositions with a Copy of the Instructions, almost in whole, as they were presented by the Delegates, and it appeared to be much the Sense of the House that this Business should produce general Resolutions. But the Delegates of that State found themselves obliged to combat the Report of the Com'tee as quite throwing out of Sight the Point aimed at in the Propositions moved.

1780 April 5th. The Committee to whom was referred a Motion of the Delegates of Mass: Bay with sundry Papers from that State reported the following Resolutions, *vizt.*³

an Amendment was obtained of *two* for one Million,⁴ and an Addition was gained to the last Resolve as follows, "and that continental Pay and rations be allowed to any Body of Militia not exceeding 800 men which the State of Massachusetts Bay may judge necessary to be raised by them for the Defence of the Eastern Part of that State."⁵

Mr. Partridge⁶ will tell you all the Turnings and Twistings and Botchings that were attempted to be made in the first Resolution; which, being connected with the Preamble would have wrought as an inferred Exclusion of the Wishes of Mass. with Regard to the particular Expedition with its naval Expences.

Yr. affect'ed
J L

Apr. 9th, [1780.]

ante. The motion to which Schuyler refers was made Apr. 6 by Livingston (seconded by Searle). The instructions were offered Apr. 11, adopted Apr. 12, and the committee appointed Apr. 13. Concerning the "warm debates" on the question see the extract of a letter from Luzerne, in *Writings of Washington* (ed. Sparks), VII, 15. See, further, nos. 132, 135, 141, 142, 144, 145, *post*.

[131]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² The motion of the Massachusetts delegates is in the *Journals*, Mar. 22, but there it contains the addition to the third proposition which, as mentioned by Lovell, was later obtained. In the copy of the proceedings transmitted to Adams by Lovell, as also in a copy of the motion transmitted to the council by the delegates (Mass. Arch., CCII, 144), this third paragraph contains only the general proposition, "That an Expedition be forthwith adopted for dislodging the Enemy from Penobscot". See nos. 69, 103, 105, 127, *ante*, and nos. 136, 138, 139, *post*. President Huntington transmitted the resolves of Apr. 8 to the president of the Massachusetts council Apr. 14. Mass. Arch., CCII, 140; President's Letter-Book, p. 328.

³ The report was brought in Apr. 5 and was under consideration Apr. 6, 7, and 8. Under the latter date in the *Journals* will be found the several paragraphs of the committee's report, Lovell's transcript of which is here omitted. Against the first paragraph (see the *Journals*, pp. 339-340) Lovell has written, "lost by a division". Against the second paragraph (*Journals*, p. 341) and also against the third (p. 342) he has written, "passed". See also Partridge's defeated amendment, *Journals*, p. 340.

⁴ In Lovell's copy of the committee's proposal of a warrant (second paragraph of report) "*two*" (underscored) is written above "one".

⁵ In addition to the fact that neither of the copies of the motion transmitted by the Massachusetts delegates contains this clause, this statement of Lovell makes it evident that the clause was not in the motion as originally made.

⁶ Partridge was doubtless the bearer of this letter, as he took his departure the day it was written. See nos. 119, note 3, 127, note 3, *ante*.

132. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

April 11th 1780.

Sir,

I have this morning recd. your Favor of March 25/30² but it is not possible for me to give you a Tenth of the Portion in Return. I will attend to all the Points; but, on Mr. Partridge's Return and Conversation you will know I have *rigid* Attendance to perform *in* Congress, and to the full as much Duty *out* as ever. Wherefore you are not to expect many Letters from me. I am now standing at a Window to scratch this while Esqr. Burke is speaking. We are about sending a Com'tee to Camp the Instructions for them are under Debate.³ A Reduction will be one of the Points on which they will have discretionary Power, late in the Season as it is; and altho' we lately put off a Report of the Bd. of War on that Subject till Decr. 1st—80,⁴ a Preparatory Dulcedo was yesterday passed relating to the Staff of the Army, but it was not possible to go into a Detail of Regulations respecting them so as not to throw Money away upon D D D D's.⁵ But you may depend upon it that every Thing proper will be done for the deserving Classes of the *Staff* upon the Principles which have governed us as to the Line.⁶

This will prove agreeable to our State on the Principles already adopted by the Court as signified to Congress.

133. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA April 15th, 1780.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your Excellency's favour of the 10th of March, also, with your several Letters of the same date to the Delegates of Connecticut with the papers and Acts of Assembly to which they refer which have been duly noticed.²

[132]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.

² Adams's letter of Mar. 25 is in *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 183; the additions, dated Mar. 26, 27, and 30, respectively, are *ibid.*, pp. 142-145, that is, they are printed as of 1779 and as separate letters.

³ See the *Journals*, Apr. 6, 11, 12, 13; also nos. 89, note 4, 128, 130, *ante*, and nos. 135, 141, 142, 144, 145, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Mar. 25, and nos. 8, note 2, 112, 113, *ante*.

⁵ Probably Lovell alone knew what these letters were meant to signify.

⁶ Lovell is here alluding to what Adams says in his note of Mar. 27, namely, that members of the medical staff are as much entitled to consideration on account of depreciation as officers of the line, and that proper provision should be made for them. See the *Journals*, Sept. 22, 23, 30, 1780, June 11, 1781. He then quotes the resolve of April 10 respecting compensation to the line of the army on account of depreciation, and that for the appointment of a committee to report upon the question of compensation to the staff on the same account. The last paragraph of the letter here quoted of course refers to these resolves.

Under the date Apr. 10 Holten sets down in his Diary: "I dined with the minister. Congress agreed to make good to the officers and soldiers their pay on account of the depreciation of the money." *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 91.

[133]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 141; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, vol. XI., part II., p. 141.

² Trumbull's letter of Mar. 10 to the Connecticut delegates is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 17. In compliance, he says, with the resolutions of Congress

Congress have lately pass'd an Act making general provision for the Exchange of Continental bills of the proscribed Emissions.³ I have therefore return'd Doc'r Metcalf's money by Judge Sherman who set out yesterday for Connecticut. It is hoped some one or more delegate will soon arrive from Connecticut.

I must beg liberty to refer to Mr. Sherman for Intelligence as he will have the honour to wait on your Excellency by the time this comes to hand and can give more particular information than could be contain'd in a Single Letter.

The late act of Congress for calling in by Taxes the present Continental Currency⁴ is very important and it appears to me the State that is foremost in the measure will probable [*sic*] receive the advantage but in no case can Suffer any disadvantage by taking the lead.

We have no intelligence from S. Carolina since the 14th March. Something of importance may soon be expected from that quarter.

My time is so incessantly employ'd in the Indispensible engagements allotted to me at present as obliges me to confide in my Collegues to Transmit to your Excellency and the State we have the honour to represent most of the Intelligence which is not Official—and I doubt not my particular Situation and confinement will plead an excuse for me in omitting what in other circumstances would Justly be deemed a neglect.

134. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO JEREMIAH WADSWORTH.¹

PHILADA. Apr'l 15, 1780.

D'r S'r,

I am favored with your letters of the 21st of March and of the 2d and 3d of the present month.

I know your scituation and have done what I can to releive it—the result you have by Capt. Champion.² You would have less difficulty in obtaining money if Congress had it to give you. they are as much embarrassed for want of money as you are or can be. I should however have met with less opposition in obtaining warrants for you if I could have contradicted assertions that you had shewn no evidence to the Treasury of the mony's being paid over which you had already recd. tho' I do not believe there was a member present who had the least suspicion that you had misapplied a shilling. To pave the way therefore for further advancements I wish you could transmit to the Tre[a]sury the w[ar]rants of your Deputies or copies of them, for the monies you have paid them, which I think must be official proof that there is no money in your hands.

. . . .

the general assembly had appointed a committee to inquire into the commissary's and quartermaster's departments. The letter is especially critical of the methods which Congress proposes to employ for securing supplies. He remarks, for instance, "Congress surely have not so soon forgotten the unhappy events which brought on the necessity of feeding an army from hand to mouth, and the consequent excessive prices so detrimental to the interests of this country".

³ The act of Mar. 28.

⁴ The act of Mar. 18.

[134]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

² See the *Journals*, Apr. 14.

135. THOMAS BURKE TO CORNELIUS HARNETT.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Apr. 15, 1780.

Dear Sir:

I have had from you, very lately, a letter which announced to me your safe arrival at your own home.² . . . I will not trouble you with a detail of the proceedings of Congress, but will enclose you papers which contain our New Money Act, which, together with the call for specific supplies, the Requisition for quotas of Troops, a Resolution for making good the pay of the Army, and a resolution appointing a Committee of three, Schuyler, Matthews and Peabody, to go to camp with powers to adopt and carry into execution any plan respecting the Quartermaster's and Commissary's Department, constitute all the business of great consequence which has been completed. The last appears to me to be a contrivance to prevent our making any considerable alterations in those departments, and to give consequence to a certain Individ.³ in whose personal qualities and Individual Utility and importance Congress have found much business and much altercation and embarrassment.⁴

136. JAMES LOVELL TO HORATIO GATES.¹PHILADA. April 6th [16th] 1780.²*Dear General,*

. . . I send you the February *Journal* without its Disgraces of Yea and Nay in long Borders.

A Letter of yours has lately been read in Congress on yr. Request. Pray, had you been counted a Horse Stealer or a Jockey, or what, that you chose to have that formal Communication?³

[135]¹ *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 367.² Harnett's letter to which Burke is replying is dated Feb. 22 and is *ibid.*, XV. 341.³ The allusion is doubtless to General Greene. Concerning the committee to go to headquarters, see nos. 128, 130, 132, *ante*, and nos. 141, 142, 144, 145, *post*.⁴ The letter as printed ends here. A letter from Joseph Reed to Gen. Nathanael Greene, Apr. 17, contains the following passage respecting the committee:

"Since you left us nothing very important has occur'd except the Appointm't of a Committee to go to Camp which I suppose has or will soon arrive there. It was justly expected that as the Burthen of the War and Weight of Supplies lays between Connecticut and Virginia the middle States would have been particularly attended to in the Appointm[ent] but it has been otherwise and the remote Ends of the Continent have furnished each one who [though] they may be very proper Persons otherwise can know little of the Resources and Circumstances of these States. An Attempt was made to add 2 more but it failed it therefore becomes the more necessary that in your Deliberations (for I find you are not to be excluded from this Conference) your Measures should be such as to draw a pretty general Approbation of these States so far as the Execution depends on them or the Effect will not correspond with the Intention. . . . I send you *confidentially* the Instructions of the present Committee from which you will judge of Circumstances here. They certainly show more Wisdom and Prudence than was exhibited in another Committee whose Report you will have before you." Library of Congress, U. S. R.

[136]¹ *N. Y. Hist Soc.*, Gates Papers, XVII.² This letter is endorsed, "Lre: from Mr. James Lovell dated Philada. 16th April 1780".³ Possibly the letter referred to by Lovell was that read by Mathews Mar. 13. See no. 89, *ante*.

Congress will not say that the Penobscot Expedition was rightfully or wrongfully undertaken or that the reasonable Expences of it shall or shall not be paid by the Continent. Nor will they attempt to direct an Expedition against the Post now held by the Enemy in that Quarter.⁴ . . .

137. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

PHILADELPHIA 17th April 1780.

Sir,

Perceiving by the Resolution inclosed in your Letter of Saturday last, that Congress have assigned this Day to "take into Consideration the Matters stated in my Letters of the 19th and 22d of Feby. last and 3d Instant" I think it necessary to inform them, that as my Sentiments are fully expressed in the said Letters. I propose not to take up the Time of the House with further Observations on the Subject. nevertheless, being always desirous of meeting the Inclinations of Congress, I shall attend them, on Notice that they think it expedient, and have the Honor to be Sir with great Respect

your most obedt. and most huml sevt.

E GERRY ²138. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO JOSIAH BARTLETT.¹

PHILADELPHIA april 17th 1780.

Dear S'r,

. . . on my arrivel at this Place the Deprishation of the Currency wase So Rapped, the inhanced Price of all the nesesareys of life wase so Grate that it Seemed imposable to go on a month longer with our Public affairs, which drove us to Preportion the Subsistance of the army on the Several States, and to new Regulate and Establish the Currency, Since which money appresheats and Produce is falling and our Public affairs wase a more favourable aspect.²

as to Vermont there wase Several Violent attempts by the Delegates of new york and newhampshier to bring the matter before Congress but without the least appearance of Success.³

we Produced our Credenshalls, the acts of the lagislatuer impowering Congress to do every thing they had requiered of us, Seting forth at the

⁴ Cf. no. 131, *ante*.[137]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. X., f. 223; Mass. Arch., CXLII. 224.

² See the *Journals*, Apr. 15, and nos. 55, 59, 124, *ante*. No action was taken upon this letter beyond having it read, and the affair was for the time being dropped. Gerry nevertheless remained in Philadelphia until June 3 (Holten's Diary). Meanwhile he presented to Congress one other communication (May 18), but upon another matter (see no. 180, *post*). In the following September however he laid his controversy with Congress before the Massachusetts assembly (Sept. 14, 22, nos. 431, 447, *post*). To the copy of the letter of Apr. 17 which he then transmitted to the assembly he appended the following note: "N. B. Since the above the Letters have not been taken into consideration by Congress, nor any Measures adopted relative thereto."

[138]¹ Dartmouth College Lib., Bartlett Correspondence, vol. II., 1779-1790.² See the *Journals*, Feb. 1, 4, 5, 9, Mar. 18, and no. 100, *ante*.³ Cf. nos. 106, 108, 126, 127, *ante*, and nos. 187, 188, *post*.

same time the grate Expence the State had been at by Complying with there Request but all to no Purpose ⁴ I wase informed by individuals that what had been done on that affair wase Done by Coaxing and driveing, therefore I have no Expectation of any Settlement till after the war is over if I Can believe the Present members, but all this is but my Private Judgement and I wood not have it made Public

Mr. livermore left this Place the 8th Instant who will give you a more Peticular account to home [whom] I wood Refer you. . . . I hope genl. whipple will be hurried on and that I may be Releved Soone.

the massechuces have made applection to Congress by there Delegates to Know whather thay wood Pay for the Cost of the Expedishon to Penopscut and to allow them to keep back Part of this years tax on that account the latter wase Complied with we had Newhampshier Put to the trial with them but faild the members thought it wase time anough when the State made application.⁵

Remember me to all my old frinds and believe to be as much Conserved for the Public as ever I am with Sincer Respect your

Very Hum'le Servent,
NATHL. FOLSOM

To the Hon'le Josiah Bartlet

139. THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA April 17, 1780.

Sir,

We have the Honor of forwarding at this Time a Warrant for two Millions of Dollars granted for the Use of the State before Mr. Partridge left Philadelphia but not then carried through the necessary Forms.

The inclosed Extract from the Journals with the Information which our Colleague ² can give will prove how the main Point relative to the Expences on the Penobscot Expedition was left undecided. He will also enable the General Assembly to judge whether it was proper for the Delegates to push strenuously for a Decision of that Point during the then apparent Temper of Congress, or to wait for further Directions from the Court.³

We have the Honor to be with great Respect Sir

Your most humble Servants

JAMES LOVELL
S HOLTEN

[P. S.] Mr. Gerry had stepped abroad after approving [this] letter and the Bearer could not [wait his return].

⁴ The New Hampshire act referred to is in the *Journals*, Feb. 7.

⁵ Cf. nos. 103, 105, 127, 131, *ante*.

[139]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 143 (in the writing of Lovell).

² George Partridge, who left Philadelphia Apr. 9. See nos. 119, 131, *ante*.

³ See the *Journals*, Apr. 8, and nos. 103, 105, 127, 131, 136, 138, *ante*.

140. JAMES LOVELL TO AUGUSTIN MOTTIN DE LA BALME.¹

PHILADELPHIA April 17th 1780.

Sir,

I inclose to you certified Copies of the Letters which you brought from Europe to the President of Congress. I think it needless to add Copies of those which you delivered to Genl. Washington and to the Committee for foreign Affairs containing similar Accounts of your military Accomplishments and very reputable conduct in Life.² . . .

141. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA April 18th 1780.

(Private.)

Dear Sir,

The news papers announce all the foreign intelligence received by Congress and something more, except that of the Enemy's Intended plan of operation for the opening campaign which we believe we are possessed of. I enter not into a minute detail, least this letter should miscarry; let it suffice to observe to your Excellency, that I think it will, on their parts, evaporate as the last did especially to the Northward, if Supplies can be furnished for the army. To the Southward, I fear they will make an extensive penetration into South Carolina, for I have no great hopes that the troops in Charlestown will be able to make effectually opposition. I wish they may not be caged; all was well there on the 21st ult. but a private letter of a later date advises that the *Roebuck* had passed the bar and would have her Cannon on board in ten hours. If this is fact, we shall soon have some serious Intelligence from thence.

The Enemy have published one of my Letters which they took from Mr. Crane at Paramus; ² one to your Excellency, another to Mrs. Schuyler and a third to Colo. Lewis have not yet appeared in print; their view in publishing mine appears to be to announce to their friends that we were under some difficulty with respect to our Finances, for it otherwise afforded them little consolation.

Maryland and Delawar continue unrepresented, so that the Vermont business still hangs by the Eyelids.

[140]¹ British Museum, Add. MSS. 21844, f. 275; Library of Congress, Stevens facsimiles.

² This letter is endorsed, "Lettre de Mr. Lovell de la Phyladelphie le 17^e Avril 1780 à Colonel Balme, recue a Quebec 4^{me} Decr. 1780". La Balme was made lieutenant-colonel of horse May 26, 1777, and colonel and inspector-general of cavalry July 8. In October following however he resigned. Mar. 5, 1780, La Balme wrote Washington that he intended travelling in the South and asked for a certificate of character, to which Washington replied, Mar. 14, that he was unable to comply with the request. Lovell's letter indicates that La Balme had made a similar request of Congress. For some account of his activities in the Illinois country during the latter half of the year and of his death at the hands of the Miami Indians see Alvord, in *Illinois Hist. Colls.*, II. lxxxix-xciv, and *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Colls.*, vol. XIX., *passim*. His papers were captured and sent to Quebec, hence the above endorsement.

[141]¹ *Clinton Papers*, V. 642.

² The letter of Mar. 11 (no. 86, *ante*).

Mr. Livingston is gone into Jersey.³ I am one of a committee directed to repair to the army: for the purpose of arranging all the staff departments thereof; ⁴ this business and that of visiting the different posts east of Jersey will take much of my time, so that General Scott will be left alone, and altho our business will not suffer in his hands, yet sickness may prevent his constant attendance; would it not, therefore, be prudent to hasten Mr. Duane on. I hope your Excellency has received the act of Congress allowing pay and subsistence to the men to be raised for the defence of our frontiers.⁵

Please to make my respects acceptable to Mrs. Clinton. I am, D'r Sir, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

142. WILLIAM ELLERY TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Ap'l 18th 1780.

Sir,

Your excellency, in a letter of the 8th of last march informed me, that the account of the State against the United States was very large and that it would soon be forwarded. The sooner it comes to hand the better.² Very lately a draft was reported on our State for five hundred thousand dollars in favour of the late Comm'y Genl. I opposed it with all my might, told Congress that a warrant for that sum would exhaust the last farthing of the debt due on our quota of taxes, and that I daily expected that the State would present their accounts and demand a very large ballance. In this way I got it reduced to one hundred thousand dollars.³ The people urge so pressingly the payment of their debts, and it is so necessary to preserve or rather recover credit, that warrants are continually issueing wherever there is any prospect of their being answered. The want of punctuality in paying their taxes, where the quotas were large, has depreciated the money greatly, and greatly embarrassed our affairs. . . .

A Comm'ee hath lately been appointed to repair to head quarters to arrange departments etc., etc., etc. Inclosed is a copy of the instructions given to them: which points out their business more particularly than I could do it by a relation. It is expected that great advantage will result to the public from this measure.⁴

³ He evidently departed on this journey that day, for he was in Congress Apr. 17. See, further, nos. 149, 168, 177, *post*.

⁴ On this same day President Huntington transmitted to Washington the act appointing the committee to headquarters, together with the instructions to the committee. See nos. 128, 130, *ante*, and nos. 142, 144, 145, *post*.

⁵ The act of Apr. 4. See no. 126, *ante*; cf. nos. 212, 213, *post*.

[142]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1779-1780, p. 99; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 280.

² See no. 125, *ante*.

³ See the *Journals*, Apr. 14, 15.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Apr. 6, 11, 12, 13, and nos. 130, 135, 141, *ante*, 144, 145, *post*. A letter from Ellery Apr. 15, to the committee at headquarters, who had not however yet left Philadelphia, is pertinent here:

"I have a brother belonging to the state of Rhode Island, etc., whose name is Christopher, and who is as honest a fellow as your humble servant, but ten times as active; and capable of conducting business with propriety and to advantage in the Quarter Master

Congress have too passed an act for making good to the line of the army and the independent corps thereof, the deficiency of their original pay etc. This I also take the liberty to inclose to your excellency.⁵ These are the most material acts which have passed Congress; since I last had the honour of writing to you.

We are upon a plan of liquidating the value of Loan-Office certificates, determining to do justice to the holders of them as exactly as possible; when this is agreed to I will transmit it.⁶

As I have done I mean to give every information, and to perform every service in my power, which may be beneficial to the State, so long as I shall continue to represent it in Congress; and whenever my constituents shall please to displace me, I shall go out with the satisfaction of having discharged my duty at least with firmness and integrity.

143. THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA April 18th 1780.

Before we had the Honor of receiving your Letter of March 19th by Doctor Eustis Congress had taken up the Subject of Compensation for the Staff Department of the Army on the Ground of a depreciated Currency.

The inclosed Papers will discover the present Stage of that Business and the Proceedings of Congress in Consequence of a Commitment of your Letter. When the Committee to whom That was referred shall have made their general Report we shall do ourselves the Honor to communicate the Result, which we hope will be satisfactory to the Honorable Assembly.²

We are with great Respect Sir

Your most obedient Humble Servants

E GERRY

JAMES LOVELL

S HOLTEN³

or Commissaries departments. If he can be employed in our state in either of those, or any other department without jostling out a worthy officer, and in a reputable station I should be glad; therefore I would be much obliged if any vacancies should be made and be filled by you, that you would appoint him, or recommend him where you may not have the appointment. By so doing you will oblige the public and Your humble Servant" (copy in Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, f. 264). See vol. IV., no. 56.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Apr. 10, and no. 143, *post*.

⁶ See nos. 102, 120, *ante*, 281, 286, *post*.

[143]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 150 (in the writing of Lovell).

² See no. 142, *ante*. The Massachusetts instructions (dated Mar. 29) were referred Apr. 12 to a committee which had been appointed Apr. 10, to report a proper compensation to the staff of the army in consequence of the depreciation of the currency. It was the proceedings of these two days on the subject which the delegates transmitted. May 10 the committee reported "as their opinion that it would be premature to proceed upon the business before the Committee that is sent to Head Quarters shall have reported". Accordingly the question, which was further stirred by memorials and otherwise, becomes closely connected with the activities of that committee. See, for instance, nos. 350, 355, 357, 421, *post*.

³ Holten's entry in his Diary for the following day, Apr. 19, is, "It is five years this day since the war commenced. I dined with the President of Congress". *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 92.

144. JOHN MATHEWS TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA April 18th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I received your favour of the 7th Inst. the 13th. Whatever may be the fate of South Carolina, I have this consolation, that I have done my duty to my Country, by pointing out in time the means for it's preservation, and had the remedy at that time been applyed, I have little doubt of it's having proved effectual, let it's loss fall on those shoulders whom it of right ought to do, and let them, if they can, acquit themselves to the Union, to their Allies. The subject is too melancholy to be dwelt on.

We have no European news except the affair of taking the Spanish Ships off Gibraltar, which you have in the public papers. As to Domestic, I know of none.

A Committee of Congress are appointed—Genl. Schuyler, Mr. Peabody, and myself—to regulate the staff departments. What success we shall meet with, or whether we shall do any good, time only can shew.² That there are abuses, and very gross ones, no body doubts, and it's high time some inquiry was made into them.

I am D'r Sir with much Esteem and Regard

Yr. most Obedt. Servt.

JNO. MATHEWS.

145. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF ISSUES.¹

April 19, 1780.

Ordered, That the Commissary General of Issues, or his Deputy in the Middle district, be and are hereby directed, on the first day of may next,

[144]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 49, vol. III., f. 151.

² See nos. 130, 132, 135, 141, 142, *ante*, and no. 145, *post*. The regulation of the staff departments was only one of the committee's functions. See their instructions in the *Journals*, Apr. 12. For the additional powers conferred on the committee see the *Journals*, May 10, and nos. 166, 183, 187, 201, *post*. The members of the committee departed for headquarters Apr. 25 or thereabouts. See no. 140, note 2, *post*.

[145]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11 (Committee Book, 1780, Proceedings of the Committee appointed the 13th of April, 1780), p. 286; *ibid.*, no. 39, vol. II., f. 95 (copy).

² This document is headed "In Committee of Congress, for arranging the staff departments of the Army, retrenching expences, etc." This was the committee appointed Apr. 13 to proceed to headquarters to confer with the commander-in-chief on the subject of a reduction of the regiments, etc. The resolve for its appointment was taken Apr. 6, the instructions (first debated Apr. 11) adopted Apr. 12. The committee is sometimes referred to as "the Committee at Camp", sometimes as "the Committee of Co-operation", but is usually designated as the Committee at Headquarters, and that designation is here used, although the committee had not yet proceeded to headquarters. As this order and that next following show, the committee began its work of retrenchment before it left Philadelphia. In fact, after the enlargement of its powers, May 19, retrenchment was not the primary task of the committee, and the policy of reduction was completely abandoned by Congress May 30. Concerning the steps leading to its appointment see nos. 8, note 2, 19, note 3, 89, note 4, 130, 132, 135, 141, 142, 144, *ante*. See also nos. 146, 149, 156, 162, 164, 166-169, 172-174, 185-187, 194, 195, etc., *post*.

to abolish the Office of magazine keeper at the Post of Philadelphia and to discharge from that service the following persons—*Vizt.*³

And That the business lately done and transacted in that Office, be for the future transacted by the Assistant Commissary of Issues, who shall be allowed one additional Clerk, if necessary to enable him to discharge the duties thereof.⁴

146. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

April 19, 1780.

Ordered, That the Quarter Master General, or his deputy in the City of Philadelphia, do, on or before the 1st day of May next, discharge from the public service the following Persons employed under his direction in the City of Philadelphia—*Vizt.* 17 Carpenters, One Assistant store keeper, One Assistant Barrack Master, and his Clerk and 4 Messengers, and that he do make return to the Committee of the names of the persons so discharged, and also of those retained in the service in the places before mentioned.²

147. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADA. 20th April 1780.

Sir,

Inclosed you will have a Letter of advice which I recd. from the Commissary General in consequence of what I had done to prevent Congress from passing Resolves derogatory to the State of New Hamp'e occasioned by the State Treasurer's protesting some Draughts on him in favour of the Commissary's department, information of which Circumstance was Transmitted to Congress by your Hon's Letter of the ———² and also by Mr. Cyler's Complaint all which raised a very Considerable storm but understanding that considerable stores were actually Purchased in the

³ Here follows a list of 19 names of persons to be discharged, with the occupation of each. No. 1 of the list is George Baker, keeper of the magazine.

⁴ The order was signed by the three members of the committee, Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody.

[146]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 286; *ibid.*, no. 39, vol. II., f. 96 (letter-book copy).

² The order was addressed to the "Quarter Master-General or his Deputy in the City of Philadelphia", and was signed by the three members of the committee, Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody. See no. 145, *ante*. On the same day the committee appointed Solomon Maxwell superintendent of provisions at Christiana, Delaware, authorizing him to keep one cooper in constant employ and to employ others from time to time as necessity may require, for which additional service he was to have "such reasonable allowance" as shall hereafter be settled by Congress on the general arrangement of the staff departments. Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 97 (copy), no. 11, p. 287 (letter-book copy).

[147]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 13.

² Weare's letter was to Jacob Cuyler and bore date of Mar. 7. See the *Journals*, Apr. 3, 4.

western parts of your State, was induced to advise that Mr. Cyler Transfer the aforesd. Draffts to Majr. Jon'a Child as the money was to pass through his hands hoping it might be in the power, as I was sure it was the inclination, of the State to answer the Draffts. I have only to add upon this subject That if this Transaction should not be disagreeable to the State those drafts may be paid in preference to any of a later Date as several Drafts are since sent on for payment. Mr. Livermore can give you many particulars respecting the premises.

P. S. I inclose also a Letter from the auditor Genl. respecting an eroneous Charge vs. the State of N. H.

148. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADA. April 23, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 18th Instant with Copies of sundry Papers therein referred to No. 1 and No. 2. by which you will be informed that a Suit at Law is said to be instituted in Yoghogania County against Colo. Broadhead Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt, in consequence of Orders given by him to some of the Troops under his Command to take Possession of a House occupied by Edward Ward and Thomas Smallman Esquires which he judged necessary for the Safety of that Post.

You will observe that by the Act enclosed Congress have resolved Colonel Broadhead shall be supported in any Acts or Orders which the Nature of the Service, and the Discharging his Duty as Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt hath made or shall make *necessary* with which I have no Doubt the supreme Power of Virginia will concur, and that proper measures will be adopted to prevent Colo. Broadhead his being unjustly vexed on Account of any Orders or Act by him given or performed, in the necessary Discharge of his Duty as Commanding Officer.²

149. JOHN MATHEWS TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA April 24th 1780.

My Dear Sir,

If it is in your power I should be extremely happy you would meet us at Head Q'rs in the course of two or three days, that we might have an

[148]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 334. A similar though not identical letter to President Reed of Pennsylvania is *ibid.*, p. 335, and *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 202.

² The resolves of Apr. 18 were in consequence of a letter of Colonel Brodhead, Feb. 27, to Richard Peters, secretary of the board of war, which was read Mar. 29 and referred to a committee. Some of the propositions of the committee, who appear to have offered a report as promptly as Apr. 1, were rejected (see the *Journals*, Apr. 18). Brodhead's letter is in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 119. With it he transmitted copies of his orders to the assistant quartermaster and the Maryland corps with regard to taking post in the house referred to, and it was copies of these and of Brodhead's letter that constituted the sundry papers transmitted by President Huntington. A corresponding letter, Apr. 22, to Brodhead, is in the President's Letter-Book, p. 334.

[149]¹ Haverford College, Roberts Coll., 732.

opportunity of conferring on some matters highly important to the Interests of these States. If it will not be convenient to you to meet us at the above place, I must take the liberty of intreating your return to Congress, where the exertion of your abilities was never more necessary, than at this time. The loss of South Carolina (which we must every moment look for) will involve in it consequences truly alarming to the Union. . . . can you at such a time find in your heart to leave us? For heavens sake, deprive us not of your assistance at such a time. Let me repeat my earnest request my worthy friend for your return to Congress, that your Country may reap the benefit of your abilities at this alarming crisis. I have a thousand things to say to you, which prudence forbids being committed to paper, but will reserve in hopes of seeing you at Camp.² . . .

150. THE RHODE ISLAND DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
RHODE ISLAND (WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, May 2, 1780.

Sir:

Nothing new in the congressional line hath taken place since our last but what will have reached your Excellency's hands before this.

The frigate *Confaderacy* arrived here last Saturday from Martinico, and confirms the account of the arrival there of 16 sail of the line, with a considerable body of troops; so that now the French have a decided superiority in the West Indies. . . .

P. S. Mr. Ellery hath received your Excellency's letter respecting the *Pigot* Galley and will lay the same before the Admiralty board.²

151. JOHN COLLINS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA, May the 2d 1780.

Dear Sir,

I Received yours of the 29 yesterday morning. the atmosphere was Cover'd with mistey Clouds, and my apprehe[n]tion Cloudey as the atmosphere, and your Observation aded to the Gloom allready taken great hold of my mind; your letter brings to mind what I Wrote you more than a year past, that ouer dan[ger] was intarnal. I saw many at the helm of

² Mathews was one of the committee appointed Apr. 13 to proceed to headquarters (see no. 145, *ante*). Livingston had not only made the motion, Apr. 6, for the appointment of the committee, but was one of the committee appointed the same day to prepare instructions for that committee, and he personally drafted those instructions (see the *Journals*, Apr. 11, 12). Washington also expressed a wish that Livingston might have been one of the committee with whom he was to confer (letter to Duane, May 14; see no. 166, note 3, *post*). Livingston was presumably somewhere in New Jersey at this time (see no. 141, *ante*) but he did presently come to headquarters and shortly afterward (May 16 or earlier) returned to Congress, induced thereto by the news of approaching aid from France. See nos. 168, 177, *post*. The committee doubtless departed for headquarters Apr. 25, as none of them appears among the yeas and nays of that day. Peabody's departure is at all events recorded by Holten under Apr. 25, "Mr Peabody set out for headquarters. I rode out with him 5 miles".

[150]¹ R. I. Hist. Soc., MSS., III. 90 (signed by Ellery and Collins); *ibid.*, *Collections*, VI. 254; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 281.

² See no 125, *ante*.

[151]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

the Great Ship much adhear'd to that talked by Rote as Parats Sings a tune without knowing its meaning—Very ignorant of the great business necessary to keep the Ship a float. but let us not dispond all danger produce is not Emeadi't death. I have seen dangers and am Still in existance, I have been amongst Rocks and Sholes in tempestious weather, and have seen my Ship Sink under me, and was not Drown'd. (but I lost my Ship) the hull of the Ship in which we are imbarked is still Strong and good, but I exp't for want of proper Shrowds and Stays, will Carry away her thirteen masts, but if she should, we will Rig her anew, with fewer masts and more Shrowds and Stays. I have no fear but she will weather the Storm, allthoough she may Suffer in her Sails and Rigin, the damages may be Repaired when the Storm is over.²

I have no more to say you will understand me I design to leave this City on thursday or fryday next, if I am not prevented by the poverty of the treasury my political Servitude ends this day, tomorrow I shall be free from all political engagements to any Set of men liveing.

I shall take my Rout through Morris Town, and Spend an hour in Camp.

I am with the most friendly Regard yours

JOHN COLLINS

[P. S.] An Express arrived here Sunday Last with Dispatches from General Lincoln, the 9th of April, the Substance of which is that the Enemy Crossed Ashley River in force on the 29th of March, and encamped about 3000 yards from ouer lines; Seven Ships of War pass'd Fort Moutrie the 8th of April and anchored near fort Johnston without any injury except the loss of on[e] topmast. I shall not be praticular as I Suppose a Coppy of General Lincolns leter will be forwarded to the General.

J. C.

152. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[May 3, 1780.]

3. Recd. a letter from Mr Peabody. The medical committee met in my chamber.²

153. JAMES LOVELL TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

May 4th 1780.

Hon'd Sir,

I cannot write with official Authority nor have I time to enlarge now upon our public affairs owing to the particular Circumstances of the Mass: Delegation which forces me to attend in Congress² and the Vessel will

² Collins had been a sea-captain before he turned statesman.

[152]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 92.

² Peabody was a member of the medical committee and likewise a member of the committee which had recently been sent to headquarters.

[153]¹ *Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers*, XVIII. 64.

² That is, it required the presence of both Lovell and Holten to cast the vote of the state. With regard to Gerry see nos. 55, 59, 124, 137, *ante*.

probably sail before our Adjournment this Afternoon. I refer you to the *Journals* and *Gazettes* together with Mr. Robert Mease's Conversation.³

. . . .

Be assured of my greatest Respect for your Character and my sincerest wishes for your Prosperity, being, Sir, Your Friend and most humble Servant

JAMES LOVELL

154. JAMES DUANE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 4th May 1780.

My dear General,

We are in anxious suspense for the fate of Charles Town. . . .

We are exerting every Means in our power to expedite the March of the Reinforcement destined for Charles Town. It is committed to the Joint Efforts of the Board of War and the Treasury and I hope every obstacle is surmounted. I have but one wish left that Virginia may on so decisive and interesting an Occasion be able to detach a Body of Militia which in Conjunction with the Continental Reinforcements will be sufficient to support the Communication between the Town and Country and harass the Besiegers in their Rear. The Reluctance against the Southern Service, tho' easy to be accounted for, is much to be deplored; and I reconcile myself to the Embarrassments which our weakness in that Quarter superadds to all our other Difficulties.

In spite of the disagreeable Aspect of our Money Affairs I look forward to a happy Termination of our arduous Conflict. We have not experienced half the Distresses which considering the power of our Enemies, every contemplative mind must have expected. I am in this view much engaged in another attempt to get the Confederation accomplished which in my Opinion would fully compensate for the temporary Loss of any City on the Continent and it gives me great Pleasure to assure your Excellency that the Delegates from Virginia are warmly disposed to give it all the Aid in their Power; and have the fullest Expectation that our Joint Exertions will Succeed; and the future Safety and Tranquillity of the States be fixed on a permanent Basis. Without a Federal Alliance Peace itself, Independence, and Security from external Assaults, would scarcely deserve the Name of a Blessing. . . .

To hold a Place in your Excellency's Confidence and Friendship is an Honour which I most highly prize; and which I shall always regard as one of the most happy Circumstances of my Life; for no man can be more entirely Attached to you by every tie of Affection Esteem and Gratitude than my dear General

Your most Obedient and most faithful Servant

JAS. DUANE

³ Robert Mease was the bearer of this letter. See *Calendar of Franklin Papers*, II. 271, 318.

[154]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 444.

P. S. Be pleased to present my most respectful Compliments to Mrs. Washington and the gentlemen of the family. We have this moment Letters informing us that the Connecticut and the Massachusetts Legislatures have cheerfully adopted the new plan of Finance. The Connecticut traders have done themselves great Honour as well as the principal Farmers. The former in an address to the Assembly declare their Readiness to receive the new Money at its Value specified for by Congress in payment for their Commodities. New York I am perswaded will concur and their Example will probably bring All the States into the Measures.²

155. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO JOHN ADAMS.¹

PHILADELPHIA 5th May 1780.

My dear Sir,

Since the Treasury, Admiralty, and Court of Appeals have been put in Commission, Congress have not been troubled much with their respective Concerns, and for several Days past have adjourned before the usual Time from a *Want of Business*.² . . .

156. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN 5th May 1780.

Sir,

Your favour of the 3d instant has been received and Claimed our serious Attention.²

It is the wish as well as the inclination of this Committee to give you every Satisfaction as far as their Powers extend. But to undertake an

² See the *Journals*, May 11, 29; cf. no. 204, *post*. Washington's reply to this letter, May 13, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 262. See also his letter to Duane, May 14 (*ibid.*, VIII. 264, ed. Sparks, VII. 32).

[155]¹ Adams MSS., Boston.

² An extensive extract of this letter, chiefly respecting the results of the resolution of Mar. 18 calling in the two hundred millions of paper emission, is printed in Adams's *Works*, VII. 188, and Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 650; copies are in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 84, vol. II., f. 397; Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers, LIV. 110b, 120b; and Paris, Arch., Aff. Etr., E. U. 12: 12-14 (two copies). Adams made particular use of this extract in his defense of the act of Mar 18 in letters to Vergennes in the following June. See no. 534, *post*.

A letter from Robert Morris to Jonathan Hudson and Company of Baltimore, Apr. 25, is of interest in this connection: "Yours of the 22d Inst is here and I only repeat my opinion that Continental money will never be of less value than it is now, therefore I do not think this is the time to purchase plantations with that money. I think it would be more eligible to agree in specie payable in six or twelve months", etc. Library of Congress, Ac. 2623.

[156]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 85 (draft by Peabody), no. 11, p. 249 (letter-book copy).

² In his letter to the committee May 3 (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I. f. 242, no. 11, p. 222, letter-book copy; Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 258), Greene refers to a conference with the committee on the preceding day, in which they had asked his opinion respecting the proper mode of accommodating the department to the new plan for obtaining supplies for the army, and states that he could not venture to offer his sentiments until they had made inquiry into the former conduct of his department. See nos. 110, note 3, 120, note 3, 128, *ante*.

investigation into the state and Conduct of your department at this moment—the business being of so diffuse and Complex a nature—we Conceive would be highly inconsistent with the public welfare, as the Consequent delay attending such an enquiry would evidently tend to defeat the Great object we have primarily in view—The immediate Supply of the Army.

We feel Great Anxiety, Sir, at your seeming determination not to enter into business with us until such enquiry shall have been previously made.

We cannot however but flatter ourselves that on mature reflection—taking in view the Great object by us alluded to, on the immediate Execution of which You well know so much depends you will wave the application and with that Zeal and alacrity which have hitherto distinguished you in the Service of your Country afford that aid which your abilities and experience enable you so effectually to give, and which we had in Charge from Congress to require of you.³

157. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT
HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA May 6, 1780.

Gentlemen,

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 4th Inst. ordering that the enclosed Copy of a Letter from James Gray D. C. Genl. of Issues in the Northern Department be transmitted to you.²

P. S. By Intelligence via N. York we are informed our Army and Friends were in Possession of Charles Town the 20th ulto. My last Letter from Genl. Lincoln is the 9th of April, accompanied with a Letter to his Excellency the Commander in Chief which was immediately forwarded and by which I presume Genl. Washington has received as late Intelligence from Genl. Lincoln as I could communicate.

³ Replying, May 6, Greene declared that he could not conceive how the committee could execute their commission without first making inquiry into the order and arrangement of the quartermaster's department. "On what grounds", he said, "can they make any alterations, or confirm any part of the present plan, without such an investigation?" He did not expect them to go into the details of the business, but he did expect them to "satisfy themselves with respect to the great outlines of the business and the general conduct of the principal agents". He could not, he insisted, serve until every shadow of suspicion which might affect his character or standing with Congress should have been removed; neither would he serve "under the direction of any other superintending board, than that of the Board of War, unless they belong to Congress". However, he added, "I shall be always happy to render the public every service in my power—either with or without reward, more than a necessary support" (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I., f. 249; Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 284). See, further, nos. 257, 258, *post*.

[157]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 105, no. 11, p. 9 (letter-book copy); President's Letter-Book, p. 337.

² The letter from James Gray, dated at Albany Apr. 17, was a complaint that one John Hanson, sometime assistant commissary of issues at Fort Schuyler but discharged by Gray for neglect of duty, had persistently refused to make settlement or give bond.

158. JAMES MADISON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.¹

PHILADA. May 6th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I can give you no other account of our public situation than that it continues equally perplexed and alarming as when I lately gave you a sketch of it.² Our army has as yet been kept from starving, and public measures from a total stagnation, by draughts on the States for the unpaid requisitions. The great amount of these you may judge of, from the share that has fallen to Virginia. The discharge of debts due from the purchasing departments has absorbed a great proportion of them, and very large demands still remain. As soon as the draughts amount to the whole of the monthly requisitions up to the end of March, they must cease according to the new scheme of finance. We must then depend wholly on the emissions to be made in pursuance of that scheme, which can only be applied as the old emissions are collected and destroyed. Should this not be done as fast as the current expenditures require, or should the new emissions fall into a course of depreciation, both of which may but too justly be feared, a most melancholy crisis must take place. A punctual compliance on the part of the States with the specific supplies will indeed render much less money necessary than would otherwise be wanted, but experience by no means affords satisfactory encouragement that due and unanimous exertions will be made for that purpose not to mention that our distress is so pressing that it is uncertain whether any exertions of that kind can give relief in time. It occurs besides, that as the ability of the people to comply with the pecuniary requisitions is derived from the sale of their commodities, a requisition of the latter must make the former proportionably more difficult and defective. Congress have the satisfaction however to be informed that the legislature of Connecticut have taken the most vigorous steps for supplying their quota both of money and commodities; and that a body of their principal merchants have associated for supporting the credit of the new paper, for which purpose they have in a public address pledged their faith to the Assembly to sell their merchandise on the same terms for it as if they were to be paid in specie. A similar vigor throughout the Union may perhaps produce effects as far exceeding our present hopes as they have heretofore fallen short of our wishes.³

It is to be observed that the situation of Congress has undergone a total change from what it originally was. Whilst they exercised the indefinite power of emitting money on the credit of their constituents they had the whole wealth and resources of the continent within their command, and could go on with their affairs independently and as they pleased. Since the resolution passed for shutting the press, this power has been entirely given up and they are now as dependent on the States as the King of

[158]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings of Madison* (ed. Hunt), I. 61; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 45.

² Presumably the letter of Mar. 27 (no. 118, *ante*).

³ Cf. General Greene to Governor Trumbull May 7, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 36.

England is on the parliament. They can neither enlist pay nor feed a single soldier, nor execute any other purpose but as the means are first put into their hands. Unless the legislatures are sufficiently attentive to this change of circumstances and act in conformity to it every thing must necessarily go wrong or rather must come to a total stop. All that Congress can do in future will be to administer public affairs with prudence vigor and oeconomy; In order to do which they have sent a Committee to Head Quarters with ample powers, in concert with the Commander in chief and the Heads of departments to reform the various abuses which prevail and to make such arrangements as will best guard against a relapse into them.

The papers enclosed herewith contain all the news we have here.

159. RICHARD HENRY LEE TO WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JR.¹

RICHMOND TOWN IN VIRGINIA May 7, 1780.

My dear Sir,

I arrived here six days ago to give my attendance as a Member of this present general Assembly, and here I received your favor of April 16 on the 5 instant, for which be pleased to accept my thanks.² You ask me if the wicked enemies of our Country still prosper and go unpunished. I answer that they probably will, until virtue learns to be as industrious as vice, and men in general come to prize the former more than the latter. The stimulated industry that marks your persecutor strongly demonstrates that some other quality than mere virtue influences his conduct. The bitterness of revenge, working on disappointed ambition and avarice is plainly perceptible. At this distance of time I cannot recollect the particular Complainants against Dr. Morgan out of Congress, But I remember perfectly well that in Congress Mr. Chase did most warmly oppose Dr. Morgans longer continuance in the Directorship, saying repeatedly that not a Soldier would be obtained from Maryland if the Director was not changed. I remember Mr. Chase, his mentioning particular instances of his misconduct which appeared strong at the time. I make no doubt but that you may get the information you want from Mr. Chase, and be availed also by his testimony. If there were any written complaints, no doubt they may be found upon the files of Congress. Having had the pleasure of a great share of your confidence and correspondence, and having been a Member of Congress at the time, it seems more than probable that if you had excited clamors against the Director with a view to succeed him, that I should have heard or known something about it, and yet I can declare before God and Man that I neither knew or heard of any such thing. I believe there is scarcely a Gentleman who was then a Member of Congress that does not well remember how great and general the dis-

[159]¹ Univ. Va. Lib., Lee Papers; Va. Hist. Soc., Lee Transcripts, III.; *Southern Literary Messenger*, May, 1860, p. 345; *Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (ed. Ballagh), II. 178.

² Shippen's letter is in the University of Virginia, Lee Papers. A printed text is in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, May, 1860, p. 344. Lee was not at this time a delegate, having withdrawn in May, 1779.

satisfaction was at that time against the Director General, insomuch that I solemnly affirm it appeared to me as I know it did to many others that the change of the directorship was indispensable to the collecting of another Army, the former having been chiefly disbanded in the fall of 1776.³

I am yours my dear Sir most sincerely, and affectionately

RICHD HENRY LEE.

160. JAMES DUANE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 9th May 1780.²

My dear General,

. . . . I am much concerned at the want of money in the military Chest and other Departments; nothing in our power will be left undone to obtain a competent Supply: but it is to be feared that some Distress is necessary to rouse the States to more decisive Exertions. We learn since my last that the new plan of Finance will be supported in Virginia as it already is to the Eastward.³ This ought to be the Endeavour of every Friend to our Cause. It is unavailing and fruitless to examine into its policy, or even to exclaim against the Injustice it may do to Individuals. Private opinion and private Interest must give way to publick Councils and the

³ Dr. John Morgan was chosen director general and chief physician of the hospital Oct. 17, 1775. Dr. William Shippen, jr., was chosen physician to the Flying Camp July 15, 1776. In the autumn of 1776 a controversy arose between the two over their respective bounds of authority, which Congress settled by a resolution of Nov. 28. There were also complaints from many sources, particularly from Dr. Shippen, against Dr. Morgan's conduct of affairs, with the result that Dr. Morgan was summarily dismissed from office Jan. 9, 1777. See vol. II., pp. 158 n., 211, 212, 271, 321 n. Concerning the Shippen-Rush quarrel in 1778, see vol. III., pp. 59, 66, 67, 77, 157.

In the spring of 1777 the medical department was reorganized on a plan largely prepared by Dr. Shippen, and Apr. 11 Dr. Shippen was elected director general of the military hospitals. July 31 Dr. Morgan preferred a memorial to Congress on the subject of his dismissal, whereupon the medical committee, to whom the memorial was referred, made a report upon the circumstances of his dismissal and recommended the appointment of a committee to give him a hearing. The committee was not however appointed until Sept. 18, 1778, after the presentation of a further memorial from Dr. Morgan. The members of the committee as first constituted were Drayton, Harvie, and Wither-spoon, but Harvie having withdrawn from Congress Meriwether Smith was chosen in his stead (Dec. 29). This committee brought in a report Mar. 13, 1779, altogether commendatory of Morgan, and Congress voiced its approval in a decisive resolve (June 12). Thereupon Dr. Morgan brought charges against Dr. Shippen (June 15; see also the *Journals*, Oct. 25, Nov. 16, 24, Dec. 22, 24, 1779). The matter was referred to General Washington, who, in December, ordered a court-martial (see also the *Journals*, Jan. 1, Apr. 4, May 10, 1780). The court gave a verdict of acquittal, which Washington transmitted, July 15, 1780, to Congress, where it was debated at frequent intervals for a full month and finally approved. See the *Journals*, July 18-20, 22, 27-31, Aug. 16, 18.

[160]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² On this day the Virginia delegates, to whom had been referred on Apr. 14 a letter from Lieut.-Col. J. M. P. Legras, reported that the letter was proper for the consideration of the general assembly of Virginia and ought to be transmitted to the executive of that state. Legras' letter, which was written from Williamsburg Mar. 22 and relates to assistance rendered George Rogers Clark, is in the Virginia State Library, Executive Papers. Concerning Legras and his claims see *Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia*, vol. II., and J. A. James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, *passim*.

³ Cf. nos. 227, 264, *post*.

publick Safety; and it ought to be remembered that in a Case of such difficulty and Embarrassment while some remedy seemed to be indispensably necessary, none could have been devised which would not have been object[ion]able.

The Arrival of a Packet at New York we are informed has produced many dejected Countenances;⁴ but as this has been an invariable Remark on every such Event for three years we cannot be much elated. We have however all the Reason to be wished for this Reflection that the Distresses of our Enemies bear a full proportion to our own; and that they cannot but feel the strongest Apprehensions that the War must terminate in our favour.

I congratulate your Excellency on the Arrival in Europe of Mr. Jay and Mr. Gerard; and of our gallant Friend the Marquis La Fayette in America. Mr. Telfair and another Gentleman are just arrived, and Col. Walton daily expected, as Delegates from Georgia.⁵

161. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, May 9th, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will probably before the receipt of this have been informed of the death of the honorable Don Juan Demarellles, the Spanish gentleman of distinction that resided at this place. He died after a short illness the 28th of April at Morristown, to which place he had accompanied the Minister of France to pay their respects to the General and army. His remains were there interred with the honors of war, and his funeral rites have been also here celebrated this day in the French chapel, with very great respect and a lasting requiem sung to his soul.²

This gentleman during his residence here appeared zealously attentive to the political interests and views of this country, as well as his own, and waited with impatience to see the ties between the two countries indissolubly formed by a ratification of treaties of amity and commerce, which he expected would take place on the arrival of our Minister at the Court of Spain.

Much anxiety prevails here to know the fate of Charlestown, from which there are no accounts to be depended on later than the 9th of April,

⁴ The allusion is doubtless to the news, which had already reached New York, of the coming of the French fleet.

⁵ George Walton, Edward Telfair, and William Few attended Monday, May 15.

[161]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 38.

² Samuel Holten recorded in his Diary under May 8, "I attended at the Roman Catholic church on account of the death of Don Juan". Either Ellsworth or Holten (probably the former) is in error with regard to the date of the funeral services to Don Juan de Miralles. None of the Philadelphia papers mention the event. Congress appears to have attended the services as a mark of respect, but unofficially, since Miralles had not been officially recognized. Concerning his death see Luzerne to Washington Apr. 29 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, III. 442), Washington to Don Diego Joseph Navarro Apr. 30 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 27), and his reply to Luzerne May 11 (*ibid.*, p. 30).

nor does it appear from the papers published in New York to the 3d of this month, that any accounts have been received there later than ours. . . .

I thought it my duty to read in Congress the accounts I had received from Connecticut, and was kept in countenance by their just approbation. And it is devoutly to be wished that the well timed and animating example of so respectable a State may have its due influence with the rest. A number of their Assemblies, as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, are, it is said, now convened, or convening, and will be informed thro' the channel of the Philadelphia paper, if not otherwise, what Connecticut has done.

P. S. Since writing the above advice is received from Charlestown to the 15th of April, 2 o'clock, P. M. The enemy had opened their batteries on the town on the 12th and kept them incessantly playing, but without much execution.³ . . .

162. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

MORRIS TOWN May 10th, 1780.

Sir,

The necessary enquiries at the posts on the communication from Philadelphia hither, and the heavy rains that fell, retarded our Journey so much, that we did not reach this place untill the 28th Ult.

Judging it advisable to inform ourselves, as fully as possible on the general subject of our Mission, before we attempted an alteration in any of the departments, We held conferences with the Commander in Chief for several days succeeding our arrival the result of which was, that the distressed state of the army in point of provisions should claim our immediate attention to the arrangement of the two great staff departments, so as to adapt them to securing and bringing on the supplies called for from the several states by the act of the 25th of February last. Systems for both have been attempted and some progress made therein. We find little difficulty in establishing one, for receiving, securing, and issuing, and properly accounting for, the expenditure of supplies to be furnished by the states. But, embarrassments of a serious nature arose, through a want of money on the one hand, to pay for the transportation thereof, a want of forage on the other, in those states which are not called on to furnish any and in which the Continental officers are probably inhibited from purchasing, as they are in this state, and where the quota of that

³ In the *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 10, is an account (half a column in extent) of the news from the southward: "On Monday last arrived an express from Newbern, in North-Carolina, and brings accounts as late as the 15th ult. from Charlestown, when that town was still safe, though the enemy were making all the advance in their power." A similar account is in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of the same date. In fact, Charleston capitulated two days later (see nos. 226-234, *post*). The articles of surrender proposed by General Lincoln, May 8, are in *N. C. State Recs.*, XIV. 807, the counter-proposals of Clinton and Arbuthnot, May 9, are *ibid.*, p. 809. The articles of capitulation, May 12, are in the Library of Congress, U. S. R.

[162]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 12, ff. 1-11 (draft by Schuyler, dated May 9), no. 11, p. 21 (letter-book copy, dated May 9).

article is already expended, at the same time that the state Officers cannot go beyond quantities assigned them. And yet, a vast land transportation must of necessity take place, in and through states, under either predicament. The impracticability of conveying Forage from states remotely situated is too evident to require any comments on our parts. Hence, unless the states are requested to repeal so much of their laws as prohibit the Continental Officers from making purchases whenever Congress, or some superintending board, or Military Commander, shall judge it necessary, the public service must inevitably be retarded, if not totally stagnated. Nor should the repeal be confined to a mere permission for procuring forage, but be extended to every enumerated article under the restrictions mentioned. For it is beyond a doubt that cases will arise in which the army will be unsupplied in particular states, when the quotas of such states have been expended, And those of others not only so remote as to afford little prospect of immediate relief, but too much so to draw the supplies from thence, on any principle of oeconomy, if they could be got at hand, as the mere charge of transportation would greatly increase the prime cost. But the repeals we have stated to be necessary are not alone sufficient, for unless money is immediately furnished to pay for the transportation of supplies from the different magazines in hired carriages, and to redeem the public working cattle which the farmers in every quarter hold in pledge for the payment of their subsistence through the winter, every plan of supply must prove nugatory, and all we have done, or can do, relative to the arrangement of those departments, will be inadequate to the great object. Indeed such are the accumulated distresses of the army at this conjuncture, and such the effects of a repetition of want, that it has had a very pernicious influence on the soldiery. Their patience is exhausted, by being exposed to such frequent sufferings, that they already begin to ascribe to a defect of resources what they have hitherto been taught to believe arose from accidental impediment. Their starving condition, Their want of pay, and the variety of hardships they have been driven to sustain, has soured their tempers, and produced a spirit of discontent which begins to display itself under a complexion of the most alarming hue. If this spirit should fully establish itself, it must be productive of some violent convulsion, infinitely to our prejudice, at home, and abroad, as it would evince a want of means, or a want of wisdom to apply them. Either of which must bring our cause into discredit and draw in its train consequences of a nature too serious to be contemplated without the deepest anxiety. Permit us therefore to intreat the immediate attention of Congress to this necessary supply, for the purpose we have mentioned. And, for the payment of the troops, to whom the paymaster is now greatly in arrears, and the Officers so entirely destitute, that many for want of their subsistence money, with which they made some addition to their single rations, are now reduced to the disagreeable necessity of making it their whole support.

On examining into the state of provisions in Camp we find there is not more meat than will last untill the 12th Inst. Collo. Blane is come up, and we have from him, that he has no prospect of an immediate supply of this

article. The only resource we can turn our eyes to in this exigency is, the state of Pennsylvania. If they fail to make *instantaneous* exertions for the relief of the army—We will not pretend to say, what may be the event!

Before we had an opportunity closely to view and examine into the real state of things, we had no conception of the almost inextricable difficulties in which we found them involved.

We have stated matters plainly. We have been impelled to it [by] every consideration of Duty, by the sincere desire we have to fulfill the views and expectations of Congress, in our appointment, and by the principles of unbounded affection for our Country. These will lead us to every exertion and without a moments delay [or remission],² to lop of [f] every exuberancy which can be effected without material injury.

We have omitted observing that the Medical departments are destitute of those necessities which are indispensable for the sick. They have neither wine, Tea, sugar, Coffee, Chocolate, or spirits. We wish orders may be given for an immediate supply as the army grow more sickly every hour.

Inclosed is a Copy of a letter from the Commissaries Genl. of purchases and Issues, to the Commander in Chief.³

We have the Honour to be, Sir, with the highest Respect

Yr. most Obedt. Servts.

P SCHUYLER ⁴

JNO. MATHEWS

NATHL. PEABODY

163. JAMES DUANE TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILAD. 12th May 1780.

My dear Friend,

I need not tell you that I was much disappointed in not meeting with you at Camp.² Besides the pleasure of your Conversation I had in view to consult you on business: I am now launc[he]d forth without the advantage of your late Observations and Experience on the Floor, and must

² The words "or remission" are in the draft and the letter-book copy but were omitted, possibly inadvertently, from the letter sent.

³ The letter from Charles Stewart and Ephraim Blaine, commissaries general of Issues and purchases, respectively, May 9, is in the Washington Papers; an extract is in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 240. A brief letter of the same date from the two jointly to the committee is in *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 39, vol. III., f. 237: "The distresses of the Army are such as require the attention of all concerned for their Support. We have delivered our Sentiments to his Excellency of this Date. Enclosed is a Copy for your perusal. Your present Local Situation with the Army prompts us to trouble you." See also a letter from General Greene to Joseph Reed, May 10, in *Life of Reed*, II. 191.

⁴ "P Schuyler" is in the writing of a copyist; the signatures of Mathews and Peabody are autographic. The letter was read May 12 and referred to Ellsworth, Muhlenberg, and Houston. See nos. 163, 165, 172, *post*. Concerning other committees having similar assignments, with slight changes of personnel, see no. 189, note 2, *post*.

[163]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Schuyler Papers, no. 559.

² Duane had recently visited headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey, on his way to Philadelphia (see no. 154, *ante*). Schuyler, as a member of the committee sent to headquarters, left Philadelphia about Apr. 25.

trust to my own little stock. There are two Points which I have much at Heart and which will fall within the powers of your present important Mission. It is reported that a Quantity of Cloathing is arrived, or expected from France: you will see I feel the distressed Circumstances of our state Line. Let those Worthy Men be provided for, as they are peculiarly destitute: and I have but feeble Hopes that any Measures in the power of our state will afford them seasonable Relief. My Feelings for them were painfully touched at a late Review: I did not indeed want such a Proof of their distress: nor can you want arguments to awaken your Attention.³

The other point requires some Investigation before there will be use in communicating it, which I this moment recollect. . . .

The Marquiss La Fayette I presume is with you before this day. from Hints we may expect essential support from our great ally in the present Campaign. When we have more authentic advice it will be worth communicating: but you may perhaps have speedier Information thro' the Marquiss.⁴

We have nothing from Charles Town since my last Letter to General Washington.⁵ . . .

Your Publick Letter is referred to a Committee and nothing will be left undone to excite this Government to exert herself for the supply of the Army.⁶ . . .

³ The source of the report to which Duane alludes is not apparent. He could not have drawn his information from Franklin's letter of Mar. 4 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 534), which was read in Congress May 15, for that letter was among the despatches brought by Lafayette (see no. 170, *post*), who was still at headquarters on the 12th. On the 17th, through a memorial of Luzerne dated May 16 (Wharton, III. 683), Congress was further informed of the loan of three million livres by France and of the despatch of clothing and other supplies. Duane might however just as well have dismissed any hopes which he had of obtaining from this source clothing for the New York troops; for the story of these supplies, so happily begun, is a long and disappointing one. A year later Congress was endeavoring to unravel the tangled tale, which centres about the vessel called the *Alliance* and the doings of two captains, Pierre Landais and John Paul Jones, with other vessels (the *Ariel*, the *Luke*, and the *Serapis*) and other persons (particularly Franklin and Arthur Lee) having their several parts in the story. See for instance, Franklin's letters of May 31, Aug. 9, 10, Dec. 3, 1780, Mar. 17, 1781; Luzerne to Washington Dec. 5, 1780; Lafayette to a committee of Congress Dec. 16, 1780; John Paul Jones to the board of admiralty Mar. 13, 1781 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 742, IV. 21, 25, 179, 182, 195, 288, 300), and the *Journals*, Sept. 17, Oct. 25, 1780, Mar. 28, 1781. See also Washington to Luzerne Dec. 14, 1780, to General Knox Jan. 7, to General Greene Jan. 9, 1781 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 324, 354, 360). Cf. no. 164, *post*.

⁴ Lafayette had landed at Boston Apr. 26, had immediately set out for Washington's headquarters (see his letter to Washington Apr. 27, in *Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, II. 441), had arrived there May 10, remained four days, then proceeded to Philadelphia. See Washington's letters to Lafayette May 8, 16, to Luzerne May 11, to Congress May 13, to Duane May 14, to Jefferson May 15, to Heath May 15, to Clinton May 18 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 29-44), also Lafayette to Rochambeau May 19 (*ibid.*, p. 501). Vergennes' instructions to Lafayette, Mar. 5, are *ibid.*, p. 496, preceded by the correspondence between Lafayette and Vergennes respecting the French expeditionary force under Rochambeau. Lafayette's letters to Luzerne, beginning May 17 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 341-376, 577-612), throw much light on the ways and means of co-operation with the French army.

⁵ The letter of May 9, no. 160, *ante*.

⁶ The committee's letter of May 10, no. 162, *ante*.

164. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO NATHANIEL PEABODY.¹

PHILADELPHIA May [12,] 1780.

Dear Colonel,

Yesterday a Letter from Mr. Carmichael dated in Feby. at Madrid and inclosing Copies of two Letters from him to Mr. Jay at Cadiz, was received by Congress, and the Gentleman who decyphered the latter informs me this Morning that they contain Advices of an annual Loan of three Million Livres, which the Court of France have agreed to supply to Congress during the War, and also of a Squadron of french ships with a body of land Forces to operate in America; the latter I hope will be soon on the Coast, and employed to relieve Charlestown. the Letters further say that Don Juan was instructed by the Court of Spain to make proposals to Congress, for taking into Pay a Body of American Troops for the Reduction of the Floridas, but as Congress will probably send a Copy of the Letters to the General and it is expected that the Marquis LaFayette is at Camp, you will undoubtedly be informed of the particulars.² . . .

Hon'le Colo. Peabody³165. WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILADA. 13 May 1780.

Sir,

The Letter of the 10th inst from your Committee was read in Congress yesterday, and referred.² The Committee, of whom I am one, was instructed, in the first Place, to confer with the President and Council of Pennsylvania; and we have this morning been discharging that Part of our Duty.³ We have laid before them such Extracts of your Letter as seemed most proper, and explained fully and urged pressingly the object of it as far as they concerned the State particularly. They have given us the most unreserved assurances of their forward Exertions, but withal express great Doubts whether they will be effectual. The state, we are told, raises very little Beef, which is the article to which, at present, you particularly point, and of this Little, scarcely any is in any sort of Preparation for use: They have ordered out People to examine the Meadows and Farms round the City and in the adjacent Country. From thence if any supply is derived, it will be more immediate than from the Counties mentioned by the Commissaries General in your Enclosure of the 9th,

[164]¹ Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, Signers of the Declaration.

² Carmichael's letter dated Feb. 19, read in Congress May 11, is in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 507. The two letters to Jay, dated Feb. 15 and 18, are *ibid.*, pp. 496, 502. The announcement of French assistance was made definitely to Congress in a memorial of the French minister May 17. See no. 163, *ante*, and nos. 168, 170, 175, 181-183, *post*; also Washington to Duane May 14 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 264, ed. Sparks, VII. 32). Concerning Don Juan de Miralles, mentioned in the letter, see no. 161, *ante*.

³ Peabody was a member of the committee at headquarters.

[165]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 104.

² No. 162, *ante*; cf. no. 163 *ante*, and nos. 172, 174, *post*.

³ In *Pa. Col. Recs.*, XII. 349, under the date May 13, it is recorded that this committee attended the council and stated that there was a great distress at camp for want of meat, whereupon a conference was had on the means of a supply from Pennsylvania.

which will also we hope be next resorted to. The Want of Money is a great obstacle, what they have been able to command having been required for other Purposes, and you will remember that Beef is not one of the Articles which they are to furnish by the requisition of the 25th of February last. They also mention, and with too much Justice, the vast Consumption of Provision and Forage in the State by Persons who are, or pretend to be, entitled to them as being in the publick Service. When I consider the Facts and Explanations which they state upon this subject, and extend them even in a small Degree to the other States in the Union, I am constrained to say, what is every Day present to my Mind, that unless we can alter and reform the Modes of conducting the civil Departments of the Army, the Soldiery must separate or starve. You have not been so much in Congress lately as the other Gentlemen who are joined with you in Commission; they will witness that I have urgently and uniformly pressed this Consideration; and I now declare, and the Event will shew it, that there can be no alternative, no Compromise. Persons in the Staff Departments, except in Cases where they are in Camp, and all those who are employed at different Places throughout the Country, must, where it is requisite and reasonable, have a proper Increase of Pay, and go to Market, to the Farmers or board for their subsistence, and the Army have the Provisions, or the former use them and the latter go without. This Matter never can, it never will, be regulated by Halves. I have now sat six Months at the Treasury Board, and am not without some little Knowledge of our Finances and Resources. It is not impossible to find Money to support and prosecute the War on a Plan of Wages or Contracts, but the United States at Vendue would scarcely suffice to keep us moving on the Plans we have for two Years past pursued. The Resources of no Country whatever are adequate to it. It is not worth while to struggle with Impossibilities, in which we must, in the Issue, both fail and be ruined into the Bargain. Including the Debts which we are told remain to be satisfied, upwards of two Hundred Millions are less than the Expenditures of the Departments of the Quarter Master and Commissary Generals for the two past Years. Is Half this sum a high Calculation for Provisions and Forage? The Truth is we have, comparatively speaking fed one Half of the Country and their Horses, and they wanton in Plenty though the Army should be pinched to the last Extremes of Distress: and this is the more mortifying as many of those who thus forestal the Soldiers of a Morsel of Bread, have the Reputation among the People in general of being some of the most useless and worthless of the Sons of Men.

Is it not possible to discontinue the Issues of Rations altogether, and of every Kind, except in Camp, under which I comprehend all Detachments of the Army, all Posts where Men of Arms are, Garrisons and Guards. Even if Waggoners, Boatmen and Persons daily attending in the Hospitals were included, we should not still be devoured as we now are. I do not pretend to be fully acquainted with the different Descriptions of Service where Subsistence is impracticable otherwise than from the publick Stores; but I see Rations issued to great numbers of People

who could, without the least Difficulty, supply themselves, and who could procure them at one Half the Price it costs the Publick to furnish them, computing all Expenses. We know that vast Quantities of Provisions and Forage have been and are purchased for the Army, but by the Issues to the Staff and it's endless Appendages, they are dissipated and absorbed—certainly it would be better to give such People, where they are necessary, any advantage of Contract, or any Wages which Conscience or Custom would admit them to take, than feed them at the Expense of the Existence of the Army.

I observe that the Commissaries General in their Letter, or Report, of the 9th inst. to the Commander in Chief mention a military Force as the most feasible, if not the only Means of producing a present Supply. The Remark is just, and it may be that the Matter must issue here. The Reflection which strikes me, is the shameful and untoward Appearance of the Thing; to take Provisions and Forage from the Inhabitants by military Contribution, not merely for the Army, this every good Citizen would approve where requisite, but for Persons whom we see at Home, some doing little, some nothing, many their own private Business, and all of whom could be otherwise subsisted than from the publick stores, these Things create a general Discontent among the People, totally discourage them from Industry and Exertion, and indeed the Absurdity and Oppression of such Arrangements admit of no Excuse or Palliation. When His Excellency lately made Requisition to New Jersey, it was fully furnished, even to the Impoverishment of the State. Necessity, the Affection and Respect of the People for their General, the Deserving and the Wants of the Army conspired to forward it: but I did not converse with a single thinking Man who failed to make the Remarks above stated, I did not receive a Letter in which they were not detailed. The People have not Ingenuity enough to discover why the Army should be starved that it's appendages may be fed, and indeed I believe we are the only Nation under Heaven who do these Things: I cannot recollect, nor have I ever heard that such was the Case when we formerly supported an Army in America.

In the Course of our Conference with the Council we have been led to learn that they have purchased and supplied a considerable Quantity of their Quota of Hay, and I am of Opinion the whole will be consumed without a Handful reaching the Army. Perhaps indeed it is too distant; but if I am not mistaken Supplies of this Article have heretofore gone up the Delaware from below this Town, and if they did not proceed to Morriston they furnished the Communication. I cannot learn that such has been the Case in the present Instance. That Part of the Letter from your Committee which respects Forage will be duly attended to, nor will there be much Inconvenience in an Addition to the Quota of Supplies required from any particular State when Circumstances require it; or in taking more of any one Article than the Quantity expressed in the Requisition, in Lieu of a proportionate Quantity of another according to the stipulated Prices. Our Appointment leads us also to a Conference with the Assembly of Pennsylvania as soon as they make a House, and we shall report to Congress on the several Things you mention.

I cannot close this Letter without adverting to a further Reason which encreases my Anxiety about the main Subject of it. It has long been Matter of Speculation and Enquiry whether we might not in the Course of the coming Summer expect Succours on the Coast from abroad. The Possibility of this desirable Event makes the Subject of Supplies still more interesting. And when we consider our present Situation and that we have not the most flattering Prospects of Plenty the present Year, it is certainly a Point of Wisdom to save every Ounce that can be saved. Every Person supplied from the publick Stores consumes double the Quantity he would otherwise.

Your Letter mentions the distressed State of the Hospitals for want of proper Stores. It is painful to me to say, I cannot be surprised at it. The prodigious numbers of idle Officers in that Department is a publick Scandal. There is I am told no Hospital here, nor within twenty Miles of the Town, and yet, I suppose, there are not less than a Score of Hospital Officers who doubtless are entitled to whatever they wish to draw from the Purveyour's Stores, as well as ordinary Rations. You must remember the Return made here last winter before the Hospital was moved, when there were 50 Hospital Officers and 133 Patients. It is not a Trifle will supply the Officers here, as many of them are high in Office, though I cannot hear of any Thing they do—and it is to be supposed the same Circumstances exist in other Places.

I have written my Sentiments freely to you, not officially as one of the Committee, or on their Behalf. I suppose when they have expedited the Business you will hear from them. Your Committee, in my Apprehension, have Power to redress the Mischiefs to which I have pointed as far as they are redressible, by a proper Order for the Purpose. Difficulties will arise at first, but a little Resolution and Perseverance will reconcile them. We may as well be embarrassed in one Way as another.⁴

I am, Sir with great Regard

your obedt. hble Sert.

WILLIAM CH. HOUSTON

[P. S.] 15th⁵

⁴ With regard to the powers of the committee at headquarters see no. 166, *post*. A letter from President Reed to Houston's committee (Ellsworth, Houston, and Muhlenberg), dated "Tuesday morning" (May 16?), is in *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 39, vol. I, f. 18: "The Assembly of this State having made a House yesterday we laid before them the Resolution of Congress of last Saturday and they have appointed a Committee to meet the Committee of Congress, and are ready at any Time to enter upon the Business." The resolution was however adopted on Friday, not Saturday. Reed's undated note to Speaker Bayard (in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 262), though placed as if pertaining to the committee of May 20 (of which Ellsworth was also chairman; see no. 162, *ante*, and no. 189, *post*), more probably pertains to this committee.

⁵ This addition of the 15th relates the accident the day before to Gouverneur Morris, as a result of which he lost his leg. Schuyler added to his endorsement of this letter, "needs no entry", meaning that it was not to be recorded in the official letter-book, containing copies of letters to and from the committee.

166. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS, MINUTE.¹

Memorandum Delivered to Congress by Mr. Mathews May 14, 1780.²

The Committee deeply impressed with the Necessity of the most immediate and Strenuous exertion to enable the Army to Take the field, to provide for its support and for affording that aid of Provision which the force of our Ally will probably Need on its arrival in these States, wish the Gentleman going to Congress to state the Necessity of delegating to a small Committee or other persons to be appointed, with advice of the Commander in Chief, ample Powers for Drawing forth the resources of the Country on this interesting occasion,³ to make immediate applica-

[166]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 56 (draft, in the writing of Peabody).

² May 14 is doubtless the date on which the memorandum was drawn up, although its proper chronological place seems to be subsequent to the minute of May 15 (no. 167, *post*), in which the decision to send Mathews to Congress is recorded. The memorandum does not appear to have been delivered to Congress textually, being probably intended only as a guide to Mathews in his representations to Congress. See the *Journals*, May 19, and Mathews's motion May 20; *cf.* nos. 165, 172, 173, 183, 187, 197, 203, 232, *post*.

³ Under the instructions of Apr. 12 the functions of the committee sent to headquarters were primarily to reform abuses in the departments (see nos. 128, 130, 145, *ante*), but the exigencies of the army, particularly in view of the expected co-operation of the French, were such that Washington earnestly desired the appointment of a committee less temporary in its purpose and less limited in its scope, a committee possessed of practically the whole power of Congress in so far as pertained to drawing forth adequate resources from the country, whether of men or supplies. In a letter to James Duane May 14 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 264, ed. Sparks, VII. 32) he declared that "a plan must be concerted to bring out the resources of the country with vigor and decision", and then added specifically:

"This I think you will agree with me cannot be effected, if the measures to be taken should depend on the slow deliberations of a body so large as Congress, admitting the best disposition in every member to promote the objects in view. It appears to me of the greatest importance and even of absolute necessity, that a *small* Committee should be immediately appointed to reside near Head Quarters, vested with all the powers which Congress have, so far as respects the purpose of a full co-operation with the French fleet and army on the *continent*. Their authority should be plenipotentiary to draw out men and supplies of every kind and to give their sanction to any operations which the Commander in Chief may not think himself at liberty to undertake without it as well beyond as within the limits of these States. This Committee can act with despatch and energy—by being on the spot it will be able to provide for exigencies as they arise and the better to judge of their nature and urgency. The plans in contemplation may be opened to them with more freedom and confidence than to a numerous body—where secrecy is impossible, where the indiscretion of a single member, by disclosing may defeat the project." (As originally written the last clause read: "by disclosing may defeat the best concerted project, and their concurrence in particular points may tend to give our military operations a degree of boldness which they might otherwise want".)

He then discussed the personnel of the committee already appointed (the passage is a postscript in the draft):

"There is no man who can be more useful as a member of the Committee than General Schuyler. His perfect knowledge of the resources of the country, the activity of his temper, his fruitfulness of expedients and his sound military sense make me wish above all things he may be appointed. I have also a very favourable opinion of Mr. Mathews' understanding and integrity, and I should be willing to trust everything to the goodness of the other's [Peabody's] intentions. If I had not some doubts of his discretion. I wish The Chancellor [Robert R. Livingston] or yourself could be in the appointment. A well composed committee is of primary importance. I need not hint that the delicacy of these intimations fits them only for your private ear."

To Lafayette, Washington wrote May 20 expressing the hope that the sending of the committee would not be delayed a single moment and declaring, "I shall be sorry, however, if General Schuyler is not of the committee" (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 46). The membership of the committee was not altered, but additional powers were granted it May 19. See the references under note 2, above.

tions to the several states to repeal any Laws they may have made inhibiting Continental agents or officers from purchasing, on this occasion⁴ to invest for a limited time in Congress or such persons as Congress may appoint Dictatorial Powers, to pass Laws authoriz'g Congress or such persons to impress Carpenters, Caulkers, Teampsters, waggoners, batteau men, horses, Carriages, Vessels, provisions, materials for building, and in General whatever may be Necessary to enable our Military force and that of our ally to operate with Vigour, to intreat the Legislatures of the States to give the strongest assurance to their Constituents that they will Cause payment to be made for services done or articles furnished for the public use—if the Continental officers should not be able to make immediate payment—to urge the States to hasten on their respective Quotas of Continental Troops, and to intrust the Supreme Executive Council of each state with full power to draw forth such and so many Militia as may be deem'd Necessary to act in Conjunction with the Combined force of these states and france.⁵

167. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS, MINUTE.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN 15th May 1780.

The General having advised the Committee that the Marqui[s] De La Fayette had brought dispatches, from the Court of Virsailles, for Congress,

That he had Communicated in General Terms the favourabl[e] disposition of the King his Master, to the United States; That his Majesty had ordered a respectable Naval and Land force to this Country to cooperate with the Armies of the United States against the Common Enemy,

The General observed that he thought it necessary to make this Communication to the Committee to enable them to Judge of the propriety of attending to this Event in the arrangements they had under Consideration.

Whereupon the Committee are unanimously of opinion that it will not be expedient finally to decide on the arrangements Now before them for

⁴ The words "on this occasion" are an insert and were doubtless intended further to emphasize the temporary character of the powers recommended.

⁵ Following this memorandum are these further notes (in the writing of Mathews), which have however been crossed out:

"To get rice from Carolina

"The reduction of the Reg'ts absolutely necessary unless immediately filled up, being totally unfit to take the field in their present state.

"The reduction attended with great loss to the U. S. as they can never be recovered.

"If they are to be reduced, a resolution should pass empowering the Committee to make provision for the officers

"The army may possibly be supplied from hand to mouth by the act of Congress, were it stationary, but was it obliged to move *c contra*. The army must go into state after state, in order to consume the provisions. The teams can't go through some states for want of forage. The nearer the supplies approach the army the more time will be required. No two states can furnish sufficient for the purpose. Besides the expence is enormous. Were the whole collected they are insufficient.

"Let the state supplies go as far as they can, the deficiency must be supplied."

[167]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 16 (in the writing of Mathews).

Conducting the Quarter Master, and Commissary Generals departments untill the further pleasure of Congress can be Obtained; the Committee being fully Convinced that to Depend entirely on the States for *effectual* Supplies under the Act of Congress of the 25th of Feby. last would be hazarding too much, as a failure in those supplies would expose us to the disgrace and mortification of not being able to improve the Generous Succour of our Ally to all the advantages it is Capable of. And that it therefore seems necessary those departments should be so arranged as to enable the officers thereof to make purchases for large additional supplies for the Army.

That one of the Committee should immediately repair to Congress, personally to state their Ideas on the Subject, and to obtain their pleasure in the premises.

And for which purpose Mathews proceed, without loss of time to Congress.

PH: SCHUYLER
JNO. MATHEWS
NATHL. PEABODY.²

168. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

MORRIS TOWN, May 15th 1780.

Dear Sir;

The Marquis de la Fayette, of whose arrival your Excellency has doubtless been Informed, left us yesterday with dispatches from the Court of Versailles for Congress, and for the Chevalier De La Luzerne; whilst here the Marquis detailed the Contents of the dispatches, of which he was fully advised, to a select few. They evince the most decided determination on the part of France to Support us thro the Contest, and an event will soon take place which will announce to all Europe and America that his most Christian Majesty will not confine himself to mere professions of amity to us or to pecuniary aids.

I am not at present permitted to be more explicit; but a common friend² of ours has wished me to Communicate thus much, with the Express view that the legislature may not seperate until they hear from Congress on the Subject I have alluded to. If, therefore, there should be a disposition to a speedy close of the session, it may perhaps be proper to signify that I consider it a duty incumbent on me as their servant in Congress, to in-treat the legislature may not rise, as there will most assuredly be a necessity of reconvening them at an early day.

Mr. Livingston has been here and proposed to do himself the honor to wait on the legislature, but was prevailed on, to return to Congress to

² This minute, which was laid before Congress as a report, is endorsed by Secretary Thomson: "Report of the com'ee sent to head quarters per Mr. Mathews—Read May 17, 1780 Referred to Mr. Livingston, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. J. Jones." See no. 166, *ante*.

[168]¹ *Clinton Papers*, V. 708.

² The common friend was probably General Washington. Washington himself wrote to Clinton to the same effect May 18 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 43). See no. 163, note 4, *ante*, and no. 185, *post*.

afford his aid on the important business which will immediately claim the attention of that body;³ he has intreated me to mention this to your Excellency that the legislature may be advised of it; altho I am closely engaged with the committee appointed to the arrangement of the Staff departments. Yet if your Excellency and the legislature shall deem my presence necessary at Kingston for the purpose of giving any information they may require, I shall with great alacrity attend.⁴ I am, Dear Sir, with every sentiment of Esteem and affection your Excellency's most obedient Humble Servant

PH: SCHUYLER

[P. S.] Charlestown safe on the 1st Instant; little Impression made by the Enemy. If it is not reduced before this day, there are reasons to believe it will not be at all.

169. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA May 16, 1780.

Gentlemen,

Your favour of the 10th Instant hath been duly received and laid before Congress: a Committee were appointed thereon to confer with the Executive and Assembly of this State; which are now sitting. the Committee have not yet reported.²

Enclosed you will herewith receive a Copy of Baron Steubens Thoughts on reducing the Army.³

We have in Town favourable reports from Charles Town, but I dare not yet communicate them as true.⁴

³ Livingston was again in attendance at Congress May 16, possibly earlier. See no. 149, *ante*, and no. 177, *post*.

⁴ Clinton replied to Schuyler May 25, urging him to come to Kingston if practicable, to give needful information to the legislature (*Clinton Papers*, V. 754). See no. 200, note 4, *post*.

[169]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 106, no. 11, p. 10 (letter-book copy); *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 340.

² See nos. 162, 165, *ante*. The *Journals* record no report characterized as from this committee; however, the resolutions adopted May 19 which pertain to the committee at headquarters doubtless emanated from this committee. The latter resolutions were drawn by Ellsworth, who was a member of that committee (appointed May 12) and also of the committee of May 17 on the memorial of the minister of France. See no. 189, note 2, *post*.

³ The copy transmitted by President Huntington (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 107) is endorsed at the end of the document, "Baron Steuben's thoughts on reducing the Battalions"; but at the head of the paper is the title, "Proposals for the formation of our Army for next Campaign". Steuben transmitted his proposals to Washington Mar. 15 (Washington Papers), and the board of war presented them to Congress Mar. 20 (*Journals*, Mar. 20, 21). An earlier report from the board on the question of reduction had been made Feb. 19, in consequence of a motion by Livingston Jan. 8, taken into consideration Jan. 10. Mar. 25 the board's report of Mar. 20 was postponed to the first of December. See Steuben to Washington Mar. 28 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, II. 420). The problem of reduction had from the beginning involved the question of sending a committee to headquarters to consult General Washington; therefore this was one of the chief problems at first assigned to the committee. Under the enlarged powers of May 19 the committee became more particularly engaged in obtaining supplies. See the resolve for appointment Apr. 6, the instructions Apr. 12, and nos. 194, 200, 208, 213, etc., *post*.

⁴ Charleston had actually capitulated some four days earlier.

170. SAMUEL HOLTEN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA May 16th, 1780.

Sir,

I have the honor of enclosing a number of Laws from the state of Pennsylvania, and I have received their late minutes, which I shall forward by the next opportunity, and you will perceive that they are desirous of the like in return.

Yesterday the dispatches bro't by the Marquis were received by Congress,² they contain intelligence to about the 4th of march, and it is considered here as being much in our favor; I think there wou'd be some impropriety in being very particular, if I was under no restraint, but this you may be assured of, that our good and great ally is exerting himself in our favor, and I think will be likely *soon* to afford us great relief; Our enemies at New York, I understand are greatly alarmed, I suppose they have *lately* heard that they have no addition of allies, etc. etc. The Marquis's first arrival being in Boston, and I have heard had a conference with the Honorable assembly, therefore, I suppose they may have been informed of many matters of importance which has not come to my knowledge, as I have not yet seen him.

We have intelligence from Madrid as late as the 15th of February, by which we understand that things were going on there agreeably.

The last intelligence from Charlestown was about the middle of april, which no doubt will come to hand before this.

Yesterday the Delegates from the state of Georgia attended and took their seats in Congress.³

171. WILLIAM ELLERY TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND (WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA May 16th 1780.

Sir,

Mr. Collins, who left this place last week, and, it is said, has gone home, will acquaint your Excellency with the occurrences between our last and his departure.²

Since that time, we have received letters from Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams by the Marquis De Le Fayette bearing date from about the middle of February to the first of march, and containing in substance, the following intelligence:³

[170]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 181.

² "Congress recd. a packet from France by the Marquis de la Fayette. Agreeable intelligence" (Holten's Diary, May 15). Cf. nos. 163, 164, *ante*, 171, 175, 181-183, *post*.

³ Richard Henry Lee wrote to John Adams May 17: "Delegates from Georgia have lately passed thro this State to Congress from whom we learn that the enemy possess only Savannah and its environs in that State, the independent government being fully exercised in other parts of that country." *Letters*, ed. Ballagh, II. 182.

[171]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1779-1780, p. 101; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 286.

² Collins obtained leave of absence May 10. He is last recorded as voting Apr. 17.

³ Ellery appears not to have felt the obligation of secrecy as did Holten (see no. 170, *ante*), but gave a summary of the letters brought by Lafayette. See nos. 163, 164, 168, *ante*, 175, 181-183, *post*.

As my constituents have thought fit to remove me, I could wish to return home as soon as possible, and therefore, hope that one of the newly appointed delegates may be directed to set out for this place as soon as may be convenient. It will be absolutely necessary in order to my return, that I should be furnished with a considerable sum of money to enable me to pay my debts, to purchase a horse, one of mine having died, and to bear my expenses. There is no money in the treasury. I have no acquaintance that can supply me; and I very much question whether twenty thousand dollars could be procured here, money is so scarce and the demand for it so great, even upon the credit of the State if I were authorized to offer it. Therefore, permit me to urge that that sum be sent to me by the first delegate; otherwise, I may be obliged to continue here months at the expense of the State, without having it in my power to do it any service.⁴

.....

172. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

MORRISTOWN May 16th 1780.

Sir,

Agreeable to the Instructions of Congress the Committee has consulted the Commander in chief about the propriety of reducing the number of Regiments and in conjunction with his Excellency fully discussed the matter, Considered It under a variety of views and Concluded that no Capital reduction could be adopted without hazard at this Conjunction, for altho a very Considerable diminution of the public expence would attend a reduction, even If the Officers retired on full pay during the war, and were to participate in every advantage and Emolument after It with those remaining in Actual Service; And altho a variety of Embarrasment In the formation of the Division, Brigades etc. etc. and in the disipline of the Army result from the paucity of the numbers which Compose the Several Corps; Yet reasons exist which forcibly militate against the reduction and which arise from the following facts: The certainty that the Campaign will be opened, and the Army take the field, before the necessary arrangements Incident on a reduction can possibly be Effected. The particular Conjunction of the day: The aversion which the soldiery in general entertain to a change of officers, The personal attachments which Induced many to Engage In the service during the war or which has been acquired since they have been In It, The necessity of attending to, and temporizing with the feelings of men whose virtue is put to the severest tryal by the distresses they experience from a Combination of Almost every specie of hardship. A Consideration of these facts has led the Com-

⁴ Writing again to Governor Greene. May 23, Ellery returns to the subject of money. Among other things he says: "I have applied to my acquaintances for a small sum to pay my washerwoman, and cannot even get that, so scarce is it and so difficult to be had . . . I am not the only poor delegate here; many are in the same circumstances, and have been obliged to write to their states for cash." Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 289.

[172]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 24 (in the writing of Schuyler), f. 20 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 22 (letter-book copy).

mittee to determine not to Attempt a present reduction of more than the 5th New York, and She[1]burns and Livingston[']s Regiments, and we do ourselves the honor to Inclose Your Excellency Copy of our resolutions for the reduction of those Corps.² It appears Improper to publish them here until Congress has decided on what terms the reduced officers are to retire from the service, which decision we Intreat to be favored with as soon as may be.

In considering the Subject we have stated It became necessary to Examine Minutely the returns of the Army In detail. And we have the Mortification to observe that some Companies are reduced to four of rank and file; That a Majority of the Residue do not exceed fifteen; That the number of recruits which have joined towards compleating the quotas called for by the act of Congress of the 9th February last are very Inconsiderable Indeed. That should the deficiencies called for by that act be furnished the army would still be much weaker than It was Intended to be at that time as many have been discharged and great disertions have taken place since. That some states appear to have considered as part of their quota Citizens employed In the various Staff departments of the Army and who were never engaged either as soldiers or Even as regimented or Inlisted artificers During the war. That from Information which the Committee has obtained, It appears the mode adopted by several of the states, perhaps by all, to comply with the requisition of Congress of the 9th of February last, does not afford the most distant prospect that the Army will be reinforced with one quarter part of the Compliment deficient and In all probability not even with that small portion until towards the End of the Campaign. As from this state of facts the necessity of Immediate measures for a speedy and Effectual augmentation of the army appears evident, the Committee conceived It a duty, especially engaged as the attention of Congress now is with other very Interesting and Important Matters, that the deficiency In Each line of the army should be stated In a return which with such remarks as seemed requisite, we have the honor to Inclose;³ And that we should take the liberty to propose to Congress a set of resolutions calculated to draw from the states a Temporary supply of men to Compleat the Establishment proposed in February last, as Inlistments or drafts for the war cannot possibly take place with sufficient celerity to be of any service in the Operations of the present Cam-

² The proposed resolves for the reduction of the regiments of Colonels Henry Sherburne and James Livingston are in the report of May 16, no. 174, *post*. See also no. 166, note 4, *ante*.

³ The committee's "Remarks on the Return" are in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., ff. 347-351 (original); no. 39, vol. II., f. 57 (draft by Schuyler); no. 39, vol. I., f. 32 (copy by Mathews). The original bears the endorsement: "Remarks on the Return Laid before Congress May 22d, 1780 N. 2, enclosed in letter May 16." The copy has essentially the same endorsement in the writing of Mathews, with this addition in Thomson's writing, "The original returned to the com'ee by order of Congress", and the further addition by Mathews, "and recd. per Jno. Mathews". The "Return" is in no. 39, vol. III., ff. 339-345. Following is the closing paragraph of the "Remarks":

"It might not be Improper therefore to press the States In the first Instance for the deficiencies called for by the Commander In Chief In his Circular Letter subsequent to the act of Congress of the 9th February last, and for such additional Numbers as he shall signify that the deaths, disertions, and other Casualties, have amounted to since his requisition."

paign.⁴ And that It would be hazarding too much to rely altogether on aids from the Militia, as experience has evinced It too precarious a dependance especially for offensive operations, in as much as they frequently retire from the field in most critical conjunctures and when their continuance would be of the highest Importance.⁵

We have the honor to be with great respect

Your Excellency's Most Obedient Humble Servants

PH: SCHUYLER

NATHL. PEABODY

[Endorsed:] A Letter from the com'ee at head quarters May 16, 1780
Read 22 Enclosed, 1 Returns of the army, 2 Remarks on the return, 3
Resol: for reducing certain regts. 4 Res: for recruiting the army

173. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS, REPORT.¹

[May 16, 1780.]²

Resolved That the executive powers of the States be severally required to forward to the Army with all possible dispatch, all recruits already raised towards compleating the Quotas assessed to them respectively by the Act of Congress of the 9th day of February last.

Resolved That the states be severally required to Compleat said quotas by drafts from the Militia to Serve in the Continental Army until the last day of December next Inclusive unless sooner discharged, on the Estimates of deficiency transmitted them by the Commander in chief.

Resolved That the Commander in chief transmit to the executive of the states respectively, returns of all additional deficiencies which have arisen from Casualties since the Estimates mentioned In the preceeding resolution.

Resolved that so much of such additional deficiency as is occasioned by death, desertion or discharge of men who were engaged to serve beyond the last day of September next, or during the war, be made good by the States in the Manner directed by the second resolution.

Resolved that the drafts directed to be made by these Resolutions be delivered on or before the 20th of June next, to the Inspector General or any of his deputies or assistants with the Army or with any detachments thereof, to be annexed and Incorporated with the line of the States respectively, In such Manner as the Commander In chief shall direct.

Resolved That the Inspector General make Returns to the board of war, and to the Commander In chief from time to time of all men received by himself or any of his deputies or assistants in virtue of the resolutions of

⁴ The committee's propositions on this subject are no. 173, *post*.

⁵ Consideration of this letter was assigned for May 23 but was then postponed, and on May 30 it was resolved that it was not expedient at present to make any partial reduction of the army. See no. 206, *post*.

[173]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 28 (in the writing of Schuyler).

² This report is endorsed: "Resolutions proposed for the consideration of Congress [thus far by Schuyler, the remainder by Thomson] by the com'ee at head quarters Read May 22, 1780. Enclosed in letter of May 16."

the 9th of February last, and of these; noting the States from whom the men are received, and distinguishing those engaged to Serve during the war, from those engaged to Serve to the last day of December next Inclusive.

174. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS, REPORT.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRISTOWN May 19th [16th] 1780.²

Resolved That It is the opinion of this Committee, That the fifth Regiment in the New York line lately Commanded by Colonel De Bois should be reduced and the Non-Commissioned officers and privates be annexed to and incorporated with such other Regiments in that line, as the Commander In Chief shall judge proper

Resolved that the Regiments now Commanded by Colonel James Livingston, and by Colo. Shelburne be reduced, and that the Non-Commissioned Officers and privates of both said Regiments be annexed to and incorporated with such other corps as the Commander in Chief shall think proper

The Committee having Consulted with the Commander in chief respecting the allowances that ought to be made to the officers of the Regiments proposed to be reduced, and the Terms on which they ought to retire from the Service, beg leave to suggest to Congress as their opinion that it will be most for the Hon'r of the United States, and the Satisfaction of the Army In General, That the officers of all Regiments to be reduced should be Considered as disengaged from the Army, liable only to be call'd upon in future in Common with other Citizens, and retire on full pay during the war and entitled to all Emoluments after that period that are held up by any resolutions of Congress to officers who should Continue to serve in the Army during the War.

All of which is Humbly Submitted by

PH: SCHUYLER
NATHL. PEABODY

175. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN.¹

PHILADA May 17, 1781.

Sir,

I am warranted from undoubted Authority,² and directed by Congress to acquaint you that we may daily expect the Arrival of a considerable

[174]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 30, no. 39, vol. II., f. 98 (draft by Schuyler).

² The date should no doubt be May 16. Schuyler's draft is so dated, and is endorsed: "Report of the Committee for reducing Colos. Dubois, Sherburne and Livingstons Regts. Sent to Congress May 16, 1780." The report presented to Congress is endorsed: "May 19, 1780 Proceedings of Com'ee at Headquarters for reducing certain regim'ts read May 22, 1780. Enclosed in letter of 16 May."

[175]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 341.

² The "undoubted authority" was the minister of France, who had just laid before Congress a memorial (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 683) indicating the pur-

Armament of Naval and Land Forces from France to act in Conjunction with our Forces which gives us great Reason to hope we may be able to expell our Enemies from all their Posts in the United States.

Although I am directed to communicate this Intelligence to you it is desired it may be kept as secret as the Nature of the Case will admit; at the same Time it is conjectured the Enemy in New York have got some Intimation of the Intelligence as they appear greatly alarmed and are strengthening their Works in New York and talk publicly that if the News gets to Charles Town before the Place is taken General Clinton will raise the Siege and abandon his Posts

176. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[May 17, 18, 1780.]²

17. I met the medical com't.

18. Congress sit twice this day and till 11 o'Clock at night upon important matters.

pose of his government. See the *Journals*, May 17-22, and nos. 181-183, *post*; cf. nos. 163, 164, 170, 171, *ante*. Congress also had before them recent letters of Franklin and Adams (see the *Journals*, May 15). Many of Washington's letters from about May 13 relate to the subject of the expected French aid. See, for instance, his letter to Governor Trumbull May 19. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 164.

[176]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 93.

² On May 17 Jacob Hiltzheimer, keeper of the Continental stables, addressed to the President of Congress the following letter:

"Hon'd Sir, Am Very Sorry to Trouble you with These Lines but the necessity is such that I can Not Avoid it Have Sixty Horses in the Stable belonging to Members of Congress and Not Hay to Last them more than 4 days been afraid of this and have Spoke of it three weeks ago to Several Members Told them that I had an order on Mr. Hillegas for 40000 Dollars but he had not Money to pay it on Monday Last I mentioned it to the Treasury Board they then gave me a fresh order for 6000 Dollars but the Treasurer can Not even pay that small sum in the mean time the Hay and grain will be gone and what to do I know Not without the President is Kind enough to give me advice." Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. XII., f. 25.

The letter, as shown by the *Journals* and by the endorsement, was referred to the board of treasury, but an additional endorsement, in a hand other than Thomson's, reads, "N. B. May 28 No relief can be given". However, other orders for the purpose were later issued, as follows: June 19, 40,000 dollars; July 25, 60,000. See no. 64, note 2, *ante*, and nos. 403, 468, *post*.

In the *Journals* of the same day appears the report of a committee on the device of a seal, the report having been presented May 11 (see the *Journals*, although the report itself is endorsed by Thomson, "Delivered May 10, read; recommitted"). The committee that offered this report had been appointed Mar. 25 (James Lovell, John Morin Scott, and William Churchill Houston; the latter drew the report). For the earlier action respecting the seal see the *Journals*, July 4, Aug. 20, 1776, and vol. II., no. 77, of these *Letters*. The report of Aug. 20, 1776, is included in the items of unfinished business Jan. 23, 1777. Memoranda of the committee of Mar. 25 (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 23, f. 125) indicate that there was no intermediate action between 1776 and 1780. The report of May 17, 1780, utilized devices drawn by Francis Hopkinson, and Hopkinson's efforts to obtain payment for this "fancy work" make a story of their own. This story, with emphasis upon Hopkinson's part in the design of the flag of the United States, is related in George E. Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, pp. 240-257. See the *Journals*, May 25, July 3, 10, Aug. 25, Sept. 9, Oct. 27, Nov. 24, 1780; Mar. 23, 24, Apr. 2, 21, July 23, Aug. 23, 1781. The question of the seal was again brought forward in 1782 and on June 20 a seal was adopted. See especially the letter of Charles Thomson to William Barton, June 24, 1782, in the next volume. Some phases of the history of the seal are given by M. E. Deutsch, in an article, "E Pluribus Unum", in the *Classical*

177. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 18th May 1780.

Dear Sir,

You may be surprized at hearing of me again from this place after my determination to leave it. I had indeed set out but was stoped by the important intelligence that has been communicated to you and which is too delicate to dwell upon in a letter.²

It gives me extreme pain to see the Vermont business so long delayed, but we find it impossible to proceed in it for want of a full representation; the moment we have, I shall endeavour to bring it on,³ if I can stay so long tho' as my money and credit are exhausted and my affairs not in the most promising situation at home I have some doubts on this point. You have heard of poor Morris's misfortune in the loss of his leg; he bears it with becoming fortitude and is, I hope, in a fair way of recovery.

We have an account by the way of New Berry Port that a fleet of 8 sail of the line were on the coast of Georgia on their way to Charlestown on the 3d of May; should this prove true and our other expectations be answered we have every reason to hope that this campaign will terminate the war in America. . . .

Journal, XVIII. 387-407 (April, 1923). See also Gaillard Hunt, *A History of the Seal of the United States* (Washington, 1909).

There was a long-drawn-out controversy between Hopkinson, who was treasurer of loans, and the commissioners of the board of treasury, Ezekiel Forman and John Gibson, aided and abetted by Charles Lee, secretary to the board. Letters of Forman and Gibson, giving their side of the controversy, are noted in the *Journals*. Two letters from Hopkinson to the investigating committee, which were no doubt in the hands of the committee when they made their report of Aug. 25, are in *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 78, vol. XII., ff. 35, 45, dated July 6 and 18, respectively. Cf. no. 298, *post*. Apropos of this controversy is the following letter from Hopkinson to Nathaniel Appleton, commissioner of the loan office of Massachusetts:

"Philada. Sepr. 3d, 1780.

"Sir, I just now received yours of the 21st of August enclosing Returns etc. which I shall deliver to the Board of Treasury. You say 'the Bills on France have not come to Hand'—if you mean Bills for 100, 200, 300 Doll. etc. like those on Spain last sent, I can only say none were ordered for you by the Board of Treasury. If you mean Interest Bills on France, I have not forwarded any since May 6th when I sent a Supply by Jos. Millet, agreeably to the inclosed Invoice, for which your Receipt hath not come to Hand. I hope they did not miscarry. As I think you may want a further Supply of those Bills, I shall request an Order from the Board in your Favour; but am not sure they will grant it, be the Occasion ever so urgent, they being extremely punctilious and having ordered that Requisitions from the Commissioners of Loans should not come thro' my Hands but immediately from themselves. Your Returns appear to me very plain and satisfactory, but I doubt whether they will please the Board, not being framed on the very learned Model they have devised, of which, no doubt, a Copy has been forwarded to you with peremptory Instructions according to the Stile of the Board." MSS. of the late William D. Ely, Providence.

³ The "important matters" which occupied Congress May 18 were those presented in the memorial of the French minister. See no. 175, *ante*.

[177]¹ *Clinton Papers*, V. 717.

² See nos. 149, 163, 168, *ante*.

³ See nos. 187, 188, *post*.

178. SAMUEL HOLTEN TO THE POSTMASTER GENERAL
(RICHARD BACHE).¹

FRONT STREET, May 18, 1780.

Sir,

The inclosed letter I have laid before the committee of Congress on the post office, and they are of opinion that you can make the alterations proposed without any particular directions from Congress or the Committee: If you have any objections to making the proposed alterations, or want any farther powers, please to be so kind as to let me know it.²

179. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA May the 18th 1780.

Dear S'r,

. . . . As we for some time Past have had no money in the treasury and those who Board us must Recive there Pay every week or our Subsistance must faile, this want of money Puts us in an uncomfortable Situation for we Can neither Stay here nor Returne home hope if you have any in your treasury you will Send Some to your Poore Dellegates by the first opportunity.

I Shall Expect to be Relieved at the furthest in September and Shood be glad to be Sooner if it Can be Conveniently Done.

P S I this Day Recd. your Feavour of the 28th of April and laid it before Congress and by them Referd to the Board of war who are to Report to Congress² every Exertion in my Power to Carry it in to Effect you may Depend upon.

Similar applications haveing been made by the States of newyork and Pensylvana I expect to Share the Same fate with them.

N F

180. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

PHILADELPHIA 18th May 1780.

Sir,

General Arnold in his Letter to Congress of the 12th Instant having Reference to the Draught of a Report, which I made at the Board of

[178]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 201.

² Bache replied, May 22: "I am honored with yours of the 18th Inst. inclosing an application of the Council of Massachusetts for an alteration of the posts between Boston and Falmouth. I have consulted with the surveyor of the Eastern District respecting this matter, and beg leave to refer you to his Sentiments thereon which are inclosed. Tho' the plan is not exactly similar to the one proposed by the Council yet as the object they wish for will be answered I trust and hope they will be satisfied" (*ibid.*, f. 202). See no. 191, *post*.

[179]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 21.

² The New York case was doubtless that decided Apr. 4. See no. 126, *ante*. The Pennsylvania application has not been located in the *Journals*. For the decision on the New Hampshire application see the *Journals*, June 1, and no. 209, *post*.

[180]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. X., f. 227.

Treasury whilst a Member thereof, has rendered it necessary for me to rectifie several Errors, if they can be so called, under which the General has laboured in stating that Matter.

Congress having on the 27th of April 1779 referred to the Board of Treasury General Arnold's Petition of the same Date, on the 28th I proposed the Draught mentioned to be adopted by them, *as their Report to Congress*. soon after it was read, the Board being disposed to rise, directed it to be filed with the Petition for future Consideration; but before this could take Place, the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts to whom General Arnolds Accounts had been long before referred, applied to the Secretary or Clerk of the Board for that Petition, and probably received with it, inadvertently, the Draught mentioned. be this as it may, I knew nothing of the Matter then, nor for a considerable Time after, untill some Gentlemen of the Treasury informed me, that General Arnold had been propagating such a Report as is contained in his Letter to Congress. I must confess that I could scarcely credit the Information. being conscious to myself, that General Arnold had no just Grounds for such a Proceeding, but presuming it had originated by Mistake, I enquired of the Members and other officers of the Treasury and Chamber of Accounts whether General Arnold had received his Intelligence from them, and was informed, that he had not, but on the other Hand, that some of them had explained to him the Matter. this I supposed would have been satisfactory to him, and altho' he had acted unkindly in spreading the Rumour, I presumed he would rectifie it, and tho't no more thereof, but not long after, conferring with him at the Door of Congress on the Subject of his Accounts, which I had taken much Pains to have settled to his Satisfaction and with Justice to the Publick, he hinted to my great Surprise the Circumstance before related, and after I had declared to him on my Honor, that the Paper was sent to the Commissioners without my Consent *or Knowledge*, he still appeared desirous of beleiving [*sic*] otherwise. I then informed him that he was at Liberty to think as he pleased on the Matter, and that he could not produce any Evidence, or a single Circumstance in Support of his Suggestion: on which he said, that he tho't he had received his Information from Mr. Carmichael, who coming up to us soon after, was interrogated on the Subject, and utterly denied that he had given such Information, and further said that he knew or beleived the contrary. Having thus stated Facts to the best of my Memory, I must beg the Indulgence of Congress in making a few Remarks on the General's Letter. He first says, that the Draught of the Report was "designed for the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts to make on his Accounts". herein he is unfortunately confuted by the Copy of the Report which he has transmitted to Congress, for it begins thus "The Comm'e having likewise considered a petition from Major General Arnold of the 27th Instant *referred to them by Congress*, beg Leave to report", and if the General will be at the Trouble of looking at the printed *Journals* of Congress of the 27th of April 1779 he will find his Petition was referred to *the Board of Treasury*, and not to the Commissioners of Accounts; how then can it be supposed that the Report was draughted for the Commissioners,

when it otherwise appears by the Draught itself? And here it may be proper to enquire, how the General came by an original Paper of the Treasury, for speaking of the Draught he says, "the original I have in his (meaning my own) Hand writing." I have no objection for my own Part to his being indulged with the original of that or any other of my Essays, but I cannot learn from any of the Officers of the Treasury that he is properly possessed of that Paper, and am unable to conceive that any Person, even a Member of Congress, has a Right to take from any office an original Paper without being properly authorized so to do, or that the General is not highly reprehensible for this his Conduct.

General Arnold is equally unhappy in his next Observation, that "the Report as appears by the Date was drawn up previous to the Commissioners examining his accounts", for it is well known that his Accounts had been a long Time before under the examination of the Commissioners of Accounts, altho' they had not finished that Business.

The General is still more unfortunate in his third assertion, that the Report was "presented to him by one of the Commissioners as Instructions or the Sentiments of the Treasury Board sent to them to govern in the Settlement of his Accounts", for the Commissioners utterly deny this, as shall appear to Congress when they deem it expedient. I shall forbear to make any Remarks on the Inconsistency of supposing, that the Draught alluded to was intended as *Instructions*, or that it could have been sent in *such a Form*, and in a Scrawl, "as the Sentiments of the Treasury", to the Commissioners, to govern them in the Settlement of General Arnolds Accounts.

The General Concludes by saying "How far Mr Gerry's Conduct in giving private Instructions to the Commissioners of Accounts, tending to influence their Conduct in a Matter that was to be ultimately judged and determined by the Treasury Board of which he was a Member can be Justified upon the principles of Honor or Equity, or how far his Instructions and Influence have operated in occasioning the Disputes which have arose in the Settlement of my Accounts, Congress will determine". And here Congress will give me Leave to request, that General Arnold may be furnished with a Copy of this Letter, and have Leave to produce his Evidence, if any he has that I ever gave "private Instructions" of any Kind "to the Commissioners of Accounts". the assertion, I declare on my Honor to be an Untruth, and submit to Congress, whether any Part of my Conduct whilst a Member of the Board of Treasury, or of Congress, has been inconsistent with, And whether General Arnolds Conduct in this affair can be justified on "the principles of Honor or Equity". the last Part of this paragraph seems to explain General Arnolds Conduct in endeavouring to fix on me an unmerited Stigma, for therein he suggests that my "Instructions and Influence has operated in occasioning the Disputes which have arose in the Settlement of his Accounts". I have never been desirous of occasioning Disputes in the Settlement of General Arnolds Accounts; if they are right they will undoubtedly be allowed, and he will have no Reason to apprehend Injury from s[uch] Disputes, but if erro-

neous (which seems to be the Opinion of all the Boards and Committees who have reported thereon) surely they ought not only to be disputed but corrected, or disallowed. but I presume enough has been said to convince Congress, that General Arnolds Observations relative to my Conduct are without Foundation, and that they are equally so with Respect to the Commissioners of Accounts. The Board of Treasury whose Business it was to attend to the Conduct of the Commissioners never had Reason to suppose (whilst I was a Member thereof) that they were capable of undue Influence. and if we may judge from their Disputes with General Arnold, he has no Reason to conceive that *he* can influence them; on the other Hand, they had ever manifested in their office, such Abilities and Integrity, that Congress as well as the Board of Treasury always tho't it their Duty to support them. But Sir, if persons who have Accounts to settle with the publick are thus permitted to misrepresent the Conduct of the Officers of Boards instituted with proper Checks for the Security of Individuals as well as the publick, and upon every Dispute relative to the propriety of a Charge to appeal to Congress, or Committees thereof; will not the Intention of Congress in providing such Institutions be utterly frustrated, and may not the publick Accounts be as well adjusted, and a considerable Expence be saved, by dismissing the Officers established for this Purpose, and by permitting such persons to choose or be their own arbiters? The unprovoked attack made by General Arnold on my Character has obliged me to be thus explicit which I hope Congress will excuse, and remain Sir with every Sentiment of Respect for them as well as Yourself ²

your most obedt. and most hum Sevt

E GERRY

181. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA 19 May, 1780.

Sir,

I am directed to acquaint you that there being but one Delegate from Maryland attending at Congress that State is not represented.

² Gerry presented this matter in writing for the reason that since Feb. 18 he had refused to attend Congress. See nos. 55, 59, 124, 137, *ante*. This letter, which bears the endorsement, "In answer to the last paragraph of a letter of 12 from B Arnold", was read in Congress the same day, but if there was any discussion of it or any action taken upon it the *Journals* make no record of it. As mentioned in the letter, Arnold had preferred a petition to Congress Apr. 27, 1779, asking for the settlement of his accounts. The petition was referred to the board of treasury, and exactly one year later, Apr. 27, 1780, the board made its report (dated Apr. 22; see also the *Journals*, Oct. 1, 16, 21, Dec. 9, 1779, Feb. 14, 15, 23, 1780). May 10, 1780, Arnold asked for a hearing before Congress and was instructed to put his objections to the board's report in writing. Accordingly he wrote his letter of May 12, which was read in Congress May 15 and on the following day was referred to a committee. The report of this committee is in the *Journals*, July 31 (see also *ibid.*, July 17, 21). Cf. no. 465, *post*; see also Austin, *Life of Gerry*, I. 316-318.

[181]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 34; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 342; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 498.

That Matters of great Importance are now lying before Congress, which require the United Councils, and vigorous Exertions of all the States; and it [is] earnestly requested that Maryland may be represented in Congress as soon as possible.²

182. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

IN CONGRESS May 19th 1780.

Sir,

Congress have received authentick Information that his most Christian Majesty is preparing to send a powerful naval and Land force to some part of the Continent of North America. This force generously calculated either to produce a Diversion in our favour, or to forward the Operation of our Arms by being directed to the same object, may either by our Exertions be made the means of delivering our Country in the Course of the Campaign from the ravages of War, or being rendered ineffectual thro' our Supineness serve only to sully the reputation of our Arms, to defeat the benevolent Intention of our great Ally and to disgrace our Confederacy in the Eyes of all Europe.²

Every State that reflects upon the Depreciation of the Currency and their own Deficiency in the payment of their Taxes must necessarily conclude that the Treasury is exhausted. the military Departments are at a Stand for the want of Money to put them in Motion. Congress have no Resources but in your Spirit and Virtue, upon these they confidently rely. You know the Value of the prize for which you contend, nor need you be informed how much you are interested in a speedy Termination of this distressing and expensive War.

But as the smallest Disappointment in the requisitions they make may be attended with the most serious Consequences, they have endeavoured so to limit their demands as not to exceed your Power to comply with them

The sum for which you are called upon by the within Resolution they flatter themselves you will furnish to the Treasury by the fifteenth of June

² See the *Journals*, May 18. The letter to Delaware, which "hath been for some time and yet remains unrepresented in Congress", is in the Letter-Book, p. 343. Chief among the matters of importance was that of co-operation with the expected French naval and military forces (see no. 175, *ante*, and no. 183, *post*); but calling upon Maryland and Delaware for representation appears to have been directly in consequence of the insistence of the New York delegates upon the urgency of the Vermont affair (see nos. 187, 188, *post*). In accordance with this request Governor Lee wrote to the absent members, John Hanson and John Henry, jr., May 26 (*Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 182). The former attended June 14, the latter June 23. Meanwhile Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, a newly elected member, attended June 2, but tarried only a few days.

[182]¹ Copied from the original (to New Hampshire), then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia; other texts of the circular are: *Md. Hist. Soc.*, Red Book, VII. 37; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 407; *Conn. State Lib.*, Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 194; *Mass. Arch.*, CCII. 184; *Harvard Univ. Lib.*, Sparks MSS., XII. 114; *Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 39, vol. IV., pp. 67-77 (three copies); *ibid.*, *President's Letter-Book* (*Papers Cont. Cong.*, vol. XV.), p. 1; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 251; *Clinton Papers*, V. 722; *R. I. Recs.*, IX. 107.

² See the *Journals*, May 17-22, nos. 163, 164, 170, 171, 175, 181, *ante*, and nos. 183, 184, 187, 190, 201, *post*. See also *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 184.

at furtherest, without Neglecting to Discharge the Orders that have been drawn upon you for the whole of which you will receive Credit on your Account of Taxes due on the first of March last

As this Money is absolutely necessary to put the Army in Motion independent of the purchase of Provisions, We trust you will by no means remit your Attention to the forwarding your Quota of Supplies, which the present Exigency renders more requisite than ever.

It may not be improper to suggest to you, that if a strict and immediate Collection of Taxes should be insufficient to procure the necessary Sums within the Time limit, it may perhaps be more speedily obtained by Loans.

Congress for the greater Dispatch, have thought it expedient to appoint a Committee to assist the Commander in Chief in drawing out Supplies. As their Powers will be inadequate to the purposes of their Appointment unless they shall derive their force from the States, to whom they will be under the Necessity of Applying, They most earnestly request you, if you should find it inconvenient to continue your Sessions, to lodge such Powers in your Executive, or some part of your Legislative Body, as will enable them at this interesting Period on the Application of the Committee to call forth the Resources of your State.

Congress trust that these Requisitions will not appear unnecessary, when, compared with the Information on which they are grounded, In the Importance of which they doubt not that you will find a sufficient Apology for the Demand, and the warmth with which they intreat you To carry these Measures into immediate Execution.³

By Order of Congress

SAM. HUNTINGTON President

183. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 20 May 1780.

Sir,

This will be delivered by the Marquis de la Fayette.²

By the Acts of Congress herewith enclosed of the 31st Jany, 16th³ and 20th Instant your Excellency will be informed of the Measures adopted by Congress, and the Powers with which you are invested for co-operating with the Forces of our Ally in Case they arrive. Further Powers and

³ In the Sparks MSS. (IX. 88) is a memorandum of two resolutions of Congress, one of them the resolve of Sept. 1, 1779, not to emit bills in excess of two hundred million dollars, the other the resolve of May 19, 1780, calling on the states (except North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia) to pay into the treasury ten million dollars within thirty days. At the end of the memorandum is one word, "Clamor".

[183]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 3.

² See the *Journals*, May 20. Samuel Holten says in his Diary, May 20, "The Marquis made us a visit", meaning by "us" probably the Massachusetts delegates.

³ This may be an error for the 17th. See no. 201, *post*. However, the resolve of May 16 relative to Lafayette appears to have been enclosed with this letter. From the letter of May 29 it is inferred that it was the purpose to enclose with this letter Luzerne's memorial and the order of Congress referring it to a committee, but that the memorial was omitted. The resolves of Jan. 31 transmitted were those relating to co-operation with France, and comprising the principal record of that day's proceedings.

Instructions are also given to the Committee at Head Quarters to adopt every necessary Measure in [our Power]⁴ to enable the Army to take the Field and for supporting the Forces of his most Christian Majesty in Case of their Arrival.

P. S I am favd with your Despatches of the 13th, 15th, and 16th Instant

184. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA May 20, 1780.

Sir,

I am honoured with your Excellency's several Despatches of the 1st Instant by Messenger Brown and immediately laid them before Congress, hoping to obtain the necessary Acts respecting their Contents, and return them by him: the Letters were committed, and one report brought in to establish a Hospital near New London, some other Matters not yet reported upon,² and while these Matters were under Consideration, some important Intelligence arrived from Europe, which hath engrossed the Attention of Congress almost Night and Day, to give Despatch to the Acts of Congress which you will receive by this Conveyance; and are of such Consequence that Brown could no longer be detained, but is directed to forward them with all possible Despatch.³ . . .

185. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

MORRISTOWN, May 20th 1780.

Dear Sir,

General Washington informs me that he has wrote you on the Subject I mentioned in my last by Letters from Philadelphia.² I am informed that Congress has appointed a committee, Livingston of New York, Jones of Virginia and Elsworth of Connecticut, to lay before the States the Intentions of the King of France and to make such requisitions as may be necessary.³

The committee of which I am one, have reported that the Regiment late Du Bois's, should be reduced, that the officers should retire on full pay during the war, and be Entitled to the Emoluments heretofore promised by Congress. I mention this that if your Excellency and the Legis-

⁴ The words "our Power" are in the letter-book copy but were omitted in the letter sent. The further powers of the committee at headquarters are in the *Journals*, May 19. See no. 166, *ante*, and nos. 187, 196, 197, 203, *post*.

[184]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 196; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI. 196.

² See the *Journals*, May 11, 18, 23, June 19, July 29.

³ See no. 182, *ante*.

[185]¹ *Clinton Papers*, V. 729.

² See no. 168, *ante*.

³ See the *Journals*, May 17-22, 26, 27, and nos. 187, 196, *post*.

lature should wish to have the regiment kept up (as it will be of little extra expence to the State) their pleasure may be signified that I may take the proper measures.⁴

186. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

MORRISTOWN May 21st, 1780.

Sir,

I was this morning Informed that about two hundred batteauxmen were engaged at Albany for the public service, but that they had determined to leave the service as they could not procure their pay; Impressed with the necessity of retaining a body of men whose services, should any offensive operations be prosecuted against the Enemy, I deemed essential, I made further enquiry and learnt from a Capt. Sickles who is an ass: Quarter Master at Albany, that the men amount to the number I have mentioned, that they are engaged to serve during the Campaign, at Six dollars per day, that they expected money on his return—that he has none, and that they will certainly Quit the service; I mentioned the Matter to the Commander in chief, who is exceedingly anxious to retain them and intreated me If possible to suggest the means: If there is no money in the Continental Treasury I can devise no other way but that of drawing on the Treasury of the state of New York. If this is done, and there should be no money in that, I will Immediately give direction for borrowing as much of the money on my own Credit as can be procured, and become personally engaged for the remainder. As no time is to be lost permit me to Intreat the determination of Congress on the Subject and to be advised thereof.²

I have the honor to be with Sentiments of Great respect and Esteem
Your Excellency's Most Obedient Humble Servant

PH. SCHUYLER

187. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILADELPHIA 21st May 1780.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Matthews has shewn you the powers of the committee which with great difficulty we have appointed. The opposition was exactly such as I expected, and from the quarter I mentioned to you, and its effect delay and a diminution of the powers necessary to render the committee extensively useful.² I have laboured hard to bring about a recal of the Mary-

⁴ See no. 206, *post*.

[186]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 153, vol. III., f. 523.

² This letter was read in Congress May 24 and referred to the board of war.

[187]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Schuyler Papers, no. 1257; *ibid.*, Bancroft Coll., Schuyler Papers, no. 763 (copy).

² Although Livingston speaks here of the appointment of a committee, he is referring to the increase of powers granted May 19 to the committee already sent to headquarters. President Huntington wrote to Washington May 20 (no. 183, *ante*) of the increase of powers to the committee, but he did not transmit the text of the resolves.

land Line, but without success. To move it myself would have lost us the confidence of the Southern States and excited an opposition which would have effectually deprived us of the power of being useful upon other occasions. I endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Jones or Mr. Matthews to make the proposal, in which case we could have supported it with so much force as to have overborne all opposition. They were brought to *wish* it, but did not dare move it when it came to the point, so that all that we shall be able to do will be to direct them to return in case they hear the siege is raised before they arrive at Charlestown. I shall myself venture to move tomorrow for the return of Lees corps, the cavalry of which have not yet left this place.³ We have likewise appointed a committee to confer with the Minister on the procuring supplies for the French troops, and to obtain intelligence of the strength of the enemy at the several posts, and the soundings of the several bays, harbours, etc. . . .

We have the most warm and pressing representations from our state relative to Ver Mont, and we expect hourly to have it brought on the carpet here⁴ I shall write to Mr. Peabody to come down immediately, which he has promised me he will do. . . .

188. THE NEW YORK DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 21st May, 1780.

Sir,

We are sorry to be obliged to inform your Excellency that, notwithstanding our efforts to bring the matter of the New Hampshire Grants to a decision, unavoidable obstructions have prevented it to this day. On the 2d of March last it was made an order of the day for the 7th. In that interval the new plan of Finance which had been before on the table was resumed, and we were with great reluctance compelled by the pressing instances of Congress to permit the order of the day to give way to the more general, and, as they insisted, more pressing business of Finance. By this means the order of the day was postponed from time to time till the 18th of March, when the plan of Finance was compleated. In this interval, Mr. Forbes a delegate from Maryland fell sick, soon after died, and that State became unrepresented. Georgia being also unrepresented, and New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire disqualified by the resolutions of the 24th of September, nine disinterested States were not represented in Congress. Notwithstanding this impediment we thought it right to shew our earnestness to prosecute to effect a business of so much importance to our State: and therefore on the 21st March moved to pro-

This he enclosed in his letter of May 29 to the committee, explaining that he had not hitherto sent the resolves for the reason that he had supposed Mr. Mathews had taken a copy with him on his return to camp. As a matter of fact Mathews had done so, consequently the committee had a view of their new powers May 23 (see no 203, note 2, *post*). For further discussion of these powers see nos. 194, note 3, 197, 232, *post*.

³ See nos. 196, 197, 224, *post*.

⁴ Cf. nos. 188, 196, *post*.

[188]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XII. 116; N. Y. Hist. Soc., Duane Papers, V. 173 (draft, with variations).

ceed to the order of the day; but it was resolved "that the same be postponed, nine States exclusive of those which are parties to the question not being represented in Congress".² In this condition the business has been suspended; for though Georgia has been represented within three days, Delaware has been unrepresented for several weeks. However, to lose no opportunity of manifesting the solicitude which we felt, we, two days since, on the reading of your Excellency's letter of the 9th instant and some of the papers attending it, again moved to proceed to the order of the day; and the same objection of the want of a representation of nine disinterested States being urged, it was ordered "that the President write to the Executives of the States of Delaware and Maryland to urge them to send forward immediately and to keep up a representation in Congress as matters of the highest consequence are now before them;" at the same time your Excellency's despatches of the 25th ult. were laid before Congress, and so much as related to the depredations of the Indians referred to a Committee.³

We propose to prevail upon Congress to come into some pointed resolutions to censure the Vermonters for their contempt of the authority and the recommendations of the only body who can preserve the peace of the confederacy. Something of this kind seems to be necessary to check the violence of our adversaries, and to comfort and encourage the peaceable citizens within the controverted jurisdiction. The nature and success of this measure we shall communicate to your Excellency by Major Hunt if he can be prevailed upon to wait the issue.⁴

We feel, Sir, the utmost anxiety for our frontier fellow citizens. Nothing for their protection, which is within the power of the State, ought to be neglected: especially as we foresee that all the forces which can be raised under the authority of Congress will find full employment in the active and offensive campaign which is soon to open. The official communications from the President, on the bright prospect which is displayed by the promised cooperation of our great and generous ally, will fully explain to your Excellency what we have in contemplation.⁵ It would be highly improper for us to enter into any detail on a subject which requires secrecy as much as it does vigour and decision. A Committee of Congress residing at Head Quarters, of whom General Schuyler is Chairman, are authorized to correspond with the governments of the respective States, to direct and draw forth the necessary supplies, and to effectuate, as far as possible, the plan of operations. To that Committee your Excellency will be pleased to be referred.⁶ It gives us pleasure to be persuaded that our State by the wisdom, the liberality, and the promptitude of her

² See the *Journals*, Mar. 21, and nos. 106, 108, 126, 127, 138, 187, *ante*.

³ See the *Journals*, May 17, and no. 181, *ante*. The draft to this point is in the writing of Scott, except the last three words, "to a Committee", which Duane, who wrote the remainder of the letter, substituted for Scott's "to the Board of War". The text used is, however, the copy in the Sparks MSS., evidently made from the letter sent, which shows some rearrangement of the parts.

⁴ See the *Journals*, May 22, 23, 26, 29, June 2, 9; *cf.* nos. 196, 204, 212, 218, 219, 221, 232, 244, *post*. Major Hunt was probably Jonathan Hunt. See the *Journals*, May 23; *cf.* no. 212, *post*.

⁵ See no. 182, *ante*.

⁶ See nos. 145, 166, 182, 187, *ante*, and nos. 196, 203, *post*.

measures, at this most critical and important conjuncture, will manifest to the world that she merits the freedom for which we contend, and the generous cooperation of our Ally to secure the blessing, by the total expulsion of our enemies from this continent. . . .

The great change which has taken place in the system of our finances calls for an alteration in the mode of supporting the Members of Congress. We never approved of drawing money from the Continental Treasury; and only submitted to it because it had become a general practice; and we were otherwise unprovided for. That appropriations should take place, on the application of an individual, for his own use, was equally improper with respect to the public, and degrading to ourselves. At present the Treasury here is quite exhausted, and we must request the favor of a regular supply in future, and more especially of a speedy remittance to discharge our debts which are become very burthensome, as, not foreseeing this difficulty, we are entirely unprepared. To estimate the expense in nominal money might call into question our economy, in a State which has not yet reached the summit of extravagance which prevails in this City. Our board alone we shall mention as a specimen, being according to a late demand for a gentleman and his servant £270 cont^l per week, exclusive of even table beer. We imagine, however, that the value of six specie dollars a day with good management may be a decent allowance, exchange here between that and paper money being 60 for one. We observe that the Delegates of our State were originally allowed four dollars a day, and the price of every article of expense to which we are now exposed is at least double. We are far from wishing to derive a profit from our public employment; on the contrary it would give us the highest satisfaction if the Legislature should think it expedient to provide a house and table for us, under the direction of a steward; as in that case we should keep our hands clear of the public money, and be excused from the trouble of accounts. Let it not, however, be understood that we solicit this or any other particular mode of providing for our support; for we mean, with the utmost deference to submit it wholly to the Legislature. May we entreat the favor of your Excellency to communicate this letter, with our most respectful compliments, to that honorable body; and to believe that we are—with the utmost respect and regard, Dear Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants,

JAS. DUANE.

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON.

JNO. MORIN SCOTT.

189. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL (JOSEPH REED).¹

Sir,

The Committee of Congress are ready to confer with the Committee of the Supreme Executive Council and Assembly of the Commonwealth

[189]¹ Princeton Univ. Lib.; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 261.

of Pennsylvania on the Subject of the enclosed Resolution at such Time and Place as they shall appoint ²

I have the honour to be, on behalf of the Comm'ee
your Excellency's most obedt. and very hble servt.

OLIV'R ELLSWORTH

Monday Morn'g May 22, 1780.

190. WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF
NEW JERSEY (WILLIAM LIVINGSTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, May 22d, 1780.

Sir,

. . . .² Lest it should escape the recollection of the Legislature, I take the liberty to mention that the embargo act continued the 25th of December last in consequence of a recommendation of Congress of the 15th of the same month was limited to the first of April last. The expected events of this campaign, the present state of provisions, the prospects of the coming crop, far from being so favorable as could be wished, all conspire to urge the propriety of reviving and continuing that act. The matter was lately agitated in Congress, but as no instance of exportation was known, except from Delaware, and it was said the embargo was in force in the other states, a resolution was extended no farther than Delaware. We did not mention New Jersey, because there was no doubt the Legislature on adverting to the circumstances above mentioned would take the necessary measures.³

The state of Pennsylvania has applied to Congress for direction with respect to the propriety of receiving the certificates given in the staff departments in the payment of taxes. As I see the highest probability the measure will be approved and recommended, I take the liberty to apprise the Legislature. I see no prospect of any other answer to the address and

² The committee (Ellsworth, Houston, and Henry) was appointed May 20, on a matter pertaining to loan office certificates and certificates of the staff departments. President Reed's undated note to Speaker Bayard (*Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 262) may have reference to the resolve of May 20 and to this committee, but it more probably pertains to the committee of May 12 (see no. 162, note 4, *ante*). The council minutes (*Pa. Col. Recs.*, XII. 360) show that the meeting was held this day (May 22), that they "also freely conferred on the subject of the Quarter Master and Commissaries' Certificates", and that after the conference the council took into consideration the resolves of May 19 and 20 and President Huntington's letter of the 19th, and ordered that these be laid before the general assembly. The committee of Congress made a report May 24. See, further, the *Journals*, May 26; *cf.* no. 102, note 2, *ante*.

Ellsworth was on three successive committees instructed to confer with committees of the Pennsylvania council and assembly, namely, one appointed May 9 (Ellsworth, Muhlenberg, and Clark), one appointed May 12 (Ellsworth, Muhlenberg, and Houston), and this committee of May 20.

[190]¹ *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 216; *N. J. State Lib.*; Thomas Allen Glenn, *William Churchill Houston*, p. 57; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XXXVI. 349.

² In the omitted passages Houston refers to the Massachusetts act (in a Boston paper of May 8) respecting the act of Congress of Mar. 18, and offers some suggestions for the guidance of his own state in taking measures in compliance with the act of Mar. 18. See nos. 290, 314, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, May 22, June 12. The action of Congress was in consequence of a letter from President Reed May 6 (*Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 229), read in Congress May 9. President Huntington's letter transmitting the act of May 22 is *ibid.*, p. 263.

representation of the 15th of March last, and am of opinion that time need not be lost in waiting to hear from Congress. No means in the power of the delegates of the state have been omitted to obtain some other mode of discharging the debts due to the inhabitants, and avoiding the necessity of resorting to this expedient, but without effect.⁴

The proceedings of Saturday last you have ere now received. I doubt not the President has suggested the propriety of secrecy, for though these things are noising abroad, they are surmises without information. I speak particularly of the contents of the letter. The occasion is highly interesting, and the improvement of it may be attended with the most happy consequences.⁵

191. SAMUEL HOLTEN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA May 23d 1780.

Sir,

A few days since, I was honored with yours of the 1st instant directed to the delegates of Massachusetts, respecting regulating the post from Boston to Falmouth; and as I have the honor of being upon the committee of Congress for superintending the post office, my colleagues desired me to attend to your instructions and endeavour to have the alterations made agreeably to the directions of the Hon'ble court; I immediately laid the matter before the committee, and they were of opinion that the post master General was fully empowered and could make the proposed alterations: I then wrote to the post master, a copy of which I inclose, and his answer, together with a letter from the surveyor of the eastern district; by which you'll be able to judge whether the alterations proposed by the surveyor will answer the good purposes expected by the hon'l assembly²

192. JOSEPH JONES TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

[May 23, 1780.]

Dear S'r,

Col. Grayson has mentioned to me his receiving a letter from Genl. Weedon desiring to serve in the northern Army if any employm't can be carved out for him. This Gentleman for whom, as an Officer, I entertain a regard, has attributed the regulation of his Rank, wch. has occasioned his retiring, in great part to me; tho. God knows I did no more in the matter than was my Duty by moving in Congress that the dispute be ref'd to a Board of G. Officers. He has ever since his return kept himself

⁴ See the *Journals*, May 20, 24, 26, and nos. 198, 202, *post*.

⁵ The reference is to the action taken upon the memorial of the minister of France.

See no. 175, note 2, *ante*.

[191]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 199.

² See no. 178, *ante*. In a later letter to the council the same day Holten relates "intelligence from Charlestown, by a private person to the 5th inst." Mass. Arch., CCII. 196.

[192]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 9.

aloof from me. abt. this I have no concern. I promised Col. Grayson I wo'd mention the proposal to you and had no doubt if a place could be found for him you wo'd call him into service. his only objection it seems is his serving under Woodford. If you shall find an opening for Genl. Weedon I believe it will be agreeable and convenient to him but I request it may not be known to him that I had any concern in the business. . . .²

193. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE
(THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE).¹

PHILADA. May 24, 1780.

Sir,

I do myself the honour through you Sir to communicate to his most Christian Majesty, our illustrious Ally, the grateful Sense Congress entertain of his unremitted Attention to the Interest of these United States evidenced by his many great and generous Efforts in their Behalf; as expressed in their Act of the 22d Instant herewith enclosed.

You will also herewith receive the Acts and Proceeding of Congress in Consequence of the Communication you were pleased to make on the 16th Instant, by which you will be the better informed of the Measures adopted for effectually co-operating with our Ally against the Common Enemy.²

Permit me Sir to express the Pleasure and Satisfaction which I have received from the active Zeal and Ardour which the Minister of France hath manifested on all Occasions, and especially the present, to promote the Interest, and aid the Exertions of these United States.

194. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN May 25, 1780.

Sir,

Yesterday we were honord with a dispatch from Congress conveying to us their resolutions of the 19th Inst. together with a Copy of their circular letter of the same date to the several states from New Ham[p]shire to Virginia inclusive.² By one of the former we are appointed to assist the Commander in Chief in drawing out supplies for the Army; and the

² Concerning Weedon's case see vol. III., pp. 89, 147. He was again called into service June 16, on recommendation of the board of war. Washington's reply to Jones's letter is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 304, (ed. Sparks), VII. 67. For an extract from it see no. 264, note 3, *post*. Cf. no. 280, *post*.

[193]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 4.

² The minister's memorial dated May 16 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 683, translation) was read in Congress May 17. See also the *Journals*, May 18, 20, 22, and no. 175, *ante*.

[194]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (copy); *ibid.*, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 1, no. 39, vol. I., f. 39 (copy), no. 11, f. 49 (letter-book copy). This circular and likewise the supplementary one following were signed by the three members of the committee. They are to be found in numerous repositories.

² The circular letter is no. 182, *ante*.

line of conduct we are to pursue is pointed out in those subsequent. The whole having been transmitted to your state together with the circular letter; It is unnecessary to inclose your honour a Copy. Immediately on receipt of these papers we laid them before the Commander in Chief and intreated him to signify what supplies were immediately necessary to enable him to move the Army; and to put it in a condition to co-operate vigorously with the shortly expected succour of the great and generous ally of these states. This request we candidly avow, was made more with a view to preserve form in conducting business, than for want of complete information on the subject; That having already been fully detailed us, by the General, and others in former conferences, when acting as a committee of arrangements, he consequently had only to refer us to what had been before delivered us by him and others, and which was in substance as follows. That the Army was five months pay in arrears, that it has Seldom or ever, since it took this cantonement, had more than Six days provision in advance. That at present it is without meat, and has been on half, and on quarter allowance for some days past. That the commissaries cannot give any assurances of doing more than barely subsisting the Troops from day to day. That even then they apprehend a want of meat will frequently prevail; That the Army is greatly deficient in Camp Equipage. That it is destitute of forage for the few horses which indispensable necessity has required, should be maintained in Camp.³ That it will require several Thousand horses to move the Army so as to promise any effectual operation from it. That the Sick in Hospitals have not a sufficiency of *those* articles necessary for their comfort. That carriages in considerable numbers are wanted. That the Quarter Master General

³ Besides endeavoring to solve the larger problems of supply, the committee appear to have given some attention also to lesser matters in the same province. On the same day on which this circular was sent out the committee wrote to the commissary general of forage: "Having inspected some chopped Oats this day, brought up for the use of the horses of the Army, we find it of an exceeding bad quality, and this method of preparing it for use liable to very great abuses. We therefore desire you will immediately give orders, for having this article brought forward in the grain for consumption, and no more of it to be chopped." *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 39, vol. II., f. 99, no. 11, p. 287 (copies).

June 15 the following letter was addressed "To the Forage Master General or his Asst't at Camp": "Having already given you directions to Issue orders to those persons employed in procuring forage for the use of the Army, not to have any more grain chopped for that purpose; and finding that it still continues to be sent on to the Army in that state—We therefore think it necessary to forbid your receiving any forage of that kind in future." *Ibid.*, no. 39, vol. II., f. 100, no. 11, p. 288.

Schuyler wrote to Governor Clinton May 26: "Should the State agreeable to General Washington's request compleat the regiments to 504. I conceive it will suffice instead of a new draft, to Convert the 800 men now raising to that purpose, tho probably the Situation of affairs will require they should remain to the Northward. If so, I would advise the State to inform the general of it, as I shall be on the Spot and will try to remove any difficulty which might arise." *Clinton Papers*, V. 758.

Lafayette, who was at this time at headquarters, wrote to Luzerne concerning the committee: "Le Comité n'est pas content de ses pouvoirs; ils disent qu'ils ne peuvent que recommander, et à moins de prendre sur eux tous les risques ils ne sont pas en état de mettre en activité les ressources du país. Le Congrès doit recevoir de leur Comité les plus fortes representations à cet égard; mais pour ne pas perdre de tems, ils ont écrit une lettre aux differents états dont nous avons besoin, et cette lettre doit, disent-ils, produire de bons effets." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 346. Concerning the committee's powers see nos. 166, 183, 187, *ante*, 196, 203, 232, *post*.

has not a competent number of boats for the use of the Army in case any offensive operation should take place. That he has no materials for constructing new boats and Carriages, nor even repairing the old. That as every department of the Army is without money, and not even the shadow of Credit left, consequently no article however necessary can be procured. That the Transportation even of the inadequate supply of flour, forage, and other articles hitherto furnished by the states is at a stand. That very few of the recruits required by the act of Congress of the 9th of February last have arrived. That from information received there is no prospect that any considerable number will *timely* engage in the service on Voluntary enlistm'ts. That by the expiration of the terms for which men were engaged, Deaths and Desertions, the army is so greatly reduced that it does not afford a probable prospect of its acting with any degree of efficacy in merely defensive operations. That the patience of the soldiery who have endured every degree of conceivable hardship, and borne it with fortitude and perseverance, beyond the expectation of the most sanguine, is on the point of being exhausted. That a spirit of discontent is encouraged by the arts of the enemy, whose emissaries hold up in printed papers distributed among the soldiery the most flattering prospects and promises to induce them to desert their colours. The evidence given us in support of this detail of facts has been fully corroborated by our own observations and enquiry. And painful as the contemplation of the distresses our country labours under may be, we conceive it would have been inconsistent with our duty to have palliated or disguised them in an address to the constituents of that body under whose authority we act, as *they* ought, in our opinion, to be fully informed. For it is to them this committee is directed to apply, and on them every reliance for relief and assistance must rest, in this very critical and important moment. But so far are we from disponding under this variety of embarrassment that we reflect with satisfaction—the result of conviction—That the country is not destitute of the resources necessary to enable its army to act with vigor and to second the views of our illustrious Ally, and that the Legislative and executive Powers of your state, impressed as they are with a just sense of the magnitude of the object, are equally desirous as capable of drawing them forth.

Congress in their circular letter has pointed generally at the measures necessary to be adopted by the states. We conceive it incumbent on us, in discharge of the trust reposed, to point more minutely at particulars and in some measure to enter into a detail of *them*. We are encouraged to this under a persuasion that the states will impute to our Zeal and affection for the interest and weal of our country the Liberty we take, and not to a spirit of dictating, which would be equally improper as presumptuous.

In a letter we had the honor to address Congress on the 16th Inst. but which had not reach'd Philadelphia when the Circular letter and resolutions we have alluded to were passed, We stated the little probability (which from the information we had obtained) there appeared to be of completing the Quotas of men called for by the act of Congress of the 9th of February last, by voluntary enlistment, and we conceived it requi-

site to propose a set of resolutions calculated to draw forth the intended complement of men for the Army together with a state of the deficiency's, Copy of which we have the honor to inclose—persuaded that the states can with more facility and much less expence make drafts to serve during the Campaign than to engage men to serve during the War, and convinced from repeated experience that no reliance is to be made on gaining a sufficient number by Voluntary enlistments. should the mode we have proposed be as agreeable to the sentiments of the Legislature of your state as it is to those of the Commander in Chief, we cannot entertain a doubt but that the measures will be adopted with alacrity and executed with energy. From the state we have made of the distressed condition of the Army in point of provision, We are persuaded that every argument to induce the utmost exertions to fill the magazines which the Commander in Chief has directed to be formed would be needless, as a matter of such importance will certainly claim the most immediate attention of the Legislative and executive powers of the states.

Congress in their act of the 25th Feby. last have not call'd on the states for the Transportation of any of the articles of supply innumrated in that act, beyond the limits of the state furnishing the same. If the Officers whose business it is to direct the Transportation were or could be furnished in *time* with money for that service it would probably superceed the necessity of any intervention of the states. as they are not, nor is it probable they can *be* even with the best exertions of the states, we humbly recommend that authority be given by your Legislature to the executive authority or to such other persons as they may think proper, to furnish such carriage to the Officers acting under the authority of Congress or their committee, as may be needfull to convey these supplies, or any other for the public use, to the Army or to such Posts and places where they may be required. and that untill the public Officers shall have Cash in hand to pay for the same, We intreat the Legislature of your state to give assurances to its Citizens that speedy and effectual measures will be taken to make payment of the Debts which may be thus incurred, and remain unpaid, with an interest of six per Cent. Per annum, as stated in the resolutions of Congress of the 19th Instant.

It is more than probable necessity will require that some states should be called upon for additional supplies, to those apportioned to them in the Act of Congress of the 25th Feby. last, Both because our Army, and that of our Ally, may take such a position as that supplies from remote states cannot be brought, and because some states are so exhausted that they cannot even furnish the Quotas assigned them. It therefore becomes essential that similar powers to those states in the preceeding paragraph should be lodged in the Executive authority, or other persons, for furnishing such extra supplies, on the application of this committee or Officers appointed for that purpose—and to this matter we also intreat permission to draw the attention of your Legislature. As it would be hazarding too much to depend on the precarious supply of Horses and Carriages which might be furnished by the inhabitants occasionally to move the Artillery, Baggage, and stores immediately attach'd to the army, and as the aid of the states

to procure the horses and carriages in the present exhausted state of the public Treasury is evidently necessary, we are also constrained to entreat the attention of your Legislature to this capital object, and to request that the executive authority, or other persons, may be empowered to comply with the requisition of this committee or persons by them authorized for that purpose, on the condition mention'd in the paragraph next preceeding the Last.

Having Sir, Stated the most material articles of the many which are wanted, we beg leave to urge the indispensable Necessity of investing your executive authority, or such other persons as your Legislature may judge proper to instruct, with ample power to comply with the requisitions of the Committee, or other persons by them appointed, for that variety of articles necessary for an Army and its appendages, and of which no perfect enumeration can be made, And to rely for reimbursement out of the monies call'd for from the states. Had it been practicable to have stated the particular extra supplies which necessity will induce us to call for from each state, for the support of the army and its operations, it would have been our duty to have done so. As it was not, we wish your Legislature to believe that the Committee will pay every possible attention in making requisitions for supplies so as to render the burden as equal in proportion to the ability of each State as their situation, and the nature of the service will by any means admit.

It is possible Sir, that should even the deficiency's to compleat the Quotas of troops apportioned to the states in Feby. last Join their Corps as early as the exigency of affairs certainly require, Aid of Militia may nevertheless be call'd for by the Commander in Chief, and as so much depends on dispatch in offensive operations, we beg leave most earnestly to recommend that such measures may be adopted as will effectually draw forth this invaluable resource with as little delay as possible.

Having stated what appears, to the Committee, absolutely requisite to be adopted and pursued by the state, Permit us Sir to add, we are authorized to communicate, *that* the Naval and Land force alluded to by Congress in their Circular Letter was to have sail'd so early from France that they may be daily expected to arrive on this coast. That the orders given by the Court of Versailles for the Line of Conduct to be observed by their officers in combining their force with ours to operate against the Common Enemy, clearly evince the most unbounded confidence, and the most unequivocal determination That it should be directed by American Councils, and rendered subservient to the interest of these states. This generosity on the part of our illustrious Ally strongly points at the necessity of taking every precaution in our power that his views may not be frustrated, nor his Arms disgraced. Indeed we should be left without the shadow of an excuse, should we through inattention, or indecision, neglect to avail ourselves of the advantages to which such a capital succour is capable of being improved. We should degrade our Character, disgrace our Arms, and evince to all the world that we were either destitute of resources, wanted exertion to draw them forth, or wisdom to apply them, and either would tend to discredit our Cause, and stamp these states with indelible

stains of infamy. But Americans are incapable of such folly. They will see the necessity of risking possible evils, nay even suffering certain, but Temporary *ones* with fortitude. And of sacrificing a portion of property, if such sacrifice is necessary, rather than by withholding it, involve themselves and their posterity in misery too painfull to be contemplated without the deepest anxiety.

You Sir, and the Legislature of your state, we are fully convinced, will on this occasion display with additional Lustre, that Virtue and wisdom which have hitherto so eminently distinguished Your Councils, and by taking the lead in exertion, will stimulate your citizens to such laudable acts as will amply entitle them to the invaluable Blessings of that Liberty, peace and Independance for which they have fought and bled.

The Committee have only to add their wishes that you Sir, will be pleased to convene the Legislature of the state with as much dispatch as possible, and to lay these our applications before them.

Circular No. 1

[Following this letter, in the Letter-Book, is this memorandum:]
 “* Note, ‘Your Excellency’ is the stile made use of in the circulars, to all the states, except Massachusetts and New Hampshire, whose presidents were addressed ‘your honor’.”

195. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular No. 2.

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN May 25 1780.

Sir,

Since we had the honor to address our letter of this day, His Excellency the Commander in Chief has favoured us with one, Copy whereof is Inclosed.²

Had the necessity of Compleating the Regiments to the Complement he states appeared to us as Indispensible before, as it hath done since the receipt of this Letter, we should not have hesitated a moment in recommending the measure, being perfectly persuaded of its propriety.³

196. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILADELPHIA 26th May 1780.

Dear Sir,

I wrote to you by the Marquiss to which Letter I have not been favoured with your answer. Since the departure of Mr. Matthews nothing material

[195]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., i. 21, no. 39, vol. I., i. 48 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 5 (letter-book copy).

² Washington's letter to the committee May 25 is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 284, (ed. Sparks), VII. 50; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 267; *Clinton Papers*, V. 755; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 75; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 228. See also Washington to Governor Trumbull May 26, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 165.

³ This text is endorsed, “True copy Ab. Brasher Secy”. Brasher does not however appear to have been formally appointed secretary until June 1. See no. 208, note 2, *post*.

[196]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Schuyler Papers, no. 1258; *ibid.*, Bancroft Coll., Schuyler Papers, no. 775.

has been transacted relative to the grand business tho' a committee of which I am chairman has made a report thereon which lays on the table.² I moved to recall Lees corps but was under the necessity of withdrawing my motion or disgusting all our friends, since (as I expected) the eastern people in order to regain their confidence opposed the motion. I am happy that the Genl. has determined upon it since the strongest argument against the measure was the Generals not having recommended it. So that much as he may desire it, it will be impossible to recall the Maryland line except the Genl. shall himself undertake it which I now fear it will be too late to do.³

We have made several attempts to bring on the business of Vermont without success,⁴ and what will surprize you is that New Hampshire has always voted against us. He⁵ tells me that Mr. Livermore has taken away their papers, tho' the report we have got upon the subject by no means renders them necessary, and Pray mention this to Mr. Peabody and press upon him the necessity of returning unless he means to have the vote of the state entered upon the journals of Congress against its essential interests, if he supposes they have any in this controversy.

197. JAMES DUANE TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILAD. 26 May, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . The progress hitherto made in Congress falls vastly short of your views and my efforts, but it is the fate of deliberate bodies to move with caution; and I have no manner of doubt that we shall be under some disadvantages on that account; at the same time that I am persuaded every measure which the General thinks necessary will be supported (on his own application) by Congress with unanimity. Mr. Matthews will be able to inform you of the obstacles to a committee plenipo, as I have hinted them to the General: they are deep rooted in the human passions, and not to be surmounted on the first impression.² That the reinforcements ordered to the southward should be re-called, is obvious for the reasons you as-

² Livingston was chairman of the committee on the memorial from the minister of France, presented May 17, and it was this committee to whom was referred the report of May 15 from the committee sent to headquarters, laid before Congress the same day (see nos. 166, 167, *ante*). The report to which Livingston refers was brought in May 26 and action taken upon it May 27. A text of the report, signed by Livingston and bearing the date May 24, is found in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 699. See nos. 201, 216, *post*.

³ See no. 187, *ante*, and no. 197, *post*. Washington had already (May 20) ordered the halt of Lee's corps. Nevertheless on June 6 Congress all but countermanded that order. See no. 224, *post*.

⁴ See no. 188, note 4, *ante*, and the *Journals*, May 22, 23, 26, 29.

⁵ That is, Nathaniel Folsom, who was the only delegate from New Hampshire in Congress at this time. Peabody was with Schuyler at headquarters.

[197]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Bancroft Coll., Livingston Papers, II. 216 (clipped from undesignated newspaper).

² See no. 187, note 2, *ante*. The following extract from a letter of General Greene to Washington May 23 is particularly pertinent here:

"Sir I have had a long conversation with General Schuyler this morning, and have seen the powers and appointments upon the present business entrusted to the direction of the Committee, as well as their powers to act under. From all which I am fully of opinion that the plan is altogether incompetent to the purpose and end proposed. Time will not permit me to enter into the detail of objections, nor perhaps would their force

sign; but do you expect such a proposition from a Northern member deeply interested in strengthening the main army? It is a question of the utmost delicacy and even danger; for, however groundlessly, an opinion has been propagated that Congress meant to sacrifice the two Southern States, and it has been productive of great animosity and discontent. We have privately stated the subject to some of the Southern gent. who, though I believe convinced of the propriety of the measure, did not chuse, after great deliberation, to have it adopted, much less to propose it. There is but *one person*³ from whom it can originate with prospect of success. If *we* had undertaken it, nothing would have resulted from it but the loss of personal confidence and disappointment. But while you have Mr. Matthews at your elbow, who is fully informed, I only waste your time by descending to particulars.⁴ . . .

appear in the same point of light to another, who has had less experience in the difficulties attending the business than I have.

"It is my opinion that your Excellency ought to ask the decided opinion of the Committee in writing, whether they think their powers are competent to the business expected of them. If they say not, as I am sure they must, then I would require of them the powers and the plan they conceive necessary to support the enterprize. The whole of which I would state to Congress, supported with my own sentiments, as well with respect to the defects of the present plan, as the plan necessary for the business. Nothing but some such decisive measure as this, will put the business on a proper footing. The measure will at least place your conduct in the fairest point of light. It will free the Committee from their present embarrassments, and place the labouring oar where it ought to be. If you undertake the business upon the present footing, and exercise powers beyond the present Scheme, It will be asked why you did not ask for an enlargement of the Committees powers, if you deemed them inadequate. And if you engage and fail for want of support, it will be asked why you embarked in such a business without being fully persuaded that the means were adequate to the end. In whatever point of view I consider the subject, I see the greatest propriety in your Excellency stating to the Committee this query, whether it is their opinion, they can give you such support, as will warrant your engaging in a coöperation with the French forces for the reduction of New York." Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, II. 453; Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 294.

The new powers of the committee to which Greene refers (resolutions of May 19) had been brought to headquarters that day by John Mathews, just returned from Congress. See no. 203, note 2, *post*.

May 24 Washington wrote to the committee as follows: "I have considered the powers vested in you by the resolution of Congress of the 19th Instant. The importance of taking every step on the surest ground induces me to request your opinion of the competency of these powers to the objects they are intended to answer—and whether you think they will enable you as far as is practicable in our circumstances, to draw forth the resources of the Country. If you should be of opinion they are not, I intreat you will have the goodness to point out in what they appear to you to be defective—and what alterations or additions may be necessary to render them as far as possible adequate to the emergency." The original of this letter has not been found. There is a draft in the writing of Alexander Hamilton in the Washington Papers, but the date of the resolution, "19th Instant", is left blank. The text used here is that of the copy in the committee's letter-book, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 208.

No response from the committee is found of record, either in their letter-book or elsewhere; therefore, in view of the probability that no larger powers could be obtained (see the remarks of Duane in the early part of his letter to Schuyler; also nos. 166, 187, 194, note 3, *ante*), they must have decided to act on such powers as had been bestowed on them. At all events, on the following day (May 25), with Washington's approval, they sent out their circular letter to the states. Cf. no. 232, *post*.

³ That is, General Washington. See no. 196, *ante*. Cf. the extract of a letter from Luzerne to Vergennes June 24, in *Writings of Washington* (ed. Sparks), VII. 92 n.

⁴ On the same day Duane wrote to Washington giving him the latest news from Charleston. "If under such discouraging Prospects", he said, "we shall come off [i] Conquerors it will be a further proof of one of the Mottoes which we have appropriated to our Cause and often seen verified—*nil desperandum*." Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

198. WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF
NEW JERSEY (WILLIAM LIVINGSTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 26th May, 1780.

Sir,

Your excellency receives enclosed resolutions of Congress of this date, on the subject of negotiating in the payment of taxes, the outstanding vouchers given of persons employed in the departments of the Commissary General of purchases and Quarter Master General for articles furnished to the public service. It is to be regretted that this provision is not more adequate to the relief of New Jersey, and a fuller satisfaction of the address of the Legislature of the 17th of March last.² I will endeavour to give an account of the state of this proceeding.

The states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware are those in which such notes or certificates are principally [in] hand. New York has some time since passed an act for receiving them in taxes, under certain modifications and conditions which I need not describe as I took the liberty to transmit a copy to the legislature at the last sitting. No measures have been taken respecting them in any of the other states that I have heard. It has from time to time been represented that the taxes could not be collected for the last year, and much less for the present, because payment of arrears due to the inhabitants from the public departments was not made, by means [of] which many were unable to answer the collectors; and those who were able, but unwilling took advantage of the pretext.

The consistency of these resolutions with the proceedings of the 17th of March last was held a point of indispensable necessity. Nothing which has the color of an interference could be carried in Congress, but in cases of the last extremity. The taxes of two months are there appropriated to discharge outstanding debts, and I believe they are pretty competent to this end, even exclusive of other deficiencies not yet paid up or drawn for. If therefore one State takes in more Certificates than the quota thereof to the 1st of March last, the surplus must be paid to such state in cash from another state which takes in less or perhaps none; or from some other fund, so that the public measures may prove in conformity with one another, and it is to be remarked by the way, that though the present mode is one attempt to pay off the public debts, it ought not to be looked upon as the only means, for those which are not satisfied in this way must be paid in money.

It seemed absolutely necessary that these notes or certificates, as the provision extends both to the manuscript and printed should be received only from the persons to whom they were originally given, because the destructive inconveniences of their circulating as cash and being open to frauds, impositions and abuses of many kinds were to be obviated. The same caution suggested the propriety of the oath or affirmation. I must however observe here, that if the legislature find they have, in general,

[198]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 49, vol. III., p. 160.

² The New Jersey address here referred to was actually dated Mar. 15, but was transmitted by Governor Livingston Mar. 17, and was presented to Congress Mar. 21.

passed from the first holders, and that the transaction ought to be countenanced as far as it has proceeded, it is not impracticable to give the transferees an opportunity to pay them in, under the oath or affirmation of those named in the certificates, which might not be attended with bad effects, if confined to transfers already made.⁸ . . .

199. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE MARQUIS DE BOUILLÉ.¹

PHILADA. May 27, 1780.

Sir,

I am honoured with your Letter of the 23d of March by Mr. Bingham.

It gives me Pleasure to find that the Conduct of that Gentleman hath made himself agreeable to the French Nation and more especially that it meets with your Approbation.

By the Information I have received from Mr. Bingham and Captain Harding of the *Confederacy*, I cannot but acknowledge your favourable Interposition and Aid manifested to Captain Harding and the ready Assistance granted him in repairing the Frigate

We have just received Intelligence *via* St Kitts, there hath been an Engagement between the French and British Fleets in the West Indies, we are anxious to hear the particulars; it is said several British Officers were by Admiral Rodney put under Arrest for Misconduct in the Engagement, which gives us reason to hope the French Fleet gained an Advantage in the Action.

I have the Pleasure to inform you, that the Chevalier de la Luzerne the Minister of France is in good Health and much respected with us. I rather mention this because Rivington the British Printer in New York hath lately published an Account that the People here were highly disgusted with him, which occasioned the Minister to repair to General Washington's Camp where he died by the Hand of Violence; than which nothing could be more false and scandalous and might give concern to the Ministers Friends if not detected.

I have the honour to be etc., etc., etc.

S. H.²

200. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN May 28th 1780.

Sir,

We do ourselves the honor to inclose your Exc'y a Copy of our circular letter to the states, Of one from the Commander in Chief to us on

⁸ Houston was a member of the committee which reported the measure of May 26, and himself prepared the report. See the *Journals*, May 20, 24, 26, also nos. 102, note 2, 190, *ante*, and no. 202, *post*.

[199]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 6 (addressed, "Le Marquis de Bouille, Governor General of the French West India Islands, etc.").

² A marginal note reads, "This is not an Official Letter and recorded through Mistake". The Marquis de Bouillé's letter of Mar. 23 was read in Congress May 1, but no action was taken upon it. For that reason doubtless Huntington regarded his reply as unofficial.

[200]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I, f. 36 (in writing of Mathews), no. 11, p. 25; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XV. 145.

the subject of the former, Of our second circular letter, And an abstract of the returns alluded to in the first.² Alarming and numerous as the facts stated in those letters are, we most sincerely wish they were not, in reality heightened, and increased since.

In our letter of the 9th Inst. to Congress,³ we observed, That if the spirit of discontent, which then prevailed among the soldiery, should fully established [*sic*] itself, It would be productive of the most serious consequences. The causes which contributed to the first rise of dissatisfaction continuing, have increased, and ripened it into mutiny. Two entire regiments of the Connecticut line paraded on Thursday Evening with their arms, accoutrements, and packs, intending to march off, and return to the state. They complained of inability any longer to endure the torture of famine, and the variety of distress they experienc'd. On this serious occasion the Officers displayed a wisdom and prudence which does them honor. Their exertions reduced the disorder to bounds of moderation, and the soldiery were prevailed on to desist from intentions so injurious to their Country, so derogatory to their honour. They retired to their huts with passions cooled down indeed, but with evident signs of discontent and Chagrin, and left their Officers with the painful reflection that a repetition of similar distresses was only wanting to compleat a scene which they cannot contemplate without horror. The brave, Patriotic, and virtuous band of Officers in every line had already given up their rations to the soldiers, and submitted literally to bread and Water, as their only sustenance. By this scanty fare they continue to set an example to, and keep the soldiery in tolerable temper. But with tears in their eyes (such as men who feel for the distresses of their Country may shed without pusillanimity) they stated their apprehensions that the dissolution of the army was at hand, unless constant supplies of *provisions* at least were kept up.⁴

Persuaded, sir, that to be silent on such occasions would be criminal, We will address our Compeers with decency, but with Freedom. We will advise them, that something more is necessary than mere recommendation,

² The enclosures, besides the abstract of returns, were the circulars of May 25 (nos. 194, 195, *ante*) and Washington's letter to the committee May 25 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 284, ed. Sparks, VII. 50). The letter was read in Congress May 31. See no. 206, *post*. Cf. Washington to Reed, May 28 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 293, ed. Sparks, VII. 58; *Life of Reed*, II. 202). Reed's reply, June 5, is *ibid.*, p. 209, and *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 463. Lafayette, with knowledge of Washington's letter to Reed, addressed the latter in a like appeal May 31 (*Life of Reed*, II. 207; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 746). See, further, nos. 241, 261, 313, *post*; also a letter from Samuel Adams to Lafayette (dated "Boston, June 1780", *Writings*, IV. 197), in reply to a letter from Lafayette of May 30.

³ The letter sent was dated May 10 (no. 162, *ante*).

⁴ See Washington to the President of Congress May 27 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 288, ed. Sparks, VII. 54); also Schuyler to Clinton May 26 (*Clinton Papers*, V. 759). Schuyler wrote to Clinton May 28 respecting Clinton's letter of May 25 and the conference with Washington thereupon, adding: "Altho engaged with little relaxation in the arduous task assigned the Committee of which I am one, I hope so to arrange matters as to be in a condition to commence a journey to Kingston in two or three days, to give that Information to the legislature which it is my duty to afford them as a servant of the state in Congress, and to Contribute every aid in my power in the present distresses of a country so dear to me" (*ibid.*, p. 767). See no. 168, note 4, *ante*.

or they will lose an army, and thereby risk the loss of an Empire. Times and exigencies render it sometimes necessary for the Governing powers to deviate from the strict lines of conduct which Regular Constitutions prescribe. And when such deviation is necessary for the preservation of the whole, It is incumbent on Rulers to put themselves on the Judgment of their Country, to stand acquitted or condemned by it. Such times, such exigencies, such deviations have heretofore taken place. They are marked on the Journals of Congress. And the honest Patriots reflect, with gratitude, that there were men who at all hazards dared to save their Country. We intreat Congress seriously to consider Whether such times and exigencies do not now exist. If they do, shall Posterity say, that those who directed the affairs of America, at this era, were less intrepid, more attentive to personal consequences than their Predicessors. Heaven forbid the thought! Our affairs it is true, are alarmingly deranged, but bold and decisive measures adopted, and prudently executed will restore all. Our pristine vigour will be renewed, and the contest end in a glorious expulsion of the minions of a Tyrant.

We have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Yr. Exc's most obed. Svts.

PH. SCHUYLER

JNO. MATHEWS

NATHL. PEABODY

201. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA May 29, 1780.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your Letter of the 19th Instant covering duplicate Despatches for Governor Rutledge, one of which I sent forward by Express the same Hour it came to hand, and sent the other by the Post. . . .

I have also enclosed² a Copy of the Communication received from the Minister of France of the 16th Instant, which should have accompanied my former Despatches with the Acts of Congress of the 17th and 20th Instant, of which last mentioned Acts I have also enclosed Copies, there being an Error committed by the Secretary in the former Copy, which you will please to note. in the Act of the 20th, *The Committee at Head Quarters* are said to be requested to confer with the Minister of France, on the means of supplying the Forces of his most Christian Majesty, whereas it should be, *the Committee who brought in the Report* as expressed in the Copy enclosed.³ . . .

[201]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 9.

² An omitted paragraph mentions enclosing the resolve of May 26, leaving to Washington's discretion the matter respecting an agent or commissary of prisoners.

³ See nos. 183, 196, *ante*, and nos. 203, 216, *post*.

202. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA May 29, 1780.

Circular
Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed two Acts of Congress of the 26th and 27th Instant.² . . .

It is hoped this mode may prove beneficial in those States where considerable Debts are due under the Circumstances above mentioned, and in those States only can the Act be properly applied.³ . . .

203. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA May 29, 1780.

Gentlemen,

You will receive herewith enclosed three Acts of Congress, of the 19th, 26th and 27th Instant, by which you will be informed among other Matters, of the Measures adopted by Congress to obtain the necessary Supplies for the Army; as also to aid and assist our Ally in obtaining such Supplies as they may need, and to facilitate the Cooperation of such combined Forces as may be engaged in the approaching Campaign.

The Act of the 16th [19th] would have been forwarded at an earlier Period for your Information and Direction had I not understood that the Hon'ble Mr. Mathews was possessed of it before he left the City.

We are yet kept in anxious Suspense respecting Charles Town.

The Hon'ble The Committee at Head Quarters.²204. SAMUEL HOLTEN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, May 30, 1780.

Sir,

. . . . The state of N. York are desirous that Congress should come into farther negotiations, respecting the people stiling themselves the state

[202]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 39; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 8; Mass. Arch., CCI. 220; Collection of the late D. McN. Stauffer (to Pennsylvania); *R. I. Recs.*, IX. 112; *Clinton Papers*, V. 772; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 277; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 507.

² Huntington here characterizes the act of May 26 respecting the collection of debts due the inhabitants from the quartermaster and commissary departments. What he next says concerning the mode applies to this act. *Cf.* no. 198, *ante*.

³ He next summarizes the resolutions of May 27 respecting the equipment of the naval force of the United States and the prevention of desertion from the allied fleet. *Cf.* no. 220, *post*.

[203]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 109, no. 11, p. 12; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 10.

² The letter is endorsed: "No. 3—for Entry with the papers alluded to. Make a Note at the bottom of the act of the 19th that a copy of it was received by the Committee on the 23d by the hands of Mr. Mathews." See nos. 166, 183, 187, 194, 197, *ante*, 232, *post*.

[204]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 223.

of Vermont; I must feel that very disagreeable consequences will take place before this unhappy dispute is settled: But I should continue to spare no pains to prevent, what I apprehend we are in great danger of, a war with that people.²

The Acct. of the hon'ble assembly for carrying into effect the resolutions of Congress of the 18th of march last, came here *in the newspapers* about ten days since, but neither Congress nor the Delegates from Massachusetts have officially received it, yet as I had one that came to hand yesterday (inclosed in a letter from the secretary) we tho't proper to lay it before Congress, and it appears to be satisfactory, and was referred to the board of Treasury.³

205. JAMES DUANE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 30th May 1780.

My dear General,

Congress are much affected at the Wants and Distresses of the Army another Committee is appointed on your Excellencys late Representation to the Board of War, and a Letter from Comm'y Blane.² It is now found that the Supplies already demanded from the states are incompetent and in some Instances anticipated. It is to be lamented that we were not furnished with better Estimates at first; but we must endeavour to correct the Error; and to face every Difficulty with firmness; and to remedy it as speedily and effectively as possible. . . .

206. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA May 31, 1780.

Gentlemen,

I am honoured with your Letter of the 28th Instant with the Despatches to which it refers, and have laid them before Congress this Day. The several Letters to the States of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia were immediately forwarded by Express.²

Enclosed you will receive an Act of Congress of the 30th Instant, by which you will be informed, they have determined that it is not expedient at present to make any partial Reduction in the Army.

² See no. 188, note 4, *ante*, and nos. 218, 219, 221, 244, 253, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, May 29; *cf.* no. 154, *ante*.

[205]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² The committee was appointed May 29 on letters from the board of war. Washington wrote to the board of war May 27 concerning the distress of the army for meat, mentioning also the mutiny of two Connecticut regiments. A letter of similar purport to Congress the same day (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 288, ed. Sparks, VII. 54) was read in Congress May 31 and assigned to another committee. See also Washington's letter to Joseph Reed May 28 (*ibid.*, VIII. 293, and VII. 58, respectively). The committee of May 29 was Duane, Ellsworth, and Ellery, that of May 31 Ellsworth, Armstrong, and Duane. The former committee was discharged June 14, the whole business doubtless falling to the lot of the latter. Concerning its activities see no. 207, *post*.

[206]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 110, no. 11, p. 12; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 11.

² These were the committee's circular letters to the states May 25. The committee's letter of May 28 is no. 200, *ante*.

Your Report for reducing the New York Battallions had been referred to a Committee, and before they had reported, a Petition from a Number of the Officers in the Corps proposed to be reduced came into Congress, earnestly intreating they might not be constrained to leave the Service at this Season, just as the Campaign was opening etc. Congress upon considering the Subject came into the Resolution a Copy of which is enclosed.³

The Honble The Committee at Head Quarters ⁴

207. A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

Wednesday, May 31, 1 o'clock P. M. [1780.]

Sir,

We beg leave to inform your Excellency that Congress have appointed a Committee to confer with a Committee of the Supreme executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on a letter just received from the Commander in Chief of the Army of these United States respecting Recruits and Supplies. The Committee of Congress are ready to confer at such time and place as the Committee of the Council and Assembly shall appoint.²

We are with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency most obed. humbl Servants,

OLIV. ELLSWORTH,
JOHN ARMSTRONG,
JAS. DUANE.

³ Paragraphs of the same purport respecting the act of May 30 were included in a letter to Washington May 31 (Library of Congress, Washington Papers; President's Letter-Book, p. 11). In the letter to Washington President Huntington wrote: "Your Excellencys Despatches of the 27th Instant have been received and laid before Congress. It is painful to reflect upon the Distresses and Difficulties therein mentioned. I presume Congress will not be wanting on their part to do every thing within the Compass of their Power to remove them." The committee's proposal for the reduction of the New York regiments is no. 174, *ante*. The committee at headquarters had had its immediate origin in propositions to reduce the army. See nos. 8, note 2, 112, 113, 145, note 2, 172, *ante*. Its chief function had however developed into one of feeding and clothing and otherwise making efficient the existing army.

⁴ In *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XII. 501, is a note concerning a letter written in a jocular vein, by William Ellery and James Madison, and addressed to the committee at headquarters. It is there stated that the letter was subsequently printed in the *Richmond Compiler*, but it has not been located. The writer of the note referred to also contributes a poetical farce by Ellery, supposed to have been written about the same time and satirizing the proceedings of Congress or one of its committees.

[207]¹ *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 281 (signed by Ellsworth, Armstrong, and Duane).

² See no. 205, *ante*, the *Journals*, May 31, and *Pa. Col. Recs.*, XII. 370. The committee appeared at the council meeting at a moment when the council was in conference with a committee of the house on the letters from the committee at headquarters and from General Washington of May 25. The committee of Congress, on their part, read to the council Washington's letter of May 27 to Congress and stated the situation and difficulties. See, further, the *Journals*, June 1; also Reed to the Pennsylvania commissioners of supplies June 1, in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 287.

208. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE GOVERNOR OF
CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
MORRIS TOWN June 1st, 1780.²

Sir,

The Commander in Chief has laid before us, letters from General How Commanding at West Point, and from the Commissaries at that post and those depending, from those we have the mortification to find that there is not a days provision in the Garrison of any kind; that those which had been lodged in the redoubts, and the most pointed orders given to preserve it, for the subsistence of the garrison, in case of an attack from the Enemy, has thro' necessity been also expended.³ It is exceedingly improbable that the Enemy should be ignorant that the garrison now subsists from hand to mouth, and as they have the highest inducement to attempt a reduction of that post, we ought to suppose they will; indeed private intelligence has been received that they contemplate it, as soon as the troops from Carolina arrive, and these are hourly expected at New York. Should they gain it, the consequences would be distressing in the highest degree; permit us to state one; The french force is expected to arrive in an Eastern port. to co-operate with them, against New York or any other point, ours must of necessity cross Hudsons river; hence if the Enemy are in possession of the fortresses in the highlands, as the quantity of flour east of hudsons river is so amazingly inadequate to the supply of such an Army, as we ought to bring into the field, we should have to convey it, from the Delaware by the circuitous route of sussex County, in this State, thro orange and part of Ulster, in that of New York, thence by a long land transportation to the point of operation; but all the carriage that could be collected would be incompetent to the business; and if even a sufficient number would be obtained, yet the forage on the route would be exhausted before the Army could operate offensively. Thus every prospect of making an impression on the enemy in this Campaign must vanish; The succour of our ally prove rather a misfortune than an advantage; the disaffected encouraged; and a spring given to their hopes, if even the result should not be more fatal.

It therefore becomes indispensibly our duty not to loose a moment in furnishing that post so amply as that the garrison may maintain itself until this army can march to its relief.

Your exertions, Sir, and those of the State over which you preside, we are no stranger to; and we rely with confidence that they will be evinced on this occasion, both in a supply of salted and fresh meat; the former

[208]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 198, no. 39, vol. III., f. 81; *ibid.*, Force Trans., Trumbull, vol. XI., pt. II., p. 231; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 231. The letter is signed by Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody.

² June 1 the committee "Resolved that Abraham Brasher Esq be, and he hereby is appointed secretary to this Committee, and that Mr. Benja'n Brown be appointed an assistant to the secretary" (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 94). Brasher was however already serving as secretary to the committee. See no. 195, *ante*.

³ See Washington to Howe, June 1, *Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 69.

cannot be dispensed with in a siege, as Cattle cannot be maintained in the redoubts which cover the Capital fortress, nor be thrown in, if the Enemy should invest them. We have to intreat your Excellency to keep the subject of this letter as secret as possible, least the Enemy should take an advantage before the supply can be thrown in.⁴

209. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA June the 1st 1780.

S'r,

In my last I had the honour to acquaint you that I had Recd. your Feavour of the 28th of april the 18th of may and laid it before Congress, and that it wase by them referd [to] the board of War, who this day made there Report, in Consequence of which two hunderd and fifty men were Voted with a Proportionable number [of] officers, which Resolution I herewith Inclose hope it will be agreable.²

We have accounts this day by the way of New York that Charlestown in South Carolina have surrendered to our enemys. however there is not much Creadit given to it in Congress altho' we have some Reason to fear it. We have many Difficultyes to incounter with for want of money or Creadet in order to supply the army with Provision who are offen in want of meat which is Productive of Very Disagreeable Consiquences.

as soone as the new money is Prepared I will Due what lyes in my Power to forward it. I am informed it will [be] Ready to be Delivered in about a month.³

My Colleague is on a Committee at headquarters for near a month Past⁴ Whether he will Returne to Congress before he goes home is unsertain.

210. JAMES LOVELL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
COUNCIL (JEREMIAH POWELL).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 2d, 1780.

Sir,

I think it my Duty to forward to you for the Information of the Honorable Council Copies of some Papers in the Office of the Secretary of Con-

⁴ See also Washington to Trumbull, June 1, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 166.

[209]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 A 169; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Weare, p. 168b.

² The resolution of June 1 authorizing the state to raise a force to guard the frontiers. See no. 179, *ante*.

³ See no. 179, *ante*, and nos. 221, 223, *post*.

⁴ The committee had been appointed Apr. 13, and Peabody had gone to headquarters Apr. 25.

[210]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 172.

gress necessary to explain a Resolve of that Assembly passed on the 30th of May in Respect to an Officer of the Line of the Troops of Massachusetts who thinks himself aggrieved.²

211. JAMES MADISON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 2d 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have written several private letters to you since my arrival here, which as they contained matters that I should be sorry should fall into other hands, I would wish to know had been received. If your Excellency has written any acknowledgment of them they have never reached me.² . . .

It appears from sundry accounts from the Frontiers of N. Y. and other N. States, that the Savages are making the most distressing incursions under the direction of British Agents, and that a considerable force is assembling at Montreal for the purpose of wresting from us Fort Schuyler which covers the N. Western frontier of N. York. It is probable the Enemy will be but too successful this campaign in exciting their vindictive spirit against us throughout the whole frontier of the United States. The Expedition of Genl. Sullivan agst. the six nations seems by its effects rather to have exasperated than to have terrified or disabled them. And the example of those nations will add great weight to the exhortations addressed to the more Southern tribes.

Rivington has published a positive and particular account of the surrender of Charlestown on the 12 Ul'o said to be brought to N. York by the *Iris* which left Charleston five days after. There are notwithstanding some circumstances attending it which, added to the notorious character for lying of the Author, leave some hope that it is fictitious. The true state of the matter will probably be known at Richmond before this reaches you.³

We have yet heard nothing further of the Auxiliary Armament from France. However anxiously its arrival may be wished for it is much to be feared we shall continue to be so unprepared to co-operate with them as to disappoint their views, and to add to our distress and disgrace. Scarce

² The resolve of May 30 was in response to a memorial of Col. John Bailey. The papers enclosed were Bailey's memorial (dated May 12, read in Congress May 19) and the report of the board of war thereupon.

[211]¹Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings of Madison* (ed. Hunt), I. 64; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), p. 147.

² Madison adds some remarks concerning letters from William Bingham, news of the fleets, etc. The printed text of the letter begins, "It appears".

³ See nos. 212, 217, 218, 226-230, 232-234, 243, 247, 253, 256, *post*. Elias Dayton wrote to Washington from Elizabethtown, N. J., May 30, that "Lying Rivington's account of the reduction of C. Town" had been sent off by Colonel Stewart without his knowledge, that he had had three different accounts within the hour, and that the story was not believed in New York, and so ventured to assert that it was one of "Lying Jemys Aberations" (Library of Congress, Washington Papers). Washington replied May 31, that the account had too many marks of authenticity to be doubted (*ibid.*, draft). The name of the South Carolina city is written in the first instance above "Charlestown", in the second "Charleston". In Madison's letter of June 6 (no. 226, *post*) he again uses the form "Charleston". The latter form is very unusual in this period, the most common practice being to write the name in two words, "Charles Town".

a week and sometimes scarce a day, but brings us a most lamentable picture from Head Quarters. The army are a great part of their time on short allowance, at sometimes without any at all, and constantly depending on the precarious fruits of momentary expedients. General Washington has found it of the utmost difficulty to repress the mutinous spirit engendered by hunger and want of pay: and all his endeavours could not prevent an actual eruption of it in two Connecticut Regts. who assembled on the parade with their arms and resolved to return home or satisfy their hunger by the force of the bayonet.⁴ We have no permanent resource, and scarce even a momentary one left, but in the prompt and vigorous supplies of the States. The State of Pennsylvania has it in her power to give great relief in the present crisis, and a recent act of its Legislature shews, they are determined to make the most of it.⁵ I understand they have invested the Executive with a dictatorial Authority from which nothing but the *lives* of their citizens are exempted. I hope the good resulting from it will be such as to compensate for the risk of the precedent.

212. THE NEW YORK DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 2d June, 1780.

Dear Sir,

The want of a competent Representation in Congress to decide on the Business of the Vermonters still continues: we wish however for some intermediate act to check their Career, and it is in the Expectation of such a Measure that Major Hunt is prevailed on to delay his Journey a few days longer.²

We had the Honour of writing to your Excellency on the 21st Instant by the post; among other things we mentioned the necessity of our Legislature's providing some fund for the support of their delegates, and of a speedy remittance to disincumber us from the debts we have already contracted for our Subsistence. Lest that Letter may have miscarried we beg leave to repeat that the Inconvenience of permitting members to draw money out of the publick treasury at their pleasure called for a Check: it was not less improper with respect to the Community than indelicate as it regarded the Applicant. It is true that we gave into the practice but it was not that it ever had our Approbation: general acquiescence only gave it Sanction. At present the publick Exigencies are such as to close the Treasury against the private wants of even the members of Congress, and we must entreat your Excellency to recommend a suiteable Provision for us without Loss of time. They demand from us £ 270 Cont. money a week for a gentleman and Servant exclusive even of Table beer, every thing else is in proportion, and exchange 60 for one. We take it for granted that

⁴ See Washington to the President of Congress May 27, *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 288, (ed. Sparks), VII. 54.

⁵ See Washington to Reed May 28, *ibid.*, VIII. 293, VII. 58, respectively.

[212]¹ *Clinton Papers*, V. 777 (signed by Duane and Scott).

² See nos. 187, 188, 196, 204, *ante*, the *Journals*, June 2, and nos. 218, 219, 221, 232, 244, 253, *post*.

it is the Intention of the Legislature that our Expences should be defrayed and we wish for no more. If we should be asked for an Estimate it is our opinion that the value of six dollars a day specie will be no more than sufficient. It is indeed a third more than the original allowance to the delegates of our state; but it must be observed that every article of Expence to which we are exposed is raised to double its former price.

We enclose your Excellency a Resolution of Congress to establish the post you recommend; and we hope that it is expressed in the manner you wish and that it will answer the Ends you propose.³ The general Measures pursued at Head Quarters to oppose the Irruptions of the Indians and British into our distressed state cannot but meet with approbation and produce salutary Effects: But horror and devastation will always mark the footsteps of those dastardly foes; and while no adequate defence can be provided against the Assassin and Incendiary we must be exposed to feel with inexpressible Solicitude and regret the reiterated sufferings of our frontier Fellow Citizens.

We are still anxious for the Fate of South Carolina. Rivington by a handbill has made a present of it to Sir Henry Clinton: but the sale is not credited.⁴

We shall have the pleasure of writing again to your Excellency by Major Hunt, probably in a day or two.

P. S. Neither of us have as yet received one Shilling from the Treasury. J. M. Scott has attended ever since the 18th Feby. last. J. DUANE.

213. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹
Circular No. 3.

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
MORRIS TOWN 2d June, 1780.

Sir,

In a letter of the 31st ultimo, from the Commander in Chief which we had the honor to receive on the same day, his Excellency observes.

That in the expected co-operation with the force of our ally, against that of the common enemy, it is of great moment that we should proceed with circumspection, and on the surest ground. Before we can determine what ought to be undertaken, we should be able to appreciate the means we shall have it in our power to employ, on some precise scale.

To begin an enterprise against any point in possession of the enemy, on a general presumption of sufficient resources in the country, and proportionable exertions in the respective Governments to bring them forth, would hardly

³ See the *Journals*, June 1, and no. 214, *post*; also Clinton to the delegates June 14 (*Clinton Papers*, V. 821).

⁴ See no. 211, note 3, *ante*.

[213]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 55, no. 39, vol. I., f. 66 (copy sent to Congress), f. 72 (copy to Virginia), no. 39, vol. III., f. 25 (draft); *ibid.*, Washington Papers; Mass. Arch., CCII. 233; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.); N. J. State Lib.; Md. Hist. Soc., vol. LXXXVII.; *R. I. Recs.*, IX. 114; *Clinton Papers*, V. 781; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 293. The letter is signed by the three members of the committee.

be justified by success—could never be defended in case of misfortune, to say nothing of the fatal consequences that might ensue. It appears to me necessary to ascertain the number of men, and the quantity of supplies which the states are capable of furnishing in a *given time*, and to *obtain assurances* from them, founded on experience of their continuing supplies in the same proportion. I esteem the plan adopted by the Committee in their Circular letter, an extremely good preparatory one; but I think it of *indispensible importance*, in the next place, to come to something fixed and determinate. I therefore take the liberty to submit to the Committee the necessity and propriety of calling immediately upon the states for *specific aids of men, provisions, forage, and the means of transportation*.²

His Excellency next states the enemies number and position, mentions the points against which the combined Arms will probably be directed, and furnishes us with an estimate of the force which America ought to draw into the field, with others, exhibiting a state of the provisions, horses, carriages, and a variety of other articles indispensibly necessary to give vigor and a probable prospect of success to our operations. Duty and inclination equally impelled us to a conference with the General, and to the most serious consideration of the subject. The result was a determination specifically to apportion to, and request from the states referred to in the resolutions of Congress of the 19th Ultimo to furnish the requisite supplies by the first day of July. In estimating these, we have paid all possible regard to the probable resources of each, and to their relative position to those scenes of operation, which are at present in contemplation. We shall accordingly annex the kind, and quantum of supplies which are monthly expected from your state; and we have to intreat that you will fully comply with the requisitions, we have the honor to make, and that they will be kept up, in the same proportion until the last of November, if necessity should induce us to continue the application to that period, even although any of the articles now called for should exceed the quota assigned you by the Act of Congress of the 25th of February last: and you will please, Sir, to signify to us, without delay, the determination of your state on this important subject.

Here it becomes our duty to advise you, as upon examination you will perceive, that we have stated your quota per month, in some articles, beyond what it would have been could we have strictly adhered to the proportion on which the allotments made by the act of the 25th February last were adjusted; but this was found impracticable, because of the exhausted condition of some of the states, in which the Army and its principal detachments have wintered. But as these, in the course of the Campaign, will be enabled to afford more than they can at present, your quota as now

² Washington's letter to the committee May 31 is in *Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 299. Probably before writing his letter to the committee Washington had drawn up (with his own hand) a "State of Matters as laid before the Com'ee of conference at Morris Town May 1780" (Library of Congress, Washington Papers). The essential features of this memorandum are embodied in his letter of May 31. With this letter of the committee Washington also transmitted a circular letter of the same date to the several states, enforcing the representations of the committee. Texts of this letter are found in the following: *Mass. Hist. Soc., Collections*, fifth ser., X. 168; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 116; *Clinton Papers*, V. 779; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 219; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 293; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 508.

stated will of course diminish. The requisition, Sir, is large, but it is barely competent. It is the least adequate to the intended operations, as it is calculated on the most limited expenditures, without the smallest allowance for accidental losses, or extra-consumption.

Having given the states a fixed point to regulate themselves by, their measures will be equal to it, and their exertions competent to the magnitude of the object. In matters of such high import, it appeared to the General, and to us, essential that there should be a proper understanding on all hands. That the states should know the wants of the Army, and what is expected for it; That the General and the Committee should be clearly and explicitly advised of their abilities, both individually, and collectively; and to have determined with precision what may be expected. We do not fear to discourage by the largeness of the demand, as we conceive it impossible they should not bear with the knowledge of the wants of their Army, and because knowing them, we are persuaded, their wisdom and patriotism will impel them to every exertion, fully to afford the supplies

(Thus far Circular)

1st. To New Hampshire—The supplies apportioned to your state, are as follows, 166,835 pounds of beef per month, and 25 Hogsheads of Rum per month, to be transported, and delivered where the commissary general shall direct; also 150 horses to be attached to the Army, and to be delivered where the quarter master general shall direct, and on or before the first day of July next. The first monthly quota of supplies to be delivered by the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones monthly, *within* the months succeeding, as the quarter master or commissary general may direct. The horses are an additional article to those stated in the act of Congress of the 25th February last, but the requisition on your state, as on others, for extra-supplies cannot be dispensed with, and the amount thereof, together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the United States.

2d. Massachusetts-Bay—The supplies allotted to be furnished by your state, are 666,035 pounds of beef per month, and 225 Hogsheads of Rum per month, to be transported to, and delivered where the Commissary general shall direct, also 4571 Bushels of grain for forage, per month, to be transported to, and delivered where the quarter master general shall direct, and 1020 draft horses to be attached to the Army, and to be delivered as last aforesaid, and on or before the first day of July next. The first monthly quota of supplies to be delivered by the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones monthly, *within* the months succeeding, as the quarter master general may direct. The forage, and horses, are additional articles to those stated in the Act of Congress of the 25th February last; but the requisition on your state, as on others, could not be dispensed with, and the amount thereof, together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the United States.

3d. Rhode-Island—The supplies allotted to be furnished by your state, are 71,675 pounds of beef per month, and 30 Hogsheads of Rum per month to be transported to, and delivered where the Commissary general

shall direct, also 2285 bushels of grain for forage, per month, to be transported to, and delivered where the quarter master general shall direct, and 200 draft horses to be attached to the Army, to be delivered as last aforesaid, and on or before the first day of July next. The first monthly quota of supplies to be delivered by the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones, monthly, *within* the month succeeding as the quarter master or Commissary General may direct. The forage and horses are additional articles to those stated in the Act of Congress of the 25th February last, but the requisition on your state, as on others, for extra-supplies, cannot be dispensed with, and the amount thereof, together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the United States.

4. *Connecticut*—The supplies allotted to be furnished by your state, are 1500 barrels flour per month, 666,035 pounds of beef per month, 100 Hogsheads of Rum per month, and 500 Bushels of Salt per month, to be transported to, and delivered where the commissary general shall direct, 30,000 pounds of Bacon, in three equal parcels monthly to the last of september, transported and delivered as aforesaid, 9142 bushels of grain for forage per month, 100 Ox carts, and 400 Oxen with the requisite number of yokes, bows, chains, cleavesses and pins, also 1,000 draft horses. The Carts, Oxen, and horses to be attached to the Army, all those to be delivered, where the quarter master general shall direct, and on or before the first day of July next. The first monthly quota of supplies to be delivered by the first day of July next and the subsequent ones monthly *within* the months succeeding as the quarter master or commissary General may direct. The flour, bacon, Carts, Oxen, horses, and grain are additional articles to those stated in the act of Congress of the 25th February last, but the requisition on your state, as on others, for extra-supplies, could not be dispensed with, and the amount thereof together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the United States.

5. *New York*—The supplies allotted to be furnished by your State, are 71,675 pounds of beef per month, 140 barrels of flour per month, and 2285 bushels of grain for forage per month, the two former to be transported to, and delivered at Albany, and the latter as the quarter master general shall direct, also, 600 draft horses to be attached to the Army, and to be delivered as last aforesaid, and on or before the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones monthly, *within* the months succeeding, as the quarter master, or Commissary general may direct. The horses are an additional article to those stated in the Act of Congress of the 25th February last, but the requisition on your state, as on others, for extra supplies, cannot be dispensed with, and the amount thereof, together with the transportation of any must be charged in account with the United States. Your quota of flour and beef, as now apportioned is short of what it should be, in consideration of the exhausted condition of the State. when it shall be in a condition to afford more ample supplies, additional requisitions will be made.

6. *New Jersey*—The supplies allotted to be furnished by your state, are 500 barrels flour per month, 36,760 pounds of beef per month, and 500 bushels of salt per month, to be transported to, and delivered where the

commissary general shall direct, 6857 bushels of grain for forage, per month, to be transported to, and delivered as the quarter master general shall direct, 51 waggons and harness compleat, and with four horses to each, and 696 draft horses, the two last mentioned articles to be delivered as last aforesaid, and on or before the first day of July next. The first monthly quota of supplies to be delivered by the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones monthly *within* the months succeeding, as the quarter master or Commissary general may direct. The forage may be, and the horses are additional articles, to those stated in the act of Congress of the 25th February last, but the requisition on your state, as on others, for extra-supplies could not be dispensed with, and the amount thereof together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the United States.

7. *Pensylvania*—The supplies allotted to be furnished by your State, are 5000 barrels of flour per month, 1000 barrels of which to be delivered at easton, 1000 barrels at Corryels ferry, and the remainder at Trenton; 166,835 pounds of beef or pork per month, to be delivered in Philadelphia, with 30,000 pounds of bacon in three equal parcels monthly to the last of september, 225 Hogsheads of Rum per month, delivered at the Army, 9142 Bushels of grain for forage per month, 1500 of which to be delivered at Easton, 1500 at Corryels ferry, and the remainder at Trenton, 250 Waggons with harness compleat, and with four horses to each and 1500 horses without harness, all those to be attached to the Army, and to be delivered where the quarter master general shall direct, and on or before the first day of July next. The first monthly quota of supplies to be delivered by the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones monthly, *within* the months succeeding, as the quarter master or commissary general may direct. The beef, bacon, horses, and waggons are additional articles to those stated in the act of Congress of the 25th of February last, but the requisition on your state, as on others, for extra-supplies could not be dispensed with, and the amount thereof, together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the United States.

8. *Delaware*—The supplies apportioned to your state are as follows, 500 barrels of flour per month, 71,675 pounds of beef per month, to be transported to, and delivered where the commissary General shall direct, 5,000 pounds of bacon, in three equal parcels, monthly to the last of September, transported and delivered as aforesaid, 6,857 bushels of grain to be transported and delivered where the quarter master general shall direct, 50 waggons with harness complete, and with four horses to each; also three hundred draft horses. The waggons and horses to be attached to the Army, to be delivered as last aforesaid, and on or before the first day of July next. The first monthly quota of supplies, to be delivered by the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones monthly, *within* the months succeeding, as the quarter master or commissary general may direct. The bacon, waggons, and horses are additional articles to those stated in the act of Congress of the 25th of February last, but the requisition on your state, as on others, could not be dispensed with, and the amount thereof,

together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the united States.

9. *Maryland*—The supplies allotted to be furnished by your state are, 2,500 barrels flour per month, 143,045 pounds of beef per month, to be transported to, and delivered where the commissary general shall direct, 30,000 pounds of bacon, in three equal parcels monthly, to the last of September, transported and delivered as aforesaid, 11,428 bushels of grain for forage, per month, to be transported to and delivered where the quarter master general shall direct, 50 waggons with harness complete, and with four horses to each, also 400 draft horses. The waggons and horses to be attached to the Army, and to be delivered as last aforesaid, and on or before the first day of July next. The first monthly quota of supplies, to be delivered by the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones monthly, *within* the months succeeding, as the quarter master or commissary general may direct. The bacon, waggons, and horses are additional articles to those stated in the act of Congress of the 25th February last, but the requisition on your State, as on others, for extra-supplies, could not be dispensed with, and the amount thereof, together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the united States.

10. *Virginia*—The supplies allotted to be furnished by your state, are 60,000 pounds of bacon, in three equal parcels, monthly, to the last of September, and 60 Hhds. of Rum per month, to be transported and delivered where the commissary general shall direct; also 29,714 bushels of grain for forage, per month, to be transported to and delivered as the quarter master general shall direct. The first monthly quota of supplies to be delivered by the first day of July next, and the subsequent ones monthly, *within* the months succeeding, as the quarter master or commissary general may direct. The bacon is an additional article to those stated in the Act of Congress of the 25th of February last, but the requisition on your State, as on others, for extra-supplies, could not be dispensed with, and the amount thereof, together with the transportation of any, must be charged in account with the united States. We have not apportioned to your State any flour, beef, salt, or hay, as we were apprehensive that calls might be made on you from the southward, should that not be the case, you will forward as much beef, and flour, monthly, as will amount to about a fifteenth part of the quota assigned you of those articles by the act of Congress of the 25th February last.

What follows is circular.

We believe it would be advantageous to the States in general, that the carts, oxen, and horses, should be procured by hire, in preference to purchase, as the drivers who will then accompany them will be more careful of the cattle; should your State adopt that mode, we recommend that the contracts may be made payable in specie, or in paper money equivalent, and that the value of the carts, waggons, oxen, and horses, should be appraised on oath, and a return of the appraisement be made to the quarter master general.

As the object against which the military operations will be directed cannot be positively ascertained, we have it not in power to call on you for a determinate quantum of transportation, but believe it will be considerable.

The continental troops already engaged, and with the Army, together with the addition requested by the generals letter of the 25th ultimo, to complete the batalions to 504 rank and file, will still, in his opinion, and our own, be inadequate to insure success in the intended operations. In our circular letter of the 25th ultimo, we intreated your legislature to adopt measures for drawing forth your militia, on the shortest notice. We have now to request that such arrangements may be made as that your quota of militia, which, with the concurrence of the commander in chief, we state at — (The number of militia requested from the several states, is contained in the first column of the estimate of supplies—See p. 63)³ rank and file shall rendezvous at the Army, or at such posts and places, as the General shall direct, by the fifteenth day of July next, at furthest, and to continue in service for the term of three months, computing from the day of their arrival at such rendezvous, as aforesaid.

Such of the supplies, herein required, as made part of the quota assigned to your State, by the act of Congress of the 25th of February last, and which it is requested you will transport to, and deliver where the quarter master general or commissary general shall direct, will be receipted for by the Continental officers appointed for that purpose, before either they, or your agents, convey or transport the same beyond the limits of your State. If however such continental officer should not be present, you will give directions, that the weight or quantity of the articles may be estimated, and an account, or invoice, transmitted with each parcel. We have to observe, that in the beef requested, hides and tallow are not included, allowance must therefore be made for these, when cattle are sent to the Army. If drivers are sent with the draft horses and cattle, requested of your State, we wish to have one for every four horses or oxen.

P. S. We do most earnestly entreat, that the requisition now made on your State, for the quota of Militia may not be suffered on any consideration whatever, to retard the completion of the Continental batalions, as recommended in our second circular letter of the 25th ultimo; The necessity of that measure becoming daily more striking and important.

214. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADA. June 3, 1780.

Sir,

By the enclosed Act of Congress of the first Inst: your Excellency will be informed, they have directed a Post to be established at Shoheken, and

[213]³ A tabulated statement of supplies requested, which accompanied the circular, found at p. 63 of the Letter-Book; also in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 75, vol. III., f. 37. The quotas of men called for were: N. H. 945, Mass. 4725, R. I. 630, Conn. 2520, N. Y. 1575, N. J. 945, Pa. 3465, Del. 315, Md. 2205, Va. 4725. See nos. 222, 238, 239, *post*.

[214]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 15; *Clinton Papers*, V. 793.

maintained at the Expence of the United States, the Garrison to be under your Excellency's particular Direction and Superintendance, subject however to the Order of the Commander in Chief; and to consist of those Troops already voted by Congress for the Defence of the Frontiers of New York if they can be spared; otherwise by Militia embodied for that purpose.²

As the establishing of this Post is under your immediate Inspection it is needless to suggest the Necessity and Propriety under our present Circumstances, of saving Expence in erecting and establishing this Post as far as possible consistent with its answering the Purpose intended, which is referred to your Prudence and Direction.

215. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT
HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 3, 1780.²

Gentlemen,

I have the honour herewith to enclose for your Information the Report of a Committee of Conference with the Assembly and Supreme Executive Council of this State, as also an Act of Congress of the first Instant respecting Supplies which any State may furnish more than its Quota; And it is with Pleasure I add that since this Conference, the Assembly and Executive Council have adopted such farther Acts and Orders as seem to promise, and if duly executed cannot fail, of Success in procuring speedy Supplies.³

216. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNORS OF NEW JERSEY,
NEW YORK, CONNECTICUT, AND RHODE ISLAND.¹

PHILADA. June 5, 1780.

To Gove[r]nors Livingston, Clinton, Trumbull and Green,

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the Bearer Monsr de Corny is a Commissary from France, employed to procure the necessary Supplies for the Forces of his most Christian Majesty shortly expected on this Coast to co-operate with the Armies of these United States.

In Pursuance of a Conference of a Committee of Congress with the Minister of France in Order to facilitate the Co-operations of the combined Forces, and prevent all Enbarrassments that might possibly arise

² Cf. nos. 126, 128, 179, 209, *ante*.

[215]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 111, no. 11, p. 13; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 13. The letter is addressed to "The Hon'ble Philip Schuyler, John Mathews and Nathaniel Peabody, Esquires, Committee at Headquarters".

² Under this date Samuel Holten records in his Diary: "The Hon. Mr Gerry set out for Boston and Jere with him. I wrote to the Hon. Council" (*Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 93). "Jere" was Jeremiah Sheldon, Holten's waiter (see *ibid.*, LV. 162).

³ The committee report referred to is that found in the *Journals* under June 3. See, further, the *Journals*, June 5, and no. 216, *post*. A similar letter was written the same day to General Washington. President's Letter-Book, p. 12.

[216]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 18; *ibid.*, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI. 240; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 240. *R. I. Recs.*, IX. 117.

in procuring Supplies; I am directed by Congress to request your Excellency to afford to Colo Corny the needful Aid and Advice respecting the Mode of purchasing the necessary Supplies for the French Forces, which he shall be able through your Assistance to procure in the State.² . . .

217. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADA. June 5, 1780.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your Letter of the 31st ulto. covering Livingston's Gazette extraordinary.²

I have received no official Intelligence from the Southward of the surrender of Charles Town. All the Information from that Quarter which is come to hand I received this Day in a letter from Govr. Nash covering Copies of a Letter from Governor Rutledge to him, and of an intercepted Letter signed James Simson, Copies of all which are inclosed.³

Your Excellency will observe that although Governor Rutledge's Letter of the 16th of May was enclosed in the Letter from Govr. Nash of the 25th of May addressed to me, yet he takes the liberty to doubt whether Charles Town has surrendered; that the Account still wants Explanation though I fear it may eventually prove true.

I have this moment received authentick Information that the Spaniards have taken Mobile, the Garrison consisting of about 800 regular Troops are made Prisoners. The Articles of Capitulation which are come to hand you will see in the Paper enclosed.⁴

² See the *Journals*, June 5, no. 215, *ante*, and no. 230, *post*. As originally drawn the resolve proposed to furnish Corny with letters to the executive powers of New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, but as adopted the resolve provided for letters to such of the states as he might desire. June 6 President Huntington transmitted to the committee at headquarters the report of the committee appointed to confer with the minister of France, together with the consequent resolve of June 5 (*Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 39, vol. II., f. 113; President's Letter-Book, p. 20). Concerning other activities of the committee that made the report, see no. 196, *ante*. See also Lafayette to Luzerne May 17, in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 342.

[217]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 17.

² See nos. 211, 212, note 3, *ante*.

³ Copies of these three letters, in the writing of Charles Thomson, are in the Washington Papers. Rutledge's letter was written from Camden, May 16. The intercepted letter of James Simpson was written from Charleston May 5 and was addressed to a Rev. Mr. Wickham of North Carolina. See also W. C. Houston to Governor Livingston June 4 (*N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 221; Glenn, *Houston*, p. 59). June 6 Huntington transmitted a copy of the paper to the committee at headquarters, and referred the committee to this letter for southern news (*Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 39, vol. II., f. 114; President's Letter-Book, p. 19). Cf. nos. 221-230, *post*.

⁴ News of the taking of Mobile came through a letter from Governor Galvez of New Orleans, dated May 8. See the *Journals*, June 6, and no. 226, *post*; see also the *Journals*, June 17 (memorial of William Pickles), and July 10. On the latter date Congress ordered that copies of the Galvez letter and other papers be transmitted to Jay, but they are not mentioned by Lovell in his letter to Jay July 11 (no. 308, *post*). Copies of the Galvez letter of May 8, the Pickles memorial, the capitulation of the settlements on Lake Pontchartrain Oct. 16, 1779, all in the writing of Charles Thomson, are however among the Laurens Papers (*Congressional Letters*, etc., 1779) in the South Carolina Historical Society. Laurens was at the moment (July 1) in Philadelphia, preparing to depart upon his mission to Holland.

218. THE NEW YORK DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
NEW YORK (GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA 5 June 1780.

Sir,

The Resolutions of Congress of Fryday last respecting the controverted district of our state were this morning read and have now all the necessary Solemnity for their authentication.² We thought it adviseable to have some Copies printed in order to their being certified by the Secretary and circulated in such manner as your Excellency and the Legislature may judge best. Maryland and Delaware continue to be unrepresented which retards a final determination on the Claim of independent Jurisdiction assumed by the Vermonteers. We cannot, however, entertain the least doubt but that Congress will decide against a usurpation which both in its principles and its consequences has the most dangerous and alarming Tendency. We need not reassure your Excellency that we shall embrace the earliest opportunity to urge forward a hearing: for we have nothing more at Heart than to put an End to this pernicious Contest.³

The Fate of Charles Town is still suspended. Governour Rutledge in a Letter to Governour Nash of North Carolina of the 16th of May last uses these Expressions: "We have accounts so certain that I think they cannot be doubted that on Fryday last Charles Town surrendered; as yet I have received no authentic Intelligence of the Terms of Capitulation." Mr. Rutledge then resided at Cambden about 60 miles from Charles Town. This disagreeable Report seems to be corroborated by Rivingston's hand bill; but the total want of official Information or even private Letters from Friends or Foes, on so important an Event and after near a Month from the time it is supposed to have happened stamps it with strong marks of Suspicion. It is only supposing that the Enemy at the time the *Iris* sailed from Charles Town which was the 17th of May thought it for their advantage to spread a Report of the Surrender, and we can as easily account for its passing from their Lines thro' the adjacent Country to the Ears of Governour Rutledge, as for its being propagated thro' that Channel of Misrepresentation, Rivingston's *Gazette*.⁴

219. DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER TO THE GOVERNOR OF
MARYLAND (THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 5th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . I need not have Posted to Phila. in the haste I did, as the business relating to Vermont was the occasion of the Summons.² The New

[218]¹ *Clinton Papers*, V. 797 (signed by Duane and Scott).

² This would seem to indicate that the resolutions of June 2 were given a second reading June 5. If this is true, the proceeding was unusual, although not wholly without precedent. For instance, the *Journals* record that the circular letter of September 13, 1779, "was read twice and unanimously agreed to". Possibly the action June 5 was the adoption of the resolutions as a whole, which however is recorded in the *Journals* as having been done June 2.

³ See no. 212, note 2, *ante*.

⁴ Cf. nos. 217, 218, *ante*, and nos. 226-230, *post*.

[219]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 9495.

² See nos. 181, 187, 188, 196, 197, 212, 218, *ante*, and nos. 221, 232, 244, 253, *post*.

York Delegates are impatient to subdue the people settled on the New Hampshire Grants, and who claim a Jurisdiction of their own; but I hope and trust, that Congress will have more wisdom than to take final Order in this business, before our independence is established; we have business enough on our hands without carving out more at this time. . . . The State is still unrepresented so that Maryland is without a Vote in Congress. . . .

220. WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF
NEW JERSEY (WILLIAM LIVINGSTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, June 5th, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive enclosed two resolutions of Congress which have doubtless already gone from the President in the ordinary course of communication. But as papers sometimes miscarry, thought it not amiss to repeat them. That relative to deserters² will certainly be of moment, should any French troops or the troops of any allied or co-operating power, ever be landed on the American shores for the purpose of giving assistance in the prosecution of the war. The laws relative to desertion will easily be extended to secure and return them. This is not only the duty of an ally, but it is our interest in many respects and no objection that I know of can be taken to it.

The other, relative to the defence of the interior frontiers against the incursions of the savages³ is important to us. I understood, when lately at Trenton, that there was a bill before the legislature for embodying a number of militia to protect the upper settlements. That no hesitation may hereafter be made relative to the allowance of continental pay and rations it would be well to take the step New York has taken, and obtain the approbation and engagement of Congress or the commander-in-chief—either will be sufficient. Every one must be convinced of the necessity of supporting the settlements over the mountain; for if they are obliged to remove, double if not treble the number of men will be necessary to secure the country against impressions, and after all it will not be so effectually done in this as in the other mode. The post established in Ulster will be of advantage in the general protection, and the legislature will be able to determine in what degree we may be benefitted by it. In the resolutions of 4th April last is mentioned the body of men to which this of the 1st inst. refers.

221. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO NATHANIEL PEABODY.¹

PHILADELPHIA June the 5th, 1780.

S'r,

I Recd. your Feavour last evening of the 31st of may Incloseing a letter from President Weare. I Rote him last friday and informed him that the

[220]¹ *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 224; *N. J. State Lib.*; Glenn, *William Churchill Houston*, p. 62.

² May 27.

³ June 1.

[221]¹ *Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, Dreer Coll., *Members of the Old Congress*, II. 18.

money wood be Redy in about a month and that I wood Due what lay in my Power to forward it as Soone as Possible.² if you have any oppertunity at headquarters hope you will let me know of it in Congress we go on in the old Slow way of Dueing business. hardly any thing done worth Communicateing or you the trouble of hereing three Days nerly have been Spent in Determining whether ever the Disputes Shall be Settled between the Settlers on the grants and the Several Claiments and when. as soone as it is finished I will inclose you a Coppy.³

222. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

MORRIS TOWN June 5th, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency's letters of the 29th and 31st covering Acts of Congress of the 19th, 26, 27 and 30th ult. were delivered us on the 2nd Instant.

Since our last we have received a letter from the Commander in Cheif, stating the necessity of specific requisitions from the states, for *men, provisions, forage*, and the *means of transportation*. We have in consequence addressed ourselves to the several states on the subject,² and made requisitions from each to the amount of *men* estimated by the General, and of supplies agreeable to the other estimates which accompanied his letter and which we inclose, marked A, B and C.³ The articles deficient as per the Estimates from No. 1 to 9 inclusive are such that it was thought improper to call on the states for them, and these must be supplied by purchase, by the Quarter Master General as soon as he can be furnished with money which we intreat may be as soon as possible.

We are informed that the Navy Board at Boston is possessed of a quantity of Duck, sufficient for the Tents which are deficient. As we are not authorized to call on any of the boards for supplies, we request Congress will order this article to be furnished.

² Cf. nos. 179, 209, *ante*, and no. 225, *post*. The letter to Weare "last friday" was evidently that dated June 1, which was Thursday.

³ See no. 219, *ante*, and no. 244, *post*.

[222]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 55, f. 53 (draft by Schuyler, and signed by the three members), no. 11, p. 26.

² The circular letter of June 2 (no. 213, *ante*), copy of which seems not however to have been transmitted to Congress until June 12 (see no. 238, *post*). Washington's letter was that of May 31 (see no. 213, note 2). The committee wrote to Governor Trumbull June 5: "The Committee have taken the Liberty of inclosing to your Excell'y dispatches for the states of R Island, Massa. bay and New hamp'r, which they request your Excell'y to forward by express as soon as possible, it being a matter of the highest importance that the Respective states should receive them without loss of time." Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 199 (letter-book copy), no. 39, vol. III., f. 85 (draft by Peabody).

³ This letter is endorsed: "A Letter from the Comm'ee at Head quarters, June 5, 1780 Read 8. Referred to Mr. J. Jones, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Bee [thus far in Thomson's writing, the remainder in another hand] With Genl. Green's Letters to Genl. Washington May 28, 1780 containing A, B, C. A. Estimate of provisions for an Army of 40,000 men for 30 days; B. do. of forage for the horses for do. do.; C. do. Waggon's and horses for do. Wanting the letter from Commander in chief mentioned within but not sent."

Action was taken upon this letter June 13 and the orders transmitted to the committee at headquarters June 15. See no. 267, *post*.

We have not time by this conveyance to transmit copies of our letters, but as those to the states North of Virginia are nearly similar to that of Pennsylvania, we leave it under flying seal for the perusal of Congress, as likewise that of Virginia, because the latter varies Considerably from the others, The Militia called for from that state being intended (tho not expressed) for the southern quarters, should the exigencies of affairs require their being sent thither.

Your Excellency will please to forward the letters for the states which we inclose, with as much dispatch as possible.

We have retained no Copies of the Estimates, and beg they may be returned to us as speedily as possible.

We have the honor to be with Great respect and Esteem

Your Excellency's Most obt. Humble Servt.

PH. SCHUYLER

JNO. MATHEWS

NATHL. PEABODY

223. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO EPHRAIM BLAINE.¹

MORRISTOWN 5th June 1780.

Sir,

The Committee of Congress request that you will repara [*sic*] with all possible dispatch to head quarters, as your presence becomes daily more necessary, and nothing conclusive can be done relative to your department until you arrive here.²

I am, by order, Sir

Your most hbl. servt.

AB. BRASHER, sec'y.

224. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 6, 1780.

Sir,

I am directed by Congress to inform your Excellency that in their Opinion it is expedient for Major Lee with the Corps under his Command to proceed immediately to South Carolina, unless his March to the Southward should counteract or embarrass such Plan of Operation as you may have concerted with Intention of employing that Corps otherwise.

The Foot belonging to that Corps have marched to the Southward some Distance from hence, how far I am not able to say. The Horse I am informed are in and about Darby. Major Lee is now in this City. As Congress have never given any Orders to direct Major Lee in his March, and are ignorant of Occurrences that may have taken place since he received Marching Orders, I am directed to communicate the Sense of Congress

[223]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 253 (copy), no. 11, p. 255 (copy).

² The letter was addressed to Blaine at Philadelphia. On this day he appears to have been in Lancaster County. *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 304.

[224]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 20.

as above expressed, with the fullest Confidence that your Excellency will give such Orders respecting Major Lee's Corps as shall appear most conducive to the public Service, and Safety of the United States.²

225. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA June the 6th, 1780.

S'r,

Last evening I Recd. your Favor of the 8th of May and you may Rely upon it nothing Shall be wanting in my Power to forward the new Emission as Soon as it Can be got Ready which I Expect will be in less then a month.²

the Derangement of our finances and the length of time it takes for the new Plan of Supplying the army to take Place Creates many Difficultys in the Camp and trouble on that account in Congress.

P. S. I Rote you last fryday on the Subject of your Letter hope you will Recive it

226. JAMES MADISON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 6th 1780.

Dear Sir,

A Vessel from West Florida has brought to the President of Congress intelligence from Govr. Galvez of the surrender of Mobile. No other particulars than those contained in the inclosed paper are mentioned, except the verbal report of the Capt. that the Garrison consisted of about 800 including inhabitants etc.² Seven or eight vessels have just arrived from the W. Indies as you will observe in the inclosed paper but they bring no satisfactory information concerning the late engagement between the two fleets. The Address from the Genl. Assembly was yesterday immediately on its receipt laid before Congress and referred to a special Committee on whose report it will probably be considered in a committee of the whole.³

² See nos. 187, 196, 197, *ante*, and no. 231, *post*. In the *Journals*, June 6, is found an erased resolve, "That Major Lee be ordered to proceed immediately to South Carolina with the Corps under his Command". The presumption is that that resolve was rescinded and instead was adopted the course indicated by this letter. The *Journals* do not however make any record of the later action. June 8, evidently before he had received President Huntington's communication, Washington wrote to the board of war that Lee's corps was needed in the Jerseys (see also Washington to Lee, June 11, *Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 77), and June 21 he requested the board to order Lee's corps to join the army. Meanwhile, on June 19, Congress had again recommended to Washington to order the corps to join the southern army, "if not incompatible with the service", but on June 29 instructed the board of war to comply with Washington's request.

[225]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

² See nos. 179, 209, 221, *ante*.

[226]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081.

² See no. 217, *ante*.

³ The Virginia address pertained to the defense of the Southern states. The report of the special committee was brought in June 7, but it appears that no action was taken upon it. The report is marked by Secretary Thomson as "Obsolete", probably

I flatter myself that the arrival of the French Armament which is hourly expected will place our affairs in a less melancholy situation than their apprehensions seem to paint them. There is little doubt but the conquest of the Southern States was the object of the operations of the present Campaign, but I cannot think the Enemy will pursue that object at the manifest risk of N. York. It is more probable they will leave a strong garrison in Charleston, and carry back to N. York the residue of their forces. If they should endeavour to extend their acquisitions in the Southern States, it must proceed from an assurance from England that a superior naval force will follow the french fleet to frustrate their views on the American Coast. I cannot suppose that however intent they may have been on taking post at Portsmouth, that they will venture in the present prospect to spread themselves out in so exposed a situation.

227. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 6, 1780.

Sir,

By the enclosed paper of this day your Excellency will see the Spaniards are in possession of Mobile.² There are no late official accounts from South-Carolina, but from a variety of circumstances there is much reason to apprehend that Charlestown is in the hands of the Enemy and that the Garrison capitulated about the 12. of May.³

The war will probably be very serious with us this Campaign and it is to be wished all may duly expect and be prepared for it.

Some of the new bills for Connecticut will I hope be forwarded the beginning of next week.⁴ What the Eastern States have done on the resolutions of the 18th of March your Excellency is fully inform'd of. N. York has adopted the Measure with unanimity and spirit and pledged their forfeited Estates as a fund for their Bills. The Assembly of New Jersey it is said have neerly compleated their Act for adopting the measure. This State your Excellency will see in the enclosed paper. The Assembly of Delaware are convening again and it is to be hoped will have wisdom and firmness enough to do right. Maryland meets again the 7th of this month. Mr. Jenifer a delegate from that State says they will undoubtedly adopt the measure and execute it, as not only the people but a decided majority both in Senate and Assembly approve it. A question arose when their Assembly were last together between them and the Senate, whether the

because Congress had already (June 5) taken some measures for that defense, and on June 6 had resolved to make the consideration of the state of the Southern department an order of the day on the following Friday (June 9). See, further, the *Journals*, June 9, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19.

[227]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 248; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 46.

² See nos. 217, 226, *ante*.

³ See nos. 217, 226, *ante*, and nos. 230, 232-234, *post*.

⁴ In his letter of June 8 (no. 230, *post*, passage there omitted) he says that two or three hundred thousand dollars of the new bills for Connecticut will be sent forward on Monday next, and makes some suggestions with regard to the exchange of old bills for new.

new bills should be a Tendery, on this they grew warm and adjourned—they have probably by this time cooled and discovered that they were disputing about a circumstance not very essential. Virginia Assembly are together and there is every reason to expect they will adopt the measure pretty unanimously.⁵

There is nothing very late from Europe, nor any other particulars yet recd. of the engagement in the West Indies than what is taken from the English Accounts. We hear nothing yet of the arrival of the french fleet, but shall begin to look out for them in a week or ten days.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency's Most obedt. humb. Servt.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH

228. JAMES DUANE TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILADELPHIA 6 May [June] 1780.

Accept, my dear General, my Thanks for your favour of the [*blank*]. Like you I feel the want of Power and Decision in the great National Council, and of active Perseverance in the People at large: But while both are to be ascribed to obvious, nay necessary, Causes it will be vain indeed to repine. To a republican form of Government Jealousy in conferring extensive Authority is natural: and equally natural is it for Men to relax and become supine after long and violent Exertions. However experience has proved, and I trust it will prove again, and as often as may be necessary, that Distress and Calamity will rouse us to a suitable display of *publick* Confidence and *private* Virtue: and that *both* cooperating will be abundantly sufficient to enable us to surmount the pressing difficulties which surround us.

In a word I think I may venture to assure you that no Requisition from the Commander in Chief which Congress has the Means of complying with will be refused and, on the other hand, I have no doubt but his wisdom and Vigour will point out what is proper. That you will be near to assist him I regard as a fortunate Circumstance. . . .

P S. I cou'd give you some Reasons to doubt whether Charles Town was surrendered the 12: of May; but they are not satisfactory to my own Mind.²

229. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADA. 6th June 1780.

Dear General,

I am now to answer or rather acknow[ledge] the receipt of yr. favour of the 10th Ultimo—as being but a few days here, I shall rather give you a Scetch of present appearances and things to be early apprehended than at present attempt any formal answer to yours.

⁵ Cf. no. 160, *ante*, and nos. 264, 290, *post*.

[228]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Schuyler Papers, no. 558.

² See nos. 217, 226, 227, *ante*, and nos. 220, 230, 232-234, 243, *post*.

[229]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVI.; N. C. State Recs., XIV. 496.

The French troops (expected to be about eight thousand including Marines) are not yet arrived tho' daily expected either into the Delaware Bay, or at Rhode Island—of the Land forces, 5000 effective is said to be the nearest mark, these in conjunction with ours, augmented by Militia to the number of 40,000 men, are thought of to form a Blockade agst. N——k this effort if made will try our finances and other resources (I mean provisions, Forage, Waggon etc.) to the very bottom—the treasury is already empty or nearly and of the Interest of money lent the publick, not one shilling can be had! yet it is said that the foreign troops must be employed when they come, and that to decline the Object mentioned above will set us in a bad point of light with our Allies etc.—the Marquis Le Fayette who is now at Camp, I find is very fond of it. This business in my Opinion cannot be attempted till after Harvest. This morning bro't us the depressive intelligence of the fall of Charlestown, by letters from Mr. Laurens dated at Wilmington which gives the surrender a greater appearance of truth than former accts. had done, yet not fully ascertained but as good as granted on all hands.² The expectation of the French troops well known to Sir Harry Clinton may favour the residue of our Southern possessions, by recaling their force to New York.

The demands of the Southern Gentlemen you may be sure are very urgent upon Congress for farther aid to that Country and the Legislature of Virginia in a late address hath conjured us to that purpose—what may be proper to be done cannot so well be determined until the reinforcement arrive and the farther movements of the Enemy to the South become more evident.³ On perceiving that a motion wou'd probably be made for sending you to the South, I moved your being sent for to this City, urging the propriety of every assistance in forming the arrangements of the Campaign etc.—from one quarter I was opposed with the immediate necessity of your taking the command of the Southern Militia, with the Maryland line etc. for the defence of those States—this I thought proper to parry for the present, with the approach of Sir John Johnston who is fortifying in that Country, and may have, or expect a much greater force in his rear than the Six hundred which at present appears, the indigested state of our affairs and the light we require from future events—that Baron DeCalb was gone forward etc. So that on the whole the debate produced for the present no more than the revival of a few past transactions, and the good opinions wch naturally follow them. In the Idea of Consultation respecting the arrangements for the Campaign, it was alledged that as the House had a Standing Committee with the Commander in Chief, that must suffice. From these hints you will naturally see, that your call to the field may be set down as certain, but the time when and the place where, as uncertain; it may be in a fortnight, and yet may not be until the Fall. I confess I cou'd wish your presence here and a Visit to that Army might have it's utility, on the other hand, the errand that at this time wou'd lead a man from his own house as a volentier, ought to be irresistible, the expence and scarcity of money, being equally indiscribable! Your intimate

² See nos. 226-228, *ante*, 232-234, 243, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, June 6, 7, 9, 13, 14, 17, 19.

friends will however be much obliged by your sentiments on the business of the Campaign, and also on your own private wishes, which we know will be governed by the laws of reason, and of Arms.⁴ As to Charlestown⁵ I'm now obliged to think we had better compose ourselves, and take our next Steps, yet can I hardly be persuaded that Genl. Lincoln, unable to defend the place, will not attempt to get out more or less of the Continental troops either by land or by Water. As to our finance, at once in the lowest and most delicate situation, it must wholly depend on the success of the resolution of the 18th of March last, and therefore the concurrence of the States is of all things to be wished and endeavoured. Pennsylvania, altho' without money has made a vigorous effort not only to rais[e] troops for the Campaign, but to provide a temporary supply in the Article of Meat for our Army lately starving which is beside the Quota assigned her. It's true the troops are necessary to her immediate defence ag'st the depredations of the Indians. Our Merchants have I hear, agreed to give the new money a currency so far as is in their way, and I hope all the states will concur in their several Laws to establish the resolution mentioned above. I hope you will have other letters by the Doctor—And am

Dear General, with my best Respects, to your Lady and Major Gates,
Your very Affectionate friend and humble Servt.

JOHN ARMSTRONG

[P. S.] I am better pleased with the simplicity and temperance of the Chevaliers Table than I expected, except the innumerable Sweet Meats and Deserts of which there is a great redundancy.

Johnston I believe will be repelled by the York line of the Army and some Militia of that State gone up for that purpose.

230. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, June 8, 1780.

Sir,

The various accounts we have from the Southward still leave it a matter of some doubt whether Charlestown is taken or not; tho' it is now generally believed to have been safe on the 12th of May, and by many as late as the 18th.² . . .

Your Excellency will doubtless receive from the President a resolution for advancing in Connecticut a sum of the monies of these United States, when such there shall be not otherwise appropriated, to the French Com-

⁴ The motion to call Gates to Philadelphia is not mentioned in the *Journals*. The resolution to put him in command of the Southern army was adopted June 13, on motion of Thomas Burke and Thomas Bee. See also the *Journals*, June 14, and nos. 243, 250, *post*.

⁵ Holten recorded in his Diary June 5, "We have accounts from the southward by which it is supposed Charleston is taken". It is pertinent to remark here that, if Holten did actually write "Charleston", as the printed text of his Diary has it here and in other places, it was unusual. See no. 211, note 3, *ante*.

[230]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 47.

² Cf. nos. 226-229, *ante*, 232-234, 243, *post*.

missary, Mons. de Corny, to be replaced in specie on the arrival of their fleet. It is, indeed, to be wished that the United States had money at this time in Connecticut and other States that could be advanced for such exchange, as evident and essential benefits might result therefrom. But at present it cannot be supposed that they have much money in bank anywhere. This the Minister was frankly informed of before the resolution passed, that he might not be thereby disappointed, and that it was doubtful whether there would soon be any considerable sums in the Treasury or loan office in Connecticut that Congress would have right to draw for. It is earnestly his wish to do all in his power for establishing the credit of the paper currency. And I will take the liberty to suggest to your Excellency as I did to the Minister that should the United States not have money on hand that they could so exchange, it might be of public utility could such exchanges be made with individual States or persons. He has received of this State £17,000 of their new bills pretty similar to those lately struck by Connecticut, to replace the same in specie when the fleet arrives. It would be well if the specie which the fleet may bring into the country for supplies could with their approbation and convenience be placed in the publick Treasuries and their purchases made with the same currency as ours.³ . . .

231. CYRUS GRIFFIN TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

(public)

PHILADELPHIA June 9th [1780.]

Sir,

I have the mortification to inform you that the Enemy are parading the Jerseys in great force, at least with six thousand Infantry and the General says with a large body of horse also. in consequence of this movement the commander in chief requests that major Lee may be ordered to the main army, and I suppose this morning Congress will prevent his proceeding to the southward.²

a Committee of Congress who have been many weeks at head quarters with very extensive powers, in concurrence with G. Washington and the marquis de La Fayette, think proper to call upon the different states for a considerable quantity of specific supplies in addition to a former resolution of Congress, and also for 22,000 militia immediately to join the northern army, but whether Congress will send forth the requisitions to the state of Virginia I cannot determine, as the neighboring states will demand your utmost exertions.³

I suppose the great plan of finance is already happily executed: indeed the resolutions of Congress should be complied with, as a General scheme,

³ See no. 216, *ante*.

[231]¹ From the collection of the late Adrian H. Joline of New York.

² See no. 224, *ante*. The expected action relative to Lee's corps was not taken June 9. On June 19, however, Congress went so far as to resolve that a request to that effect be presented to Washington, conditioned however on his approval. That request was, in effect, withdrawn June 29.

³ See nos. 145, 166, 167, 172-174, 183, 184, 195, 200, 213, 222, *ante*, and nos. 236, 241, 257, 266, 267, etc., *post*.

for without unanimity upon these important points our confederation will break to pieces. what ever may have been the opinions of some states in Congress, a large majority of that body ought to be regarded especially in critical times like the present.⁴

Congress have no objection that I should sit in the Court of appeal, notwithstanding my resignation be not accepted, but my attendance must be dispensed with whilst acting in that commission—it is probable I shall not act in that commission long.⁵ . . .

232. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILADELPHIA 9th June 1780.

Dear Sir,

Every objection that you make to the Limitation of the powers of the commissioners was foreseen before I left head quarters and I mentioned them to you. I knew from past experience the real or effected delicacy of some gentlemen upon that point and the facility with which people are won over to an opinion that flatters their pride.² However I have no doubt that upon this great occasion every State will make spirited exertions. The Gent. of this place have agreed to receive the new State money as specie and have set on foot a subscription for filling up the Pensilvania Line. The Minister has made a loan of the new Money if it can be got ready to be repaid in specie when the fleet arrive so that I have some hope that we shall have it in our power to pay our troops a proportion of specie equivalent to what the french troops receive while they act together. If this can be accomplished so far as relates to the privates it may prevent jealousies between them and the forces of our ally. As to the limitation of the generals power of cooperation I consider it as a thing of no consequence except as it may remove the blind behind which it would have been proper to mask our designs, since it appears to be the general sentiment of Congress that war could not be carried on without the limmits of these States unless by their express direction. Nor indeed do I conceive it possible with our present force while the enemy retain their army in this quarter to transport any of ours into Canada.³

⁴ See the *Journals*, May 19; cf. *ibid.*, June 29. See also Jefferson to President Huntington June 9, in *Writings* (ed. Ford), II. 304.

⁵ For some account of the establishment of the Court of Appeals see no. 23, note 2, *ante*. Griffin was chosen one of the judges Apr. 28. For his response see the *Journals*, May 4. What may be a later addition to this letter (June 13) will be found *post*, no. 245.

[232]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Schuyler Papers, no. 1259 (addressed to Schuyler at Morristown, "fav'd by Majr. Genl. Arnold").

² See nos. 166, 183, 187, 194 (note 3), 197, *ante*; cf. no. 257, *post*.

³ Schuyler had evidently brought to the attention of Livingston the fact that Washington's powers as commander-in-chief appeared to be limited by action of Congress to the boundaries of the United States, thereby hampering Washington's co-operation with the allies. Livingston does not appear however to have thought it of sufficient concern to press the question in Congress. Five days later (doubtless after Schuyler had received Livingston's letter), and when Schuyler was on the point of returning to Philadelphia for the purpose of laying before Congress some of the results of the committee's deliberations, another member of the committee, Nathaniel Peabody, wrote to his

The fate of Charles town yet remains a secret, every day however seems in some measure to falsify Rivingtons story. We yesterday recd. a Letter from Chase who asserts roundly that all was safe there on the 28th. The Baltimore paper of the 6th affirms the same thing so that without being very sanguine we may hope that the Maryland line and the News from France may raise the siege.⁴

You give me no answer to what I wrote about the grants nor has Mr. Peabody answered my letter to him, remind him of it—I am interested.

233. JOHN MATHEWS TO THOMAS BEE.¹

My Dear Bee, MORRIS TOWN June 9th, 1780.

I was made extremely happy by the receipt of your letter the last evening announcing your long expected arrival at Philadelphia, but exceedingly regret my being so situated as not to be able to promise myself any short day when to embrace my much valued friend, yet should a small relaxation of business admit of it before the Army moves from hence, neither the distance nor the season will prevent my taking a run down to ask you, how you do, and to pay my respects to Mrs. Bee. . . .

Could I conceive myself any ways useful in Congress at this time, towards promoting the welfare of my own Country, nothing could enduce me to be absent. But if Chs Town falls, it must be by our exertions *here* in the course of this Campaign, that we can promise ourselves the most distant hopes of regaining it during the War. And I should feel the utmost anxiety were it to be in the hands of the enemy, at the commencement of a treaty of peace. I have much to say to you on this subject, which would not be prudent to commit to paper, And it will keep very well 'till that period arrives, if I should not see you sooner.

Probably the conclusion of this campaign will introduce this subject. I say under these circumstances I think I can render more essential services here in promoting vigour and activity in the States to draw forth their reserves, in such manner, as to put it in our power to act with efficacy in our intended Offensive operations. if this opportunity is lost, we cannot reasonably expect, nor should we deserve another. You will find in our circular letters to the States. (Copies of which have been transmitted to Congress) a full statement of our affairs, and what we have done. I would recommend them to your perusal, tho' they are lengthy, they will be worth your serious attention, and afford you much information. If the States exert themselves as they ought, the Campaign will most probably end happily, if they do not, the reverse, perhaps fatally.²

colleague, Nathaniel Folsom (Schuyler was the bearer of the letter), asking Folsom to use his influence "to get the Error rectified" (see no. 248, *post*). At the same time he had (or took) occasion to write to Samuel Holten and brought the matter also to his attention (see no. 287, *post*). None of these gentlemen appeared however to be willing to father a measure which would remove the restriction. Finally the committee made bold, in the letter to Congress July 18 (no. 322, *post*), to lay the matter squarely before Congress, and Congress, with reasonable promptness, declared (Aug. 2) that such a restriction had not been intended. See no. 322, note 17, nos. 353, 434, *post*.

⁴ See nos. 226-230, *ante*, 233, 243, *post*.

[233]¹ Charleston Library Society, Miscellaneous MSS.

² Mathews was a member of the committee sent to headquarters, at this time engaged in efforts to obtain the requisite supplies for the army and to reinforce it. See nos. 194, 195, 213, etc., *ante*.

I cannot as yet believe that Chs Town is lost, at least not on the twel[f]th of May, or you certainly would have received intelligence of it many days ago probably authenticated.³

If [it] has fallen, or does fall, I fear the whole Country goes with it, for having nothing but a few discontented fluctuating militia to depend on we shall never be in any condition to check the ravages of a merciless enemy, and I imagine our people have not fortitude enough to see their property destroyed, when their submissions can be the means of saving it. I suppose they will have as little respect for us, as for any two Gentlemen whatever. For my own part I shall look on myself (whenever this event happens) as not worth a groat, unless we can retake the county or have it restored by treaty, then the land must remain, but nothing else.

As to becoming a British subject again, if a restoration of my Estate is to depend on these terms, why let them keep it, and the Devil help them with it.⁴ . . . From the account they have received of the discontent prevailing in our army, they had great expectations of drawing over to them a considerable number of our men. However they were disappointed. I think it would not be amiss to show this paragraph to some members of Congress, or if you like, may read it in Congress, As I believe it to be a true state of the case and I beleive the Genl. has not time to write.

234. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 10, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive my Letter of this Date covering an Act of Congress of the 8th Instant authorizing you to advance 1,200,000 Dollars of the Continental Bills now in Circulation, or 30,000 Dollars of the new Bills emitted pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 18th of March last, to Colo. Corny the French Commissary, and take his receipt to pay the same in Specie.²

This Measure is adopted in Consequence of a Proposal from the Minister of France, who seems desirous to aid and support our Paper Currency, and hath given Assurances that the Specie shall be duly paid. Although

³ Cf. nos. 211, note 3, 226-230, *ante*, 234, 243, *post*. Bee took his seat in Congress June 6, and he probably brought the South Carolina and North Carolina letters mentioned by Huntington June 5 (no. 217, *ante*). In *N. C. State Recs.* (XIV. 804) is a letter from Cornelius Harnett to Thomas Burke, dated Apr. 25, which was sent by the hand of Mr. Bee. If this date is correct Bee had lingered long in North Carolina.

Under the date June 8 Holten recorded in his Diary, "It is said Charles'n was taken the 18th of May". Under June 10 he recorded, "We have another account that Charleston surrendered the 11th of May". He was doubtless in error in writing "11th", referring to the same account of which Mathews speaks.

⁴ In a passage here omitted Mathews gives some account of the skirmish, June 6 and 8, of which in part he was an eye-witness, comments upon the immediate results and the probabilities, and insists that the army must be immediately reinforced.

[234]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 266½; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI. 266½.

² The official letter is in the Trumbull Papers, XI. 266, and in the President's Letter-Book, p. 23. Official letters of the same purport addressed to Luzerne and to Corny are *ibid.*, pp. 21, 22. See also no. 216, *ante*.

no Rate of Exchange is mentioned yet I presume the Intention is, to receive the new Bills at Par with Specie, or the Bills now in Circulation at forty for one.

I am in Doubt whether the Monies are, or can be soon collected in Connecticut, sufficient to enable your Excellency to comply with this application; should that be the Case, rather than the Minister should be disappointed, and his generous Proposal fail of Effect, I beg leave to suggest whether some Mode cannot be devised, for the Government of Connecticut to raise the Money on their own Account, or Individuals to advance it, and by such means to obtain the Advantage of the Specie.

A Number of the new Bills are struck, and the first Parcel will be sent to Connecticut, and probably reach Hartford before this comes to hand. Treasurer Lawrence and his Son Roderick are appointed, either of them to endorse the new Bills on the Part of the United States. A Copy of their Appointment is herewith enclosed.

Although we have no official Intelligence of the Surrender of Charlestown, yet I am sorry to inform you that from various Accounts it seems to be placed beyond a Doubt the Garrison capitulated the 12th Ulto, and were made Prisoners of War.³

235. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO ROBERT MORRIS.¹

MORRISTOWN 11th June 1780.

My dear Sir,

The distressed Situation of the Army, and the general State of publick affairs will, I trust, apologize for my addressing You at a Time when I have nothing very pleasing to offer. The present reduced State of the Army and the Want of every Species of Supplies, together with the consequent Ravages and Insults of the Enemy, may be all traced to an exhausted Treasury, which must be immediately supplied, to enable our General to co-operate with the Forces that are daily expected from our good Ally. Taxes, you well know, are too slow in their Operations to effect this. domestick and foreign Loans are at present inadequate and the only prospect that remains is from the vigorous Exertions of the Citizens of these united States. Your Zeal and abilities in the Common Cause are well known to and acknowledged by all who have had the pleasure of your acquaintance, and these supported by your extensive Influence, may I conceive at this critical Juncture, produce the most salutary effect.

What I mean to propose is an immediate association of the Merchants thro'out the united States to support the late Plan of Congress relative to Finance, and to promote amongst the Inhabitants of their respective Counties, Cities and Towns a speedy and vigorous exertion to send into the respective loan offices, all the old continental Bills of Credit, and receive the Amount thereof in new Bills at the Exchange established by the Resolution of Congress, the Merchants of Philadelphia and Boston may I presume do more to accomplish this, than the Legislatures of their respective

³ See nos. 211, 212, 217, 218, 226-230, 232-233, *ante*, 243, *post*.

[235]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia; Henkels, *Catalogue*, no. 1183, item 5 (in part).

States and by adopting the Measure may make it general thro'out the Continent. I am well aware of your objections to that Plan, and was so fully in Sentiment with you, that previous to the passing thereof, being consulted by some Members of Congress, I freely gave them my Opinion, that it was inconsistent with the publick Faith, and ought not to be adopted; but it is now an Act of Congress, is confirmed by several of the States, and is the only Measure by which we have any Prospects of immediate Supplies.²

The Advantages that may result from an Exertion on this Occasion will appear by considering, that every Dollar so exchanged will furnish another for *reinforcing* and *supplying* the Army; that the Treasury may thus be *immediately* and *amply* supplied; and that the Army may be speedily reinforced and furnished with Necessaries to co-operate with the Forces of our Ally. Should this be accomplished, We shall have the happy prospect of bringing our Enemies to reasonable Terms, and the War to a speedy conclusion, whilst the Confidence of our good Ally will be established, and other Powers be disposed to follow his Example, but on the other Hand, if the powerful Succours which are daily expected from France should be compelled by our Inability or Indolence to return disgraced, will they not be so incensed, notwithstanding the good Will of their Sovereign and his Ministers towards us, as to be ever after irreconcilable to Americans? Will not an Alliance with Spain, if not previously adopted, be prevented? Will not the other Powers in Europe be so convinced of our Want of Resources, or Wisdom and Virtue to draw them forth, as to spurn and contemn Us? will not such as are friendly to G. Britain be encouraged to afford her immediate Assistance? and will not the Cause of America be in the most imminent Danger, if not irretrievably lost?

It gives me great Pain to hold up so disagreeable a picture of our affairs, but my Duty to my Country obliges me to be explicit on this occasion, and I assure you Sir, that I have not seen at any period, so fair a prospect by vigorous Exertions of establishing our Independence, or on the other Hand such dreadful Consequences as are to be apprehended from supineness, or feeble Efforts. In carrying thro' this Plan, You will undoubtedly have to oppose the weak and selfish Friends, as well as the secret and invidious Enemies of America, but I sincerely hope that You will see the Necessity of the Measure and at all Events support it.

The Committee of Congress at Camp are earnestly desirous of carrying this Plan into Effect, and would have addressed the Merchants on this Occasion, did they not conceive that such a proceeding would be considered as extra-official by the Legislatures of some of the States; they have nevertheless expressly desired me to promote it in the eastern States, and his Excellency the General is also much in favour of it.³ . . .

² The act of Congress to which Gerry is referring is that of Mar. 18. The statement that he was consulted by members of Congress is explained by the fact that, although a member himself and remaining in Philadelphia, he had for several months refused to attend. See nos. 55, 59, 124, 137, *ante*. Respecting the proposed association of merchants see nos. 255, 259, 261, 264, 275, 281, *post*.

³ Gerry had left Philadelphia June 3 (Holten's Diary) and was on his way to Massachusetts. In consultation with the committee at headquarters it was agreed that

236. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

MORRIS TOWN, 11th June, 1780.

Sir,

As you are on your journey to the state of Massachusetts Bay, We embrace the opportunity and intreat you to give such information to the Executive powers of the Eastern States, respecting the distressed situation of the Army, as you, from your own observations, and our communications, are enabled to afford. We are happy, Sir, to find your Sentiments coincident with our own, on the necessity there is at this important and alarming conjuncture of the most strenuous exertions of the States. You have been an Eye witness to the distress of the Country, and the danger to which this Army was exposed in that critical moment when the enemy in superior force pointed their operations against it, much too weak to face them in the field with any prospect of effectual resistance. altho led by the bravest and best of men. You have seen our heavy Cannon and stores exposed to the most imminent danger because the means of removing them to places of security were not in our power, and had the Enemy pursued their object, it is more than probable the whole would have been lost; hence it is evident that not a moment ought to be lost in sending on the reinforcements which have been required. Indeed, Sir, the States are exposed to a most dreadful calamity from the reduced condition of the Army, and more especially so, as the british troops from Carolina are daily expected here.

The plan you have proposed for an immediate supply of money appears to us the most eligible of any yet suggested. we think the most salutary consequences would result to the community if it was adopted.

Your attention to the Welfare of your Country will, we are persuaded, induce you in every exertion, and your Character and abilities with these exertions will render eminent Service in this day of distress.²

he should visit the Eastern states and represent the situation of the army to the state authorities. In addition to the letter which the committee addressed to Gerry June 11, letters were written to the presidents or governors of the Eastern states advising them of the task which Gerry had undertaken to perform. The letter to the president of the Massachusetts council is in Mass. Arch., CCII. 255; to President Weare of New Hampshire, in N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers (M. H. S.); to Governor Trumbull, in Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI. 270; copies of the two latter in Force Transcripts, Weare and Trumbull, respectively. On the same day (June 11) Peabody wrote personally to President Weare to the same effect (N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, "M. H. S."). Touching Gerry's representation to the council of Massachusetts, see his letter of July 3, *Life of Gerry*, I. 348.

[236]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, f. 260 (copy), no. 39, vol. I., f. 59 (draft by Schuyler; at f. 99 is a draft in somewhat different terms, by Mathews). The letter is signed by Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody.

² On the same day the committee addressed a circular letter to the Eastern states (no. 237, *post*) respecting Gerry's mission. In the *Writings of Samuel Adams* (ed. Cushing, IV. 191-196) are five letters written from Hartford, June 20 and 21, by Adams and Gerry in pursuance of the task which Gerry had undertaken. One of the letters is to James Bowdoin, the other four are (two each) to Generals Fellows and Howe.

237. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE EASTERN STATES.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRISTOWN 11th June 1780.

Sir,

Since we had the honor to address you on the 2d instant, the Enemy have come out in force, and pointed their operations to this Army. The Honble. Mr. Gerry has been so obliging, at our request, as to promise to call on you and to give you the particulars, and as he is well advised of the situation of affairs in this quarter from his own observations, as well as from information, he can afford you the most ample detail on the subject.²

238. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

MORRIS TOWN, June 12, 1780.

Sir,

Your favor of the 6th instant covering acts of Congress of the ——— are duly received.²

Should the enemy oblige our army to retire from its present position, it is not improbable that it must take post either beyond the Delaware, or in the highlands. If at the former, the enemy will undoubtedly attempt the reduction of the posts in the highlands. If at the latter, it will be reduced to the greatest distress for the articles of flour, as in all probability supplies of that kind will be intercepted in their way to the Army. It is therefore of the first importance that an ample quantity should be without delay conveyed to New Windsor or King's ferry. The superior influence which Congress has beyond what the committee can be supposed to possess in the states from whence flour only can be obtained, induces us to request that they will urge the necessity of hastening on whatever can be procured, and to provide carriages for the transportation.

The enemy we are informed have this morning advanced from Elizabeth point to the town—our Army continues to occupy the heights west of Springfield.

[237]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., p. 41 (draft), no. 11, f. 65 (letter-book copy); *ibid.*, Force Trans., Weare, p. 170b, Force Trans., Trumbull, XI, 270; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XI, 270; Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 A 171; Mass. Arch., CCII. 255; *R. I. Recs.*, IX, 117.

² A notation on the draft and the copy in the committee's letter-book show that this letter, which bore the signatures of all three members of the committee, was sent to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, Governor Greene of Rhode Island, the President of the Massachusetts council, and President Weare of New Hampshire. It was not numbered among the circulars, as that of June 2 (no. 213, *ante*) is no. 3 and that of June 12 (no. 239, *post*) is no. 4.

[238]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 64 (draft by Schuyler, and signed by the three members), no. 11, f. 27.

² President Huntington's letter of June 6 merely transmitted "a Copy of the Report of a Committee appointed to receive the Communications from the Minister of France relating to Supplies etc., and the Resolutions of Congress of the 5th Instant consequent thereon".

We have the honor to inclose your Excellency copy of our circular letter to the States of the 2d instant, with copy of one we have this day dispatched, together with copies of the Generals letters referred to in those to the states.

P. S. Since writing the above, the commander in chief had advised us, that whenever the British now in this State shall be reinforced by the troops from Carolina, which he momentarily expects to be advised of, he will in all probability be obliged to retire beyond the Delaware, and leave the fortresses in the highlands of New York to be defended as well as they may be by the present weak and inadequate garrison, as he has no prospect of supplying an additional number of troops at the post, for the want of flour.

In the utmost distress to be reduced to this sad alternative, he has entreated us to apply to the State of Pennsylvania on the subject, we have accordingly addressed ourselves to Governor Reed, and also begged the favor of him to transmit copy of our letter to the Governors of Delaware and Maryland.³ Permit us, Sir, to request the intervention of Congress by seconding our application.⁴

239. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE STATES FROM
NEW HAMPSHIRE TO VIRGINIA.¹

(Circular)

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRISTOWN 12th June 1780.

Sir,

We have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter addressed to us by the commander in chief.² The contents will advise you to what an alarm-

³ See nos. 239-241, *post*.

⁴ This letter bears the following endorsements: "Letter from the Com'ee at head Quarters, June 12, 1780. Read 14. Referred to Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Matlack [here another hand than Thomson's has inserted the words:] with W. Y. X. Supplies requested. 1, Circular letter to States, June 2; 2, Supplies requested, June 2; 3, Circular to States, June 12; 4, Genl. W. to Com'ee June 11; 5, do. to do. June 12."

The committee to whom this letter was referred (June 14) brought in a report June 15, which resulted in an order "that a circular letter be written to each of the United States from New Hampshire to Maryland, inclusive, enforcing the circular letters from the committee at headquarters". The letter (with alterations) immediately follows in the *Journals*. It is probable therefore that the draft of the letter (it was prepared by Robert R. Livingston, a member of the committee) was offered along with the report. The letter is an eloquent appeal; indeed two passages must have been too eloquent or too pointedly critical of the states, for they were eliminated, a passage offered by Charles Thomson being substituted for one of them. Several texts of the circular exist. Of that sent to President Weare of New Hampshire a copy, from the original, then in possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia, is in possession of the Carnegie Institution; that to Massachusetts is in Mass. Arch., CII. 265; that to Maryland in Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 47. It was also recorded in the President's Letter-Book, p. 34. Printed texts are in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 515; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 325; *Clinton Papers*, V. 828; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 231.

[239]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 43; Mass. Arch., CCII. 260; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XII. 3; N. J. State Lib.; Md. Hist. Soc., LXXXVII. 182; Library of Congress, Washington Papers (copy); *ibid.*, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 43 (draft by Schuyler), no. 39, vol. I., f. 62 (signed copy sent to Congress), no. 11, p. 65 (letter-book copy, "Circular No. 4"); *Clinton Papers*, V. 813; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 293; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 315; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 225.

² Washington's letter to the committee June 11 is in *Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 310; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 173 (see his letter to Governor Trum-

ing crisis our affairs are reduced. The General observes with great propriety that this committee "need no arguments to evince the danger". Indeed we do not. Our own observations have led to the fullest conviction, that unless the force stated in our second letter of the 25 ulto. is drawn into the field, with a celerity equal to the urgency of the occasion, that the period which is to end our liberty and commence the most disgraceful state of slavery which human nature has ever experienced, is not far distant; but dark and gloomy as the prospect is, America has it in her power to dispel the cloud, by those exertions of which she is abundantly capable, and to which it is her duty to rouse from every consideration which can affect the human heart. We are most indubitably possessed of the means wherewith to expel the enemy from every part of the continent, but it requires a display of that virtue which distinguished the citizens of Rome, when their state was as ours now is, on the brink of ruin; and we trust Americans impressed with a proper sense of the blessings of peace, liberty and independence, will follow the bright example and evince to future ages, what great minds are capable of, when driven to the extremity of distress.

We dare not suppose Sir, that efficient measures have not been adopted by your state, to compleat your Battalions to the establishment recommended in the letter above referred to; on the contrary, we believe that the men are raised or raising, but we have to conjure you to hasten them on to the Army, without a moments delay. We intreat you likewise to give the most pointed direction, to induce an unremitting attention to forward the supplies allotted to your state to be furnished as specified in our letter of the 2d instant.

Had the enemy on wednesday last pursued what we generally believed to be their object, our heavy cannon and stores would inevitably have fallen into their hands, as our military force was incompetent to their protection, and the means of conveying them to places more distant, for want of horses and carriages, out of our power.

Since writing the above, a second letter from the General has been handed us, a copy whereof we inclose.³ Previous to our recommendation to compleat the Battalions to 504 rank and file, we had a conference with the General on the subject, in which the matter was thoroughly canvassed, and the necessity of the augmentation clearly evinced. The reduction of Charles Town was then [still]⁴ problematical; we had even hopes that it would have been saved, and the Maryland and Delaware lines have returned to this Army, which then with the quota requested of the States would have amounted to about 25,000 men, the number which Congress had promised our illustrious ally, should be brought into the field to cooperate with his troops. It is now believed that Charlestown is reduced,

bull, *ibid.*, p. 171); *Clinton Papers*, V. 809 (see also his letter to Lieutenant Governor Van Cortlandt June 10, *ibid.*, p. 806); *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 312. Cf. his letter to Congress June 10, *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII. 75.

³ Washington's letter to the committee June 12 is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 175; *R. I. Recs.*, IX. 118; *Clinton Papers*, V. 812; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 235 (date June 19); and *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 314.

⁴ This word and the word "certainly" farther on are not in the letter to New Hampshire but are found in other texts.

and the troops which defended it prisoners, consequently we shall [certainly] not have the Maryland and Delaware troops, hence those in this quarter will be less by nearly three thousand men than our estimate. We therefore most earnestly intreat that no reduction may be made from the numbers we have stated as necessary.⁵

We have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem

Your most obedient hum'e Servts.

PH. SCHUYLER

JNO. MATHEWS

NATHL. PEABODY⁶

240. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE GOVERNOR OF
CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

MORRIS TOWN, June 12th 1780.

Sir,

We have the honor to Inclose your Excellency letters for the Governor of Rhode-Island, and the Presidents of Massachusetts-bay and New-Hampshire, which we beg the favor may be forwarded by Express.

The Enemy still retain the position they took on Thursday last at Elizabeth town point in this state—various are the conjectures on what they may have in contemplation, that which prevails most generally is a rapid movement to attempt our posts in the Highlands of New York, as soon as Sir Henry Clinton with the troops from Carolina arrives. It affords great satisfaction here to find that so considerable a quantity of salted meat from your state is on the point of arriving at the Highlands. The Commander in chief has Intreated us to press the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland for an Immediate supply of flour for that post, without which he conceives he shall not be in Condition to venture the army in that Quarter, even should the Garrison be Invested. If it is possible, we Intreat the aid of a thousand barrels from your state for that post and that It may be expedited thither.

241. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF
PENNSYLVANIA (JOSEPH REED).¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

MORRIS TOWN, June 12, 1780.

Sir,

It is with great satisfaction that we learn the Legislature of your State has invested your Excellency with ample powers to draw forth every resource of the State at this interesting conjuncture.

Since our letter of this date, The Commander in Chief has advised us, that in the present situation of our affairs should the British force return

⁵ A special letter (no. 241, *post*) was addressed to President Reed of Pennsylvania.

⁶ Some texts of this circular letter are signed by all three members of the committee, some only by Schuyler as chairman of the committee.

[240]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), vol. XII., pt. I., p. 4 (in the writing of Schuyler); Library of Congress, Force Trans., vol. XII., pt. I., p. 4.

[241]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., MSS. of Joseph Reed, VI.; Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 87 (copy), no. 11, p. 199 (letter-book copy).

from Carolina (which event must be hourly looked for) he cannot think of risking his Army at the post at West Point. The inevitable consequence of which must be the sacrifice of that small remains of an army, now become inadequate to any effectual resistance even against the present British force in this quarter, as there is not flour at that post even for the garrison now there. Under these circumstances he must be under the necessity of abandoning that important post, to shift for itself, in the best manner they can, and he can have no alternative, but to affect his retreat across the Delaware.

On a serious consideration of this distressed state of the Army, You must pardon our importunity Sir, when we call on you in the most urgent manner and conjure you as you value the welfare of the United States of America, to use your most strenuous endeavours to procure without one moments loss of time, at least Ten Thousand Barrels of flour, and cause the same to be transported to Kings Ferry or New Windsor. It is on your state alone, in the present exigency of our affairs, that we must rely for support in this article. Your knowledge of the importance of that post, need[s] no comments on our part, how indespensibly necessary it is, that it should be preserved, not only as a safe retreat for our Army should they be so circumstanced, as to make it necessary, but also to keep open the communication between these, and the eastern States and for the preservation of this already too much distressed State. Should our present application not be attended with the desired affect, the consequences must in all human probability be fatal.²

We have the honor to be with respect,

Your Most Obt. Serv's³

PH. SCHUYLER

JNO. MATHEWS

NATHL. PEABODY

242. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

MORRISTOWN, June 12, 1780.

D'r Sir,

The Enemy still retain the position they took on Thursday last at Elizabeth Town Point; various are the conjectures on what operations they have in contemplation, the most prevalent is, a rapid movement to attempt our posts in the Highlands, as soon as they shall be reinforced by the troops from Carolina, which are hourly expected. The Commander in Chief apprehends it, and has intreated the Committee most earnestly to press the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, for a supply

² See nos. 200, 238, *ante*, and no. 242, *post*. In the letter of June 12 to Congress it is stated that President Reed was requested to transmit copies of this letter to the governors of Maryland and Delaware. Cf. Reed to Governor Lee of Maryland June 16 (*Pa. Arch.*, VIII. 350), and the reply June 23 (*ibid.*, p. 354, and *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 203).

³ The subscription to this letter appears to have been restrained within the narrowest bounds required by politeness. See no. 240, *ante*.

[242]¹*Clinton Papers*, V. 815.

of flour, without which he conceives it would be a dangerous manoeuvre to move the army to the Highlands, as they might risk being starved; we have already forwarded dispatches to the Governors of the above mentioned states and this conveyance carries one to Governor Trumbull on the same Subject.² If your Excellency or the legislature can possibly procure a quantity of flour I intreat no time may be lost in forwarding it to the garrison; permitt me also to suggest the necessity of holding the militia in readiness to reinforce the garrison. . . .

243. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 13, 1780.

Sir,

By the Act of Congress of this Day herewith enclosed your Excellency will be informed, that Genl Gates is ordered to take the Command in the Southern Department.

This Order is in Consequence of Intelligence received via New York, that Charles Town surrendered the 12th Ultio, and the Garrison are made Prisoners. This Intelligence in Rivington's Paper containing the Articles of Capitulation, your Excellency must doubtless have received before this Time.²

244. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA June the 13th 1780.

S'r,

I inclose you two Resolves of Congress one of June the 2d the other of the 8th by which you will See what has been done with Regard to the newhampshire grants and the Several Claimants. I find a Very grate backwardness in many of the members of Congress to Proseed on this buisness until the Conclusion of the war, and the members Continually Coming and going it is impossible to foresee what opinion Congress may be off three months hence with Regard to Putting a final end to these unhappy Disputes.²

P. S the inclosed Papers Contain all the intelligence of importance

² See nos. 238-241, *ante*.

[243]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 26.

² See the *Journals*, June 13, 14, no. 229, *ante*, and no. 250, *post*. A similar letter was written to the governors of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. President's Letter-Book, p. 28.

Holten's Diary for the 12th, 13th, and 14th (*Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 93-94) has the following entries: "12. It is said Charleston is taken by the enemy. 13. . . . Gen. Ward arrived here this morning. 14. One of Gen. Lincoln's aids is arrived with the accounts of the surrender of Charlestown." See the *Journals*, June 15.

[244]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 44.

² The second resolve is in the *Journals* under June 9. Cf. nos. 212, 218, 219, 221, 232, *ante*, and no. 253, *post*. For the resumption of the Vermont question see the *Journals*, Sept. 12, and no. 435, note 2, *post*.

245. CYRUS GRIFFIN TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

June 13th, [1780.]

As this will perhaps ² be the last letter I shall have the honor of writing your excellency in my official capacity, I hope to obtain the Governor's approbation that whilst alone and at the head of the Delegation to Congress I have done my part in making those representations and giving that Intelligence from time to time, which the executive ought constantly to be informed of. I do not recollect any one matter of importance that was omitted in my communications to your excellency—and I confess as an Individual that I felt a pride and pleasure in corresponding with a great character, exclusive of that sacred Duty which my honorable appointment demanded of me.

The Enemy are still in the Jersey, not far from Elisabeth Town, and by a letter from Lord Stirling they are considerably reinforced. They have built a floating bridge to secure a retreat to Staten Island if necessary. two or three little battles have taken place, in which the militia fought well but have suffered greatly. I fancy the object of the Enemy was to try the force of General Washingtons regular Troops—unluckily by the experiment they find our illustrious commander unable to meet them without the aid of militia—and what next? I fear they will remain in the Jersey untill Clinton gets back from Charles Town, and then make a bold attempt upon the continental stores and army. I wish the french fleet and Troops were happily arrived. About fifty sail of merchantmen have got to this City within a few days past—by one of them the last night we are told that Barbadoes is taken, and probably by this time Antingua [*sic*] and Saint Kitts, but I cannot credit so hastily as some Gentlemen are disposed to do.

[In margin:] I fear that clinton is returned in Triumph from Charles Town.

246. JOHN WALKER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.¹

Dear Sir,

I hoped before I had been here so long, to have had the pleasure of a few lines from you, if it was merely to inform us of your health and that of your Family, in which you know we are so deeply interested.

My Family is perfectly recovered from the small-pox, which to them was so favorable that they never lay'd by for it. Mrs. Walker had only two pustules and Milly one for each of the united States. We are comfortably enough lodged and but for the exorbitant expences of the place, might do well enough. As there is no provision made by our State for

[245]¹ Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers.

² This letter has the appearance of being only a postscript to a letter, and of a subsequent date. The word "perhaps" stands above this first line and at the margin, as if it might be the last word of a preceding paragraph; it may however have been intended as an insertion at this point. See no. 231, *ante*.

[246]¹ Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers.

furnishing us with the needful and the Continental Treasury is empty, our situation is disagreeable. I found one Man (Levi Hollingsworth) who agreed to advance me 10,000 dollars for which sum I have taken the Liberty of drawing on our Treasury and hope my Bill will be honored; otherwise judge what will be our situation. We wish our State would fall on some expedient to furnish such supplies as may be intended for us, as we find it extremely difficult to get Cash here.

Genl. Gates was this day appointed to take command in the Southern department. The further arrangements etc. for that Quarter are yet unfinished for want of the necessary information, having as yet rec'd no Accts. of our Misfortune there, but by way of New York. Is not this astonishing when Chas. Town is said to have surrendered on the 12th Ult?

The inclosed paper will inform you of the Enemy's late incursions in New Jersey, which is the only news here. This and the neighbouring States are making the most vigorous exertions to oppose their operations. Pennsylvania is about to fill up their Continental Line by subscription and I believe they will effect it, so great and laudable is their Zeal, The very Ladi[e]s contributing large sums on the inclosed plan, drawn up by the Minister of France's Secretary.

Virginia's conduct in rejecting the scheme of March the 18th Appears to give as great uneasiness here, as the Loss of Chas. Town. I believe it is pretty generally approved in the Eastern states and already adopted by most of them.² My Family desires to be affectionately remembered to Mrs. Jefferson and Miss Patsey

And I am My dear Sir

Your affectionate Friend and humble Servt.

JN. WALKER

PHILADA. June 13th 1780.

247. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 13, 1780.

Sir,

Tho' we are yet without official Accounts respecting Charlestown, There scarce remains a doubt of its being taken, and that the Garrison surrendered on terms the 12 of May. The Capitulation, published in New York is in this City, but I have not yet seen it to note the particulars it contains. General Gates is ordered to the Southward to take the Command.

The Enemy remain in force at Elizabeth Town point—their object is yet unascertained.

I have forwarded by the bearer 120,000 dollars of the new bills for Connecticut, and have more on hand to be forwarded in a few days. The State of New Jersey has also adopted the measure recommended the 18th of March.

I beg leave to express my sincere condolance with your Excellency for the loss of Mrs. Trumbull.

² See nos. 264, 270, 285, *post*.

[247]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), vol. XII., pt. I., p. 7; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, vol. XII., pt. I., p. 7.

248. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO NATHANIEL FOLSOM.¹

MORRISTOWN June 14th, 1780.

Sir,

Your favour of the 5th inst. has been duly recd. Am obliged to you for the information therein contain'd. Next the Great concern of the continent, I am Anxious to know the fate of the Vermont affair. I beg you to urge the determination of that business, as it is my opinion every moments delay is dangerous.

As to the money I will endeavour to See it Conveyed to New-Hampshire if you should not find an oportunity to send it Safe by the time it is ready

The Enemy remains Nearly in the Same posision they have for Several days past, but as Genl. Schuyler who is obliging enough to take charge of this Letter, will be abundantly able to Give you Every information respecting the two Armies. And I wish you to call on him for Information upon various Subjects of importance as we are in the most Critical Situation. The Commander in Chief is under Embarrassments on account of Resolve of Congress Confining his operations to the thirteen U. States. I wish your influence to get the Error rectified. You will know it is a matter of vast importance to the Eastern States that we turn our Eyes toward Canada, Nova scotia, etc. I mean if we should be able to keep an Army in the field. It will [be] impossible for us to operate effectually in this Quarter, unless we Can, at least, point out objects to divide the Enemies force. This is a matter I could wish might be kept as Secret as possible.²

P. S. A Line from you as often as Convenient wou'd be agreeable.

249. THOMAS BURKE TO ANTHONY WAYNE.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 15th 1780.

D'r Sir,

. . . . I found, on examining the resolution I mentioned to you, that it was entered into on a particular Occasion of disputed rank, *and Commissions were cancelled and renewed* agreeably to the principle adopted. Had the affair Occurred in the winter, and a proper Scrutiny taken place, I am persuaded the principle would, and ought to have been applied to you; and your Commission would, Consequently, have been made out so as to give you the indisputable rank, but as that was not done, and the time at present would not admit of such disquisitions, I despaired of being able to fall on any mode that would satisfy your Just and delicate feelings, that forbids your offering the least possible Shadow of Injury to those of others, or of reconciling the wishes of my self and my Colleagues with the General, and more prevailing Considerations of public utility. we were therefore obliged, reluctantly, to forego a favorite object.²

[248]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Gratz. Coll., M. O. C.

² See no. 232, *ante*. The committee at headquarters brought the matter definitely before Congress in their letter of July 18 (no. 322, *post*). See also nos. 287, 353, 434, *post*.

[249]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Wayne Papers.

² Burke is evidently replying to a letter from Wayne June 6, found in *N. C. State Recs.*, XIV. 840.

250. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADA. 15th June 1780.

Dear General,

Whilst I congratulate you on your present unanimous appointment to the Command of the southern department, I cannot be insensible of the projects before you and the many known and unknown difficulties you have to encounter. Let wisdom, patience, and fortitude from above carry you through.

These two last days and part of the Nights I have been employed on your affair—As your first nomination (under the sudden concern for the loss of Charlestown and State of that Country) seemed to import little else than hasty orders to March; it's true a Committee was at the same time appointed to consider the number of troops to be drawn forth, in the first instance, but still you wanted money in order to proceed, as well as powers to call on these states for future supplies. for this I called on the board of War, who to do them justice cordially fell in with every thing and reported thereon such a sum for the journey, and other powers, as I hope will be agreeable to you, for the present, and Congress readily resolv'd on the Report.² I have more privately pressed the Board of War to send also by the Express, one piece of Linnen, meaning the major part for yourself, and the residue for Major Armstrong this they thought was a little out of their way, but gave me more than half a promise. The Major has not a shilling until he reach you to pay what debt he may be in, beside my keeping him in some pocket money these three months past; he will communicate to you what I have wrote him respecting Rank. any thing of this sort must now come thro' the Board of War.³

I am dear General with every cordial wish for your Conduct and happiness,

Your truly Affectionate friend and humbl. servt.

JOHN ARMSTRONG

[P. S.]

251. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 16, 1780.

Sir,

I am honored with your Despatches under the 9th Instant. and have laid them before Congress. They are referred to the Board of War and Committee on the Post Office. Due Attention will be given to the several Matters contained in those Despatches.²

[250]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVI.

² See the *Journals*, June 13, 14, 17, 19. Cf. nos. 229, 243, *ante*, and no. 264, *post*.

³ Cf. no. 317, *post*.

[251]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 32.

² Jefferson's letter of June 9 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 304; *Official Letters*, II. 125), pertaining chiefly to financial and military matters, but partly also to post-roads and difficulties of communication, was read in Congress June 16. A letter of June 15 (*ibid.*, p.

252. THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE MINISTER TO SPAIN (JOHN JAY).¹

PHILADELPHIA, June 16, 1780.

Sir:

The embarrassments which the depreciation of the currency had created in the public affairs at the time of your departure for Europe were, as you may well remember, very distressing, and have till lately continued to increase. Congress, greatly anxious to avail themselves of every possible means of checking this evil, on the 23d of November last ventured on the expedient of drawing bills upon you for one hundred thousand pounds sterling, as you have been already advised by letter of December the 11th following.² This they thought they might risk, considering the importance of the object; but as the time of your arrival in Europe could not be counted upon with certainty, and as the negotiation might not be immediately practicable, and, moreover, as a disappointment would be highly injurious to the public faith, they determined to draw the bills at six months' sight, which we hope will allow sufficient leisure for every preparation.

It will not be amiss to observe that Congress have not taken this measure without some circumstances of encouragement that a fund to satisfy the draft would not be unattainable. Since the agreeable news of your arrival, and to answer a purpose of great national utility, Congress, by their resolution of the 19th instant,³ have directed bills to be drawn for the additional sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, payable at sixty days' sight. The exertions necessary at this crisis require the command of a considerable sum of money; but these drafts, we hope, will not be increased till we have intelligence from you respecting your prospects and assurances. We have the pleasure to inform you that from the measures which have lately been adopted, and with which you are made acquainted by the journals, the finances begin to assume a better appearance, and our public affairs in general will, we hope, be delivered from many of the embarrassments under which they have labored, but we earnestly entreat you to push every possible exertion for procuring aids of money from the court of Spain, without which we are fearful the measures of Congress fully to restore the currency and prosecute the war with good effect will fall short of the desired success.

129; *Writings*, p. 312), touching the request of Congress June 5, for the despatch of intelligence of the coming of the French fleet and making further suggestions respecting express lines, was read June 23 and referred to the committee on the post-office. Cf. his letter of June 28 (*ibid.*, p. 313), read in Congress July 3. See, further, the *Journals*, June 29, 30, July 3. President Huntington transmitted with this letter the resolves of June 14 relative to General Gates.

[252]¹ Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III, 793 (signed by Lovell, Livingston, and Houston); Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I., f. 264 (letter-book copy).

² The letter is in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III, 424, although there given as to Henry Laurens. The letter-book (p. 264) shows that the letter was sent both to Laurens and to Jay.

³ This should be of course 19th ultimo. See the *Journals*, May 19, 31.

253. THE NEW YORK DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 16th June 1780.

Sir,

We do ourselves the honour to enclose the last resolution of Congress relative to the New Hampshire Grants. We sincerely wish it had been in our power to proceed at an earlier day, but an *ex parte* hearing would have been of little use to us. And to have pushed it with too much warmth would have answered no other purpose than to expose us to the censure of wishing to take advantage of our antagonists, especially as New Hampshire which has hitherto gone with us, threw its whole weight against us.²

The loss of Charlestown, and the great scarcity of supplies has rendered our situation extremely critical, and calls for the utmost exertion. Congress have endeavoured to rouse this by every means in their power, particularly by a circular Letter which you will receive with this.³ We feel for the situation of our state, threatened on one side and actually invaded on another. We submit it to the judgment of the Legislature whether they should not continue sitting till the storm is overblown.

We conceive that not a moment should be lost in sending forward the bill for the adoption of the resolution of Congress of the 18 of March last as considerable advantage may be derived both to the state and the continent from the sums that may be procured by the exchange of their bills. And as the preparing them is a matter which will take some time, and those who send on their laws are to have the preference, expedition becomes an object of some moment.⁴

We have no account from the southward of the enemies having yet embarked any part of their force; they have detached a body of them as far as Georgetown. The people of South Carolina will give them little opposition, tho' we have great hopes that the approach of the enemy will rouse N. Carolina to the exertions of which she is fully capable. We forgot to mention, that it would be proper to send up with our law, the name of some person who is to sign on the part of Congress, that we may recommend him so that no time may be lost on that account. This we presume will be the Loan officer but it may be well to have a second in case of accidents.

P. S. The Secretary informs us that the Resolutions above referred to are already dispatched.

His Excellency, Gov'r Clinton: to be opened in his absence by the Hon'ble P. Van Courtland, Esqr., Leut. Govr.

[253]¹ *Clinton Papers*, V. 837 (signed by Livingston, Scott, and Duane).

² See the *Journals*, June 9, and nos. 212, 218, 219, 221, 232, 244, *ante*, 399, *post*. For the resumption of the Vermont affair see the *Journals*, Sept. 12, and no. 435, note 2, *post*.

³ The circular letter of June 15, which was prepared by Livingston. Besides the corrected draft found in the *Journals*, there are several printed texts of the letter (*e. g.*, *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 200; *Clinton Papers*, V. 828; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 325; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 515), and numerous manuscript texts as addressed to the different states.

⁴ See nos. 270, 285, 314, *post*.

254. A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA 16th June 1780.

Gent.

On conversing with the Minister of France upon the state of the ports in the highlands, he has very obligingly proposed that you should apply to their use such salt-provisions (consisting of about 500 barrels of pork) as Govr. Trumbul has procured on his account, the continent undertaking for the repayment.

We would wish you to avoid drawing for this unless you conceive it cannot be procured in convenient time elsewhere. If you should find it necessary to avail yourselves of this supply, you will be pleased to give the earliest advice of it to the Minister of France that he may concur with you in endeavouring to replace it.²

We are Gent.

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON
OLIV'R ELLSWORTH
JOS. JONES

To the Honble. Philip Schuyler Esqr.
and the Gent. of the com: at headquart'rs.

255. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

PHILADELPHIA 16th June 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . A few days ago Mr. Meredith and Grason² being at table with us we went largely into the state of our supplies, when I happened to drop a wish that the Merchants of this place would undertake a temporary supply upon their own credit Congress count on securing them. Grason pushed it, Meredith embraced it, and upon its being broke to the Merchants they appointed a committee to consider the proposition and I imagine upon good ground, that they will undertake for four millions of rations should this go thro' it may not only help to relieve our present necessities but put matters in such a train as we may find it convenient to keep them in.³

. . . .

[254]¹ Papers Cont. Cong., no. 30, vol. II., f. 116 (in the writing of Livingston; autographic signatures), no. 11, p. 14 (letter-book copy).

² This committee was appointed May 17, on a memorial of the minister of France. See also the *Journals*, May 20, when the committee was authorized to collect intelligence desired by the minister and "to establish correspondences with the governors" and others, and their report May 27. On the same day that this letter was written Luzerne wrote to Governor Trumbull asking that he hold at the disposition of the committee at camp and deliver to their order the 400 to 500 barrels of pork which he had purchased on French account, remarking, "Des besoins particuliers rendront problemant ces substances necessaires à Votre Armée". In that case he said, the committee will make use of them. He further asked Governor Trumbull to replace them as soon as may be with new provisions, together with the other quantities ordered. Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, vol. XII., pt. II., p. 16.

[255]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Schuyler Papers, no. 1260; *ibid.*, Bancroft Coll., Schuyler Papers, no. 795 (copy).

² Reese Meredith (?), a merchant of Philadelphia, and Col. William Grayson, a member of the board of war.

³ Cf. no. 235, *ante*, and nos. 250, 261, 264, 275, 281, *post*. Concerning the establishment of a bank as a part of the project see the *Journals*, June 21, 22.

256. JAMES HENRY TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADA. June 16th 1780.

Sir,

Permit me to intrude upon your more important Avocations for a moment, and to inclose to you a Copy of a letter from Col. Buford to the Virga. Assembly, which your Friend Col. B. Harrison has requested me to forward to you.²

I wish I could send you better tidings; but 'tis necessary to know the danger, to enable us to make more effectual preparations to avert it. With every wish for your Safety and Success, I beg leave to subscribe myself Sir
Your most obedt. Servt.

JAS. HENRY

257. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN, 16th June, 1780.

Sir,

Since General Schuyler's departure for Philadelphia, to lay before Congress the arrangement of the quarter master general's department,² we have received a letter from General Greene, of the 14th instant, on the subject, a copy of which we inclose.³

[256]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² The letter from Col. Abraham Buford is dated May 26 and conveys news from Charleston. On May 29 Buford's regiment was cut to pieces at Waxhaw, South Carolina (*Official Letters of the Governor of Virginia*, II. 87 n.). See also no. 261, *post*. Henry's letter is endorsed, "answd 29".

[257]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 79 (signed by Mathews and Peabody), no. 39, vol. III., f. 78 (copy), no. 11, p. 27 (letter-book copy).

² The arrangement proposed by the committee was presented by Schuyler June 17. See no. 258, *post*. This letter was read June 19.

³ Although Schuyler had taken with him and presented with his report a copy of a letter from Washington, June 13 (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 82; draft in Washington Papers), the committee also, according to the endorsement on this letter, transmitted a copy. Greene's letter to the committee, June 14, discussed in particular the question of fixing the salaries of the military staff, insisting that the committee, "who have it in their power to learn the different duties and responsibilities of the several denominations of officers", should fix these salaries and not merely refer the matter to Congress. He added:

"I have already informed the Committee that I was ready to serve my Country in any capacity where I could be most useful, not injurious to my standing in the army; providing the business was put upon such a footing, as to enable me to do what was expected of me; and that I would do this without fee or reward, all my expences being paid. But unless the business is put upon a footing which will enable me to employ suitable characters, and men on whom I can depend for support, the mines of Peru would not induce me to take further charge of the Department. . . . At the same time the committee reports the new arrangement, I expect they will also give their sentiments upon my past conduct, and the order and management of the business as far as has come to their knowledge, that I may know in what point of light I stand."

He also touches upon the mooted question of the committee's powers:

"I beg the Committee to consider the critical situation of our affairs, the danger of procrastinating so necessary an arrangement, and who will be responsible, should any fatal consequences follow from it. Delicacy with respect to powers would undoubtedly be a prudent measure when a delay could produce no injury; but when every thing depends upon the present moment, refined distinctions may be laid aside.

258. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 17th 1780.

Sir,

I have the honor to Inclose Your Excellency the draft of a System agreed upon by the Committee with the army for conducting the Quarter Master Generals department, together with copy of a letter from the Commander In Chief on the Subject: The amendment to the Committees original draft which the general has taken notice of In his letter will be found in the 18th page of the Copy.²

The Committee was perfectly In Sentiment with the General on the necessity of putting the department In full activity without the least delay, and would have ventured on It without a reference to Congress had they conceived themselves authorized to have determined on the pay to the officers. The system for the Commissary Generals department has been prepared some time since, and would have been transmitted to Congress but that the Committee wished for a previous conference with Colo: Blaine, who was expected at Head Quarters by the first of this month but has not appeared.

Yesterday I had the honor of a conference with both branches of the New Jersey legislature on the Subject of Supplies. They Inform me that the state is nearly exhausted of the article of flour—that they will however make every exertion to procure what can still be spared. They have engaged to take Immediate Measures for the transportation of seventeen hundred Barrels of flour to West point and the Army, which has been detained at Trenton for want of carriages.

259. JOHN WALKER TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

Dear Sir,

Your favr. of the 9th Ult: I recd. with pleasure, and shall always be glad to hear from you when leisure and Inclination occur.

"Ruin seems to be threatening us on every side, and the different Legislators impressed with the Idea, are granting dictatorial powers to the executive authorities; and will it not be dangerous to the honor and standing of the Committee to excuse themselves from so important a matter from an apprehension that their powers are incompetent? If the Congress shall think they are, they will say so; but if not, they will confirm their doings." Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I., f. 291 (original), no. 39, vol. I., f. 80, and no. 11, p. 234 (copies). See no. 232, note 2, *ante*.

[258]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 153, f. 527.

²Schuyler had returned from headquarters expressly to present the committee's plan for the reorganization of the quartermaster-general's department (see no. 257, *ante*). The devising of this plan was one of the principal tasks assigned to the committee by their instructions of Apr. 12. For proceedings upon it see the *Journals*, June 17, 19, 30, July 5, 12, 15. The plan, with amendments, is under the latter date. The original report is in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 22, f. 193; a draft is *ibid.*, no. 39, vol. II., ff. 1-50 (plus); a copy is in the committee's letter-book, *ibid.*, no. 11, pp. 294-302. Following the text in the letter-book is this notation:

"N. B. The foregoing system for conducting the quarter master generals department was agreed to at Morristown 13th of July [June] 1780, and committed to the charge of General Schuyler, in order to be laid before Congress for approbation, and that the allowance to be made for services of the respective officers might be ascertained." Cf. nos. 128, 257, *ante*, 283, note 4, 317, 330, *post*.

[259]¹ Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers.

For business I refer you to our public Letter. The propositions contained in yours to the President, will I doubt not, be immediately comply'd with.² Business in Congress goes on better than I expected, each Member appearing willing to contribute all in his power to the good of the whole. This State is making exertions worthy of imitation. The Merchants have lately subscribed a sum, which is thought sufficient to fill up their Continental Line, and have moreover advanced £200,000 sterling upon Loan, to supply the Army with provisions in which they have lately been very deficient for want of Cash. This Patriotic fire 'tis to be hoped will spread both North and South.³

PHILADA. June 17th 1780.

260. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, June 18th, 1780.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your Excellency's two letters by Brown, with the Act of Assembly requesting the monies advanced to forward provisions in the Quartermaster's department might be reimbursed, which was readily complied with; Mr Ellsworth will forward the warrant by Brown, agreeable to your Excellency's desire.

The other matter respecting the payment of debts due for beef in the Commissaries department is attended with more difficulty, the perplexing difficulty is want of money. Your letter on that subject is refer'd to a Special Committee, who have not reported. I hope the result of their report may in some measure answer the purpose.²

Congress have appointed Commissioners with proper powers from the Board of Treasury, to repair to different States as occasion may require, and, in conjunction with others to be appointed by the Supreme Executive of such States, to settle accounts.³

I have long been of opinion this mode was necessary and am happy to see it adopted; hope that some one or more of the Commissioners may be soon ordered to Connecticut to settle accounts in the late Commissary Wadsworth's department and others that may be properly settled there.

. . . .

P. S. Mr. Sherman arriv'd last night.

² See no. 251, *ante*.

³ Cf. no. 255, *ante*, and nos. 261, 264, 275, 281, *post*.

[260]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 53.

² Both of Trumbull's letters were read in Congress June 15. The one respecting debts due for beef is found in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 50. The committee's report upon it was brought in June 19.

³ See the *Journals*, June 12, 16; also Trumbull's reply to this letter, July 10, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 57, and no. 331, *post*.

261. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 18th 1780.

My Dear Sir,

. . . . On my arrival here² I waited on Mr. President Reed and entered into a full and minute discussion of our affairs, and decidedly declared, that unless the States paid stricter attention to the requisitions of Congress than had hitherto been done by any of them, and furnished the supplies allotted to them to provide that the contest could not be maintained, that disgrace and ruin must ensue. he appeared alarmed, promised Every thing should be done that depended on him, but I could not draw forth any assurances that the requisitions made from this State would be complied with. Indeed I fear we shall not receive them, I mean thro the authority of the state.³ The Merchants are however roused. Mr. Robert Morris is at the head of an Association for the purpose of furnishing the army with three Millions of rations, for which the public is to reimburse them as soon as their finances will admit.⁴ They have yesterday sent on five hundred barrels of Flour which is to be transported by carriages to be hired by Mr. Meredith and another Gentleman from Trenton to Kings Ferry or Windsor. Reflecting how Exceedingly your Excellency is pressed with business I have taken the liberty to advise the board of war to desire Gen: Howe to keep a number of boats constantly at Kings Ferry to convey the flour from thence as fast as It arrives, and that the Officer commanding at that post should turn the carriages by Kingwood to Windsor If the approach of an Enemy should render the rout to Kings ferry unsafe.

Congress who are eternally penelopyzing have directed that no Corn should be sent to this Quarter from Virginia, unless the Governor of that state judges that It can be spared from the Southern army. I have observed to the Virginia Gentlemen now here that In the present scarcity of forage to the Northward, and which will Increase until the Rye harvest. It will be Impracticable to put any considerable army In motion, unless Virginia sends us Sixty thousand Bushells. they have promised to recommend It to Governor Jefferson.

Gen: Gates is directed by Congress to take the Command to the Southward. The Enemy have penetrated Into North Carolina where they fell on Colo: Beaufort⁵ with the remainder of the Virginia Line which they have dispersed or cut to pieces, a[d]vices say only Seven have Escaped of which the Colonel is one. The Militia were collecting in Virginia and North Carolina and moving on to Join Gen: De Kalb.

Permitt me to Intreat the favor of one of the Gentlemen to forward the Inclosed. I beg my respects to all of them.

[261]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² See no. 258, note 2, *ante*.

³ See nos. 200, note 2, 213, 241, *ante*, 311, 313, *post*.

⁴ See nos. 235, 255, 259, *ante*, and nos. 264, 275, 281, *post*; also Washington to Congress July 10 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 336), and *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 351, 384, 471, 704.

⁵ Col. Abraham Buford. See no. 256, *ante*.

262. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 18th 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . I flatter myself your Excellency met the General Assembly possessed with every sentiment necessary for carrying into immediate execution every requisition of Congress and their Committee at Head Quarters. How far they have adopted them I wish to be informed.² It is agreed on all hands the whole state of So Carolina hath submitted to British Government as well as Georgia. And I shall not be surprized to hear N. Carolina hath followed their example. In a word we have but little to expect South of Mariland, the once patriotick state of Virginia weighs but littel at present in the scale of Defence, Or furnishing of men or Supplies, her whole attention is ingrosed in making sale of her out lands.

The little state of Rhode Island hath loaned more money to the Continent then every state south of this, which will I apprehend cause a great difficulty in liquadateing the Loan office Certificates. I have moved in Congress for a warrant in favour of the state for the money due on the state accompt. It is refered to the Treasury Board, they have not reported and I fear they will not soon.³ The demands on the Continental Treasury is Twenty times as much as they at present can pay. But you may rest asured nothing on my part shall be left undone to obtain the warrant. At the same time as a Friend to and a member of the state I must beg they will pay no more money on Continental accompt then is absolutely necessary for the salvation of the Country. I foresee so many unthought of difficulties in the settlement of those Accompts that I fear the state will be a great sufferer in what is paid already. It is impossible for Congress at present to enter upon Comercial affairs therefore I have made no Motion in consequence of the Instruction I receivd from the Council of War,⁴ but I find that by the desire of Congress our Minister at the Court [of] France had the 11th and 12th articles of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce expunged; and Both Nations left to lay what duties they pleased, for which we may thank our Breathern in the Southern states. The different policy of the several states, and too many of them turning all their views to their own advantage: without consulting the Common good, Cause some

[262]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 47; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 294.

² Cornell had written to Governor Greene from Morristown, N. J. (Washington's headquarters), May 30, when, as he expressed it, "the fate of these United States is pregnant with the most alarming events that ever attended them since the commencement of this unnatural war". In this letter he set forth the desperate situation of the army, not only as stated by General Washington, General Greene, and the committee at headquarters, but as confirmed by his own observations of three days, and declared that "nothing can save us from destruction but a spirited exertion in the several states, drawing forth the resources of the country, for which I cannot doubt the State of Rhode Island is making her utmost efforts". Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 292; *R. I. Recs.*, IX, 113.

³ See nos. 281, 289, 298, 341, 366, 382, *post*.

⁴ The council of war was a body exercising the executive powers during the recess of the assembly. For its appointment and powers see *R. I. Recs.*, IX, 68, 73. The instructions to Cornell have not been found; but see Governor Greene to Ellery May 30, Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 294.

able Politicians to think that our Political Salvation, in a great measure depends on a controuling power, over the whole, being lodged in some person or persons. I wish to have your Excellencys Sentiments upon this subject, before the matter is taken up in Congress which I think will be soon, as the Union is too much dissolved in some of our Sister States, whatever [your] sentiments may be will be my line of Conduct I fear the ability of the state to carry the sever[al requi]sitions into execution. I hope nothing will be [neglected] that is probable. You may rest asured if our Indep[endence] is established n. England must do their full proportion, as there is not that unanimity in the southern states, th[at I cou]ld wish. . . .

263. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 19, 1780.

Gentlemen,

You will receive enclosed a Letter from Ebenezer Hazard, which Congress have referred to the Committee at Head Quarters.

It has been suggested by some that an Head Quarter Post master is unnecessary, that all Letters for Head Quarters might be left in the Quarter Master Generals Office, and the Expençe of a Post master at Head Quarters wholly saved. Every one sees the Necessity of retrenching Expences as far as possible

You Gentlemen will be under proper Advantage to judge what is necessary and best to be done in this Matter which is referred to you.²

264. JOSEPH JONES TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

[June 19, 1780.]²

Dear S'r,

I have your favour of the 31st ult.³ in answer to my several letters and was then impressed with and still feel great anxiety on account of our

[263]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 117, no. 11, p. 114; *ibid.*, President's Letter-book, p. 36.

² See the *Journals*, June 16. Hazard's letter, dated at Morristown June 7 and addressed to Richard Bache, Postmaster General at Philadelphia (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 118; no. 11, p. 15, letter-book copy), mentions the application of Mr. [John Durham] Alvey for the appointment. Alvey does not appear to have received the appointment at this time, but subsequently served as postmaster to the main army by appointment of the Postmaster General. See the *Journals*, Feb. 14, 19, 23, Mar. 11, 1782; Apr. 4, 29, 30, 1783. He resigned Mar. 8, 1783 (Washington Papers).

The address at the head of the letter-book copy is, "The Honble Philip Schuyler, John Mathews and Nathl. Peabody Esqrs Committee at Head Quarters". Schuyler was at this time in Congress, having returned June 17 to lay before Congress the committee's proposals relative to the department of quartermaster-general, etc. See no. 258, *ante*.

[264]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 476; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 12.

² The letter is undated, but that the date June 19, which is found in the printed text of *Letters to Washington*, is approximately correct is indicated by several items in the contents.

³ Washington's letter to Jones May 31 is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 304. (ed. Sparks), VII. 67. Following is the part which particularly inspired Jones's remarks:

public affairs. The present distress is to be ascribed in great part to the resolution not to issue any more Bills of Credit before a sufficiency of money was provided and supplies secured for the Army had proper precaution been taken in these matters, and the new scheme of Finance been ready for the public consideration, the determination not to increase the quantity of money and the alteration introduced by the new system would not have been so sensibly felt or occasioned the distress in the several Departments they have produced. from these I think we are nearly emerging as the new money is coming into use in the several States and will probably greatly relieve us. But by those and several other proceedings Congress have been gradually surrendering or throwing upon the several States the exercise of powers they should have retained and to their utmost have exercised themselves, untill at length they have scarce a power left but such as concerns foreign transactions, for as to the Army the Congress is at present little more than the medium through which the wants of the Army are conveyed to the States. This Body never had or at least in few instances have exercised powers adequate to the purposes of War and such as they had, have been from embarrassment and difficulties frittered away to the States and it will be found I fear very difficult to recover them. A resolution passed the other day desiring the States to inform us what they had done upon certain requisitions for some time past that we might know what we had to rely on. This may probably serve as a Basis for assuming powers should the answers afford an opening.⁴ other resolutions are now before us. By one of them the States are desired to give express powers for calling forth Men provisions money for carrying on the War for the common defence. others go to the assumption of them immediately. the first I have no doubt will pass this Body but will I expect sleep with the States, the others I believe will dye where they are⁵ for so cautious are some of offending the States in this respect a Gentleman the other day plainly told us, upon a proposition to order some armed vessels to search the vessels going out to prevent the exportation of Flour,

"Certain I am, unless Congress speak in a more decisive tone, unless they are invested with powers by the several States competent to the great purposes of war, or assume them as matter of right, and they and the States respectively act with more energy than they hitherto have done, that our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill timing the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses and derive no benefit from them. One State will comply with a requisition of Congress; another neglects to do it; a third executes it by halves; and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up hill; and, while such a system as the present one or rather want of one prevails, we shall ever be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage.

"This, my dear Sir, is plain language to a member of Congress: but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen, which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, are considering themselves as dependent on their respective States. In a word, I see the powers of Congress declining too fast for the consideration and respect, which are due to them as the great representative body of America, and I am fearful of the consequences."

⁴ See the *Journals*, June 17; cf. *ibid.*, June 21, 23, and no. 272, *post*.

⁵ See the *Journals*, June 21, 23; also no. 262, *ante*, and no. 469, note 6, *post*.

that if an Embargo was laid in the Delaware as in this State he consented to the measure, otherwise he never would agree to such exercise of power.

The Merchant Bankers in this City are making generous exertions to procure and send forward to the Army a supply of Flour and will afford us great help in that article.⁶ The Massachusetts Delegates read us Letters whereby it appears their State have raised 4000 Men for the Army and are embodying 4000 more to be ready if wanting.⁷ Gates Weedon and Morgan are ordered to the Southern Department. 5000 Militia are required from Virginia to join that Army and 3000 to be held in readiness, from N. Carolina, 4000 and two thousand to be held in readiness.⁸ 2500 of the Virginia Militia were to march yesterday. by our accounts it would seem that [those] States are somewhat roused from their slumber, but have rejected the scheme of Finance of the 18th March last wh. I fear will have a bad effect on the Credit of the money of the other States that have agreed to the measure.⁹ Governor Jefferson has transmitted us a State of the Virginia Troops taken from the last returns by wh. it appears we have in the different Corps 4000 men in service to the 30th Sept. and for the War or longer period than the 30th Sept. next, including those captured in Charles Town. This surprises me but the fact appears to be so and where they are or what is become of them is strange. I cannot inform you whether our Legislature have ordered a Draft to fill up the deficiencies as we have no Mail this week from the Southward it stoping at Annapolis for want of a Rider to bring it to this place, the late rider having quited the Business.¹⁰ with great esteem I am D'r S'r

Yr. obt. hum: servt.

JOS. JONES.

265. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 19th, 1780.

S'r,

I received your letter of the 27th of May the day before yesterday, and this day laid the same before Congress. it was referred to a Committee who are to report thereon.

Although the requisition was by Several of the members in the Course of the debate allowed to be just, yet all but the delegates of Massachusetts Bay opposed it being granted at Present on account of the Critical situation we are in for want of money to feed the army. I urged that by a resolution of Congress Massachusetts Bay had been allowed to Retain two millions of their quota of taxes on account of the Penobscot expedition, and that the same line of Conduct ought to be observed with regard to us

⁶ Cf. nos. 235, 255, 259, 261, *ante*, and nos. 275, 281, *post*; also Reed to Washington June 20, *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), II. 479.

⁷ The *Journals* do not mention the reading of these letters.

⁸ See the *Journals*, June 13, 16, 17; cf. nos. 243, 250, *ante*.

⁹ See no. 246, *ante*, and nos. 270, 285, 288, 289, 310, 314, *post*.

¹⁰ See no. 251, note 2, *ante*, and Jefferson to Washington June 11 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 308; *Official Letters*, II. 127).

[265]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 50.

as to them, but the minds of Congress are so intirely occupied with the distresses of the army, as to render them inattentive to the Voice of reason and justice, and therefore it will bee some time I fear before any thing will bee done to effect.²

In the Course of the next week I expect to procure our quota of the new emission of money to be forwarded to Hartford in Connecticut by Oliver Ellsworth Esqr. who lives in Hartford and is a delegate of that State, and if I Can will agree with him to transmit it from thence to our State.³

. . . .

266. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE STATES FROM
NEW HAMPSHIRE TO VIRGINIA.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN June 19th 1780.

Sir,

We inclose you a Copy of Genl. Washingtons letter to us of this day.²

We have in our former letters dwelt so forcibly on the several matters contained in the Generals letter that it is now become almost unnecessary for us to say any thing more on them.

But when we Consider the season for operating wears fast away, the small force we now have in the field being still fed in a scanty and uncertain manner, The hourly expectation of the fleet and Army of our Ally on our Coast, And that the Commander in Chief, as well as ourselves, are as yet totally uninform'd what are to be our expectations on the subjects of our former letters—Be assured Sir we feel an Anxiety Congenial with his. You will therefore pardon us for being thus Solicitous when we again entreat you in the most earnest, in the most urgent manner to use every exertion in your power to ingage your State, to a Speedy and desicive compliance with our former requisitions. The two points we wou'd wish

² See the *Journals*, June 19, 23, and no. 282, *post*.

³ See nos. 282, 286, *post*. The endorsement on this letter shows that it was received July 7.

[266]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 52; Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 49 (copy), no. 11, p. 67 (letter-book copy, "Circular No. 5"); *ibid.*, Force Trans., Trumbull, XII. 25; Md. Hist. Soc., Brown Book, V. 41; Mass. Arch., CCII. 275; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), XII. 25; N. J. State Lib.; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 517, *ibid.*, XLV. 180; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 337; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 233; *Clinton Papers*, V. 855. There are small variations in the texts.

² Washington's letter to the committee, June 19, is in *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII. 80, (ed. Ford), VIII. 316n.; *Clinton Papers*, V. 856; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 236 (dated June 20); *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 338. To President Reed he wrote on the same day, "Our stores and baggage in this State are almost at the mercy of the enemy if they advance in force", and besought him to take measures for furnishing 250 teams, as expeditiously as they could be collected, for the removal of the stores. Under the direction on this letter is the following: "The Express, the bearer of this, is to ride night and day and should he be in want of a fresh horse all Q. M's and other well wishers to the independence of America are hereby requested to furnish him with such horses as will answer the purpose of forwarding this letter. By order of the Commander in Chief. [Signed] Ben'n Brown, Ass. D. Q. M. G." (*ibid.*, p. 339). Brown was serving as assistant secretary to the committee at headquarters (see no. 208, note 2, *ante*). Reed's reply, June 22, is in *Life of Reed*, II. 215. See also General Knox to Reed June 22, 27, Reed to the delegates June 23, and Washington to Reed June 25 (*Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. pp. 349, 359, 351, 361, respectively).

to press most forcibly on yours and the minds of the Legislature of your State are immediately forwarding Your Quota of Troops Necessary to Complete your Battallions in the Continental Army, and of Supplies of provisions agreeable to the Estimates inclosed you in our letter of the [] instant.³ At the Same time we would not wish you to Consider *any part* of our former requisitions as become in the least degree unnecessary—on the contrary we are now Strongly Convinced that they are already as small as the important objects in view can possibly admit of. We only mention the two first as the most *immediate* and *indispensibly* Necessary for reinforced as the Enemy now are by the return of their Troops from the reduction of Charlestown, we Momently expect an attack will be made on our weak and almost resistless Army. Should this event happen whilst in this State we seriously dread the result.

From the well known indefatigable attention of Your State, to the welfare of the United States we cannot entertain a doubt of its exertions at this interesting Conjuncture, and we most earnestly intreat you to Give us the Earliest information of the final determinations of your State on the Subjects of this and our former letters.

We are Sir with the highest respect,

Your most obedt. Servts.

JNO. MATHEWS,
NATHL. PEABODY.

To the State of Pennsylvania

We take the liberty of again calling your attention to the urgent necessity of forwarding the flour to West Point. The reasons for this pressing call are fully contained in our letter of the [] instant, to which we beg leave to refer you.⁴

267. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
MORRIS TOWN, 19th June 1780.

Sir,

We received your favor of the 15th Instant, inclosing two acts of Congress of the 12th and 13th Instant, which will be duly attended to.²

We inclose you copy of General Washington's letter to us, of this day, and of our circular letter to the several States, from New Hampshire to Virginia inclusive, for the information of Congress.³

³ The reference is doubtless to the circular letter of June 2 (no. 213, *ante*).

⁴ This paragraph is of course not found in copies of the circular sent to other states than Pennsylvania. The letter referred to is no doubt that of June 12 to Reed (no. 241, *ante*), although the letter-book copy has "second instant".

[267]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 85, no. 11, p. 28.

² The President's letter (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 115; President's Letter-Book, p. 28) transmitted the instructions of June 12 and the orders of June 13, consequent upon the committee's letter of June 5.

³ This letter was signed by Mathews and Peabody. Washington's letter to the committee, June 19, is in *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII. 80, (ed. Ford), VIII. 316 n.; *Clinton Papers*, V. 856; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 338. The circular letter of the committee, June 19, is no. 266, *ante*; cf. no. 272, *post*.

268. THE SECRETARY OF CONGRESS (CHARLES THOMSON) TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

[*Sir,*

SECRETARY'S OFFICE June 20, 1780.

The Commissions to private armed vessels of war were heretofore ordered to be attested by the secretary of Congress. But upon establishing a board of Admiralty it was judged proper that they should issue from that board and be attested by their secretary. Accordingly on the 2d of May last, having made some alterations in the form of the Commission Bond, and instructions for commanders of private armed Vessels of War, Congress passed the following resolutions²

You will therefore please, for the future, to apply to the Board of Admiralty for the commissions bonds etc which may be wanted in your State, and transmit to the said board the bonds given by the commanders to be lodged in this Office.³

269. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

MORRIS TOWN June 20, 1780.

Sir,

Since we did ourselves the honor of addressing your excellency in our circular letter of yesterday, inclosing copy of a letter of the same date from the commander in Chief He has thought proper to direct Brigadier General Parsons to repair to your State in order to collect, arrange, and forward the drafts and recruits from thence to the Army, as you will be advised by the inclosed Copy.

General Parsons is fully acquainted with the numbers, situation and wants of our Army, and the indispensable necessity for the States immediately filling their continental Regiments to the number of five hundred and four Rank and file, agreeable to the Generals proposal, and of forwarding the quota of Militia and Supplies allotted to the States agreeable to the requisitions of this committee. We therefore most earnestly request your Excellency to pay the earliest attention to his representation on these important Subjects, and to give him every aid in your power to effect the matters committed to his charge by the Commander in Chief.²

We have the honor to be with respect and Esteem

Your Most Obt. Humble Servts.

JNO. MATHEWS

NATHL. PEABODY.

[268]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 49, f. 527; no. 18A (Secretary's Letter-Book), p. 2 (draft); *ibid.*, Force Trans., Weare; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 44; Mass. Arch., CCII. 288; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 519; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 340; *Clinton Papers*, V. 863.

² See the report of the board of admiralty and the consequent resolves, in the *Journals*, May 2. Thompson here quotes the first resolve and the first part of the second.

³ See, further, the *Journals*, July 24, 27, and the circular letter of July 28 (no. 347, *post*). The board of admiralty was established Oct. 28, 1779.

[269]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M. H. S.), vol. XII., pt. I., p. 35; Library of Congress, Papers Cont., Cong., no. 11, p. 200 (letter-book copy), no. 39, vol. III., p. 91 (draft by Mathews).

² Washington's letter to the committee, June 20, is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 177, to Trumbull, *ibid.*, p. 178.

270. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular

PHILADELPHIA June 21, 1780.

Sir,

Congress have at different Periods recommended Measures which they deemed essentially necessary for the public Good.

They now request of those States which have not made returns of their Transactions in that respect, the most expeditious Information of the Measures they have taken in Consequence of the several resolutions, a list of which is annexed to the enclosed Act of Congress of the 17th Instant.²

271. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 21, 1780.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Acts of Congress of the 17th and 19th Instant pointing out the Measures they deem necessary to be taken, for the Support of the southern Army.

I make no Doubt the State of Virginia will avail itself of its numerous and spirited Militia, as well as great resources, at this important Crisis, when her own immediate Interest is so intimately connected with that of the Union.

P. S. I have been honored with your Despatches of the 9th Instant ²

[270]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Mass. Arch., CCII. 290; N. J. State Lib.; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 46; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 37; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 520; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 343; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 201.

² The annexed list summarizes items under the following dates: 1779, Mar. 9, May 21, Sept. 13 (circular letter), Oct. 6 and 7, Oct. 9 (circular), Dec. 11; 1780, Feb. 9, 25, Mar. 18, May 19, 20. Responses were received as follows: Delaware June 22 (*Journals*, June 26); Maryland June 26 (*Journals*, June 30; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 205), though limited to the act of Mar. 18; more particularly in letters to the committee at headquarters and to General Washington July 10 (*ibid.*, pp. 216, 217); New Jersey June 28 (*Journals*, July 5; partial response; Governor Livingston "had not charged his memory with particulars"); Massachusetts July 4 (*Journals*, July 17); Rhode Island July 8 (*ibid.*); New York July 8 (*Journals*, July 20; *Clinton Papers*, V. 938); Connecticut July 10 (*Journals*, July 18; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, seventh ser., III. 58); New Hampshire July 17 (*Journals*, Aug. 14); Virginia July 27 (*Journals*, Aug. 4; *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. Ford, II. 322; *Official Letters*, II. 142); Pennsylvania Aug. 5 (*Journals*, Aug. 21; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 458, dated July 30; cf. Reed's letter to the delegates July 6, *ibid.*, p. 352, and nos. 396, 397, *post*). Governor Nash of North Carolina wrote July 18 (*Journals*, Aug. 14) that it was not until May 15 that he received resolves of February, that the assembly had then adjourned, but that he would call it together again. Oct. 6 (*Journals*, Oct. 31) he wrote that he had received sundry despatches and resolves during his excursion into the western country and stated that it would be impracticable to fill up the state's battalions, "owing to the perpetual calls we have for the militia . . . and with respect to provisions I am to acquaint you that the state of our country at pres't is such as will render very precarious any supplies that might otherwise be expected of us" (*N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 1). Respecting the act of Mar. 18, see nos. 314, 331, *post*.

[271]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 39.

² Jefferson's letter of June 9 was read in Congress June 16, and President Huntington acknowledged its receipt the same day. See no. 251, *ante*.

272. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE STATES FROM
NEW HAMPSHIRE TO MARYLAND.¹Circular.²

PHILADELPHIA June 22, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will herewith receive an Act of Congress of the 21. Instant, which will no doubt be duly attended to.

Those parts of the Act in particular that relate to giving Information to Congress and their Committee at Head Quarters, it is most earnestly requested may be attended to with the utmost Expedition and Punctuality.

The Time is come when we may hourly expect the Arrival of the Forces of our Ally, and the Plan of Operation ought to be completely formed, and ready to be communicated upon their Arrival, which cannot be done for want of proper and certain Information, of the Number of Forces, Quantity of Supplies, etc. which the States will furnish

Under these Circumstances you will easily perceive, that Congress and the Commander in Chief are placed in a most painful Situation, and that the Interest, Honour and Safety of these States are too much affected to admit of the least Delay or Neglect of any and every Exertion which the present Situation of our Affairs demand

June 23. Since writing the foregoing, I have received a Letter from his Exc'y Genl. Washington an Extract of which is enclosed together with an Act of Congress of this Day, by which you will be further informed of the pressing Necessity of immediately forwarding on the supplies of Men and Provisions with the utmost Expedition and the repeated Request of Congress to transmit to them and their Committee at Head Quarters the Proceedings of the State over which you have the honour to preside in such Manner that the Commander in Chief may rely, and be enabled to regulate his future Regulations thereon.³

273. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

TRENTOWN 22d June 1780.

Dear Sir,

My anxiety for the supplies of the army have brought me to this place in order that I might satisfy myself as to the quantity on hand, and the means of forwarding them. Genl. Knox has communicated to me your Excellency's orders on this subject. Nothing short of them would I am fully persuaded be of sufficie[nt] force to produce the desired effect, and

[272]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 49; Mass. Arch., CCII. 291; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 40; N. J. State Lib.; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 348; *Clinton Papers*, V. 872; *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 522; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 201.

² The instructions of Congress were that this circular be sent to the states New Hampshire to Maryland, inclusive, and the letter-book contains a notation to that effect.

³ See the *Journals*, June 21, 23, and no. 270, *ante*. Washington's letter of June 20 is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 315; an extract is in *Clinton Papers*, V. 874. See also nos. 266, 267, *ante*.

[273]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 1.

the knowledge of them will in a great measure render the execution of them unnecessary. impressed with this Idea, I have been long labouring to bring Congress to assume the power which will enable them to call forth the resources of the States, but unhappily without effect. However I hope much from their pressing and reiterated demands. What principally induced me to trouble your Excellency at this time is an apprehension which I, in common with many other gentlemen, entertain of the propriety of leaving the command at West point in the Hands of Genl. Howe Having no personal acquaintance with him I can have no prejudices, but the Gen^{le} [Gentlemen] from the Southward by no means speak so favourably of him as I could wish. But in [spite]² of this I conceive, that as yet he has had no opportunity of acquiring a military character. But Confidence which is so necessary to inspire courage especially in militia, will I fear be wanting in him. [If] I might presume so far I shd. beg leave to submit it to yr. Excellency whether this post might not be most safely confided to Genl. Arnold whose courage is undoubted, who is the favourite of our militia, and who will agree perfectly with our Govr. Your Excellency will not consider this as designed to convey the most dis[tant] reflection on Genl. Howe, of whom I know nothing but by report which may very possibly be ill grounded, but if the most distant doubt remains in a matter of much moment I conceive it should be removed. I make no other appology for the liberty I take than the motive that suggests it, Which has before now induced your Excellency to pardon an interference in matters to which I was no [more?]³ competent than the present. This Hasty letter is written while the express waits whom I am unwilling to detain longer than while I declare the respect and esteem with which

I am your Excellencys

Most Obt. Hum: Servt.

ROBT. R LIVINGSTON ⁴

274. OLIVER ELLSWORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, June 23d, 1780.

Sir,

. . . General Lincoln arived this day at Congress and has requested an enquiry into his conduct in the loss of Charlestown.²

² The MS. is torn, partly obliterating some words.

³ The manuscript is torn.

⁴ Washington's reply to this letter, June 29, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 326, (ed. Sparks), VII. 94. In connection with this letter to Livingston, in both the Sparks and the Ford editions of Washington's *Writings* is given an extract of a letter from Arnold to Schuyler, May 25, intimating a desire to be assigned to the command of West Point. Replying (Oct. 18) to a letter of Joseph Reed (Oct. 3), in which Reed touched upon the matter of Arnold's appointment, Washington gave his recollection of the casual conversation with Schuyler concerning Arnold's request, and spoke of this letter of Livingston to him, although without mentioning Livingston by name. *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 498, (ed. Sparks), VII. 264; *Life of Reed*, II. 277. A letter from Schuyler to Arnold, replying to Arnold's letter of May 25, is *ibid.*, p. 276.

[274]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 55.

² Lincoln's letter informing Congress of his arrival in Philadelphia is dated June 22, but was read in Congress the 23d. See the *Journals* of that day, and nos. 287,

Mr. Laurence having been prevented going to Holland, Mr. John Adams, or, if inconvenient for him, Mr. Dana is authorised to transact the business there until Mr. Laurence or some other appointed in his room shall arrive.

Your Excellency, I presume, has too perfect a knowledge of the state of the army and too frequent representations of the publick exigencies from Congress, their committee at camp, and the General, to leave it in my power to add anything on those subjects.

Mr. Huntington is nearly thro' the small pox, and I hope will soon leave me at liberty to return home.

275. JAMES MADISON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA June 23rd 1780.

Dear Sir,

Nothing material has taken place since my last. The fact is confirmed that Clinton has returned to N. Y. with part of the Southern army, and has joined Kniphausen. They are at present manoeuvring for purposes not absolutely known, but most probably in order to draw Genl. Washington to an action in which they suppose he might be disabled to give the necessary co-operation to the french armament. Could they succeed in drawing him from his strong position, the result indeed ought to be exceedingly feared. He is weak in numbers beyond all suspicion, and under as great apprehension from famine as from the Enemy. Unless very speedy and extensive reinforcements are recd. from the Eastern States, which I believe are exerting themselves, the issue of the Campaign must be equally disgraceful to our councils and disgustful to our Allies. Our greatest hopes of being able [to] feed them are founded on a patriotic scheme of the opulent Merch'ts of this city who have already subscribed nearly £3,000,000 and will very soon complete that sum, the immediate object of which is to procure and transport to the Army 3,000,000,000 of rations, and 300 Hhds. of rum. Congress for the support of this bank and for the security and indemnification of the Subscribers have pledged the faith of the United States and agreed to deposit Bills of Exchange on Europe to the amount of £150,000 sterling, which are not however to be made use of unless other means of discharging this debt should be inadequate.²

323, *post*. Another letter of June 22, relative to his exchange, was read in Congress June 26.

[275]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings of Madison* (ed. Hunt), I. 66; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 49.

² Cf. no. 281, *post*. See the *Journals*, June 21, 22; also nos. 235, 255, 259, 261, *ante*, 281, 303, *post*. Madison evidently meant to write £300,000 and 3,000,000 rations.

276. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE STATES FROM
NEW HAMPSHIRE TO VIRGINIA.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

MORRISTOWN, June 23, 1780.

Sir,

Impressed with the necessity of giving you the earliest information of every important occurrence, we therefore inclose you a copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief this moment received.²

From the accumulated distresses of our army which we are daily spectators of; from the jeopardy we have twice seen them in, and from the fatal consequences that must have resulted from a defeat (which would inevitably have been the consequence, had the enemy at first, and still will be should they even now pursue their object), We are constrained again to call on you in the most pressing manner, to forward your quota of men and supplies agreeably to our estimate of the 2d instant, and prevent the total sacrifice of the few brave and intrepid spirits that at present com-

[276]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 61 (except addition to Pennsylvania and New Jersey); Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 93 (copy sent to Congress), no. 39, vol. III., f. 51 (copy), no. 11, p. 68 (letter-book copy); *ibid.*, Washington Papers; Md. Hist. Soc., vol. LXXXVII., f. 185; N. J. State Lib.; Haverford College, Roberts Coll. (to Pennsylvania); *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 150; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 355; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 239.

² Washington's letter to the committee, June 23, is in *Mass. Hist. Soc., Collections*, fifth ser., X. 179; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 118; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 238 (dated June 20); *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 356. A draft is in the Washington Papers. "We do not know", he says, "the ultimate designs of the enemy—all we know is that they are very strong and that we are very weak." In order to save the stores, which can be done only by removing them, since he is unable to defend them, he entreats the committee to write to the executives of Pennsylvania and New Jersey pressing them to bring out all the wagons they can, and he further asks "that the States may be again called upon to redouble their exertions to comply with the demands that have been already made upon them". See no. 278, *post*.

Washington also took other measures for the removal of the stores, but meanwhile the committee had taken, apparently on its own account, steps to the same end, by addressing the following communication, dated June 22, at 11 o'clock P. M., to Joseph Lewis, assistant deputy quartermaster:

"We earnestly request you to give every assistance in your power to have the Stores moved from this point tonight." Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 88 (draft), no. 11, p. 261 (copy).

Lewis's reply, "at 11-½ P. M.", further emphasizes the fact that the committee's note to him was a request and not an order:

"Your request dated at 11 P. M. I have received. the public good and the safety of this town are sufficient motives to induce me to use every exertion in removing the stores—and, if any thing could be an additional motive, it is excited by an earnest desire of complying with your request. The committee may therefore fully rely on my utmost to have the stores removed without loss of time." *Ibid.*, no. 11, p. 338.

Only the day before (June 21) the committee had made the following requisition for supplies, addressed to "Colo. Ephm. Blaine C G Purchases": "Sir, You will please order the under mention'd articles immediately to Head Quarters for the use of this Committee *Vizt.* One Quarter Cask of Madaria Wine, One small barrel brown Sugar, One hundred weight of Loaf Sugar, Fifty pounds of Coffee, Twenty pounds Chocolate, One Barrel milk Bisquet, Six pounds hyisan Tea, half a dozen bottles of musterd, Three pounds of black peper, a keg of good wine Vinegar, Two Bottles of Oyl, One Barrel of good Spirits and, One Barrel Hams." The letter (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 61, copy) was signed by Mathews and Peabody. The original does not appear to be in the Blaine Papers. Whether in the hurried shifting of headquarters the committee received these supplies has not been discovered. June 23 the secretary of the committee, Abraham Brasher, addressed to Col. James Abeel an order for the following items: two padlocks for wagons, one chest lock, one set of iron bowls, one camp kettle, one tea kettle, one forage knife, one dozen iron plates, six leather bottom camp stools. *Ibid.*, f. 58.

pose our army, and avoid the indelible stain that must consequently be fixed on these states, should such an event take place.³ (Thus far Circular)

To the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey

That part of the General's letter respecting the state of the stores here, is a matter of such pressing necessity that we conceive it to be our duty to give the earliest attention to it. The situation of the magazines at this point is truly deplorable, the enemy are certainly pushing at them, and we are in no condition to move them for want of teams; if they do not effect their purpose at this time it is evident they mean to persist until the situation of our affairs renders it necessary for the remains of our army to move from hence, when there will be no impediment to the execution of their plan. We therefore hope, sir, you will enable the officers of the departments to improve this interval so as to effect their removal to a place of greater safety by having the teams which are requested of your state immediately sent forward.⁴

We have the honor to be your Excellency's most obt. and hble. Servts.

JNO. MATHEWS,
NATH. PEABODY.⁵

277. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN June 24, 1780.

Sir,

We inclose you, for the information of Congress, copies of the Commander in Chief's letter to us of the 23d Inst. and of our circular letter, of the same date, to the Several States from New Hampshire to Virga. inclusive.

Your Excellency will observe those to New Jersey and Pennsylvania have an additional clause in each agreeable to the request of the Commander in Chief.²

We beg the favor of your Excellency to forward the Letters Southward of Pennsylvania.³

³ See the letters from Jefferson, July 2, to Washington, to the President of Congress, and to the committee (*Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 315, 316, 317; *Official Letters*, II. 136-137); see also the Maryland council to the committee and to Washington, July 10 (*Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 216, 217).

⁴ See no. 277, *post*.

⁵ On the same day Peabody wrote to the President of Congress an account of the action at Springfield (*Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 78, vol. XVIII., f. 299). The letter, which was written at intervals between 2 p. m. and 11 p. m. on the 23d and continued on the 24th, was received by Congress June 26, whereas the circular letter of the committee, transmitted with their letter of the 24th (no. 277, *post*), was not received until the 27th. Peabody gave a fuller account of the action in his letter to Weare June 24 (no. 279, *post*).

[277]¹ Library of Congress, *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 39, vol. I., f. 90, no. 11, p. 28 (letter-book copy).

² See no. 276, *ante*, and no. 278, *post*. See also Greene to Reed, June 29, in *Life of Reed*, II. 216.

³ This letter is signed by Mathews and Peabody.

278. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

Sir,

MORRIS TOWN June 24, 1780.

We received your favor of the 23 Inst. yesterday about four o Clock. We paid an immediate attention to it, as appears by the inclosed letter to the States²

The Stores will be nearly all removed from hence this Evening, except such as are necessary for the detachment of the army at the short hills.

We propose joining your Excellency as soon as Genl. Schuyler returns, whom we hourly expect.³

279. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE (MESHECH WEARE).¹

Sir,

MORRISTOWN 24th June 1780.

Altho I have Scarce time to write a single word except what relates to official Transactions and of course am deprived of the happiness of private correspondence—Yet when I reflect how various and uncertain common reports are with regard to matters and things And how agreeable it must be for You Sir and the rest of my friends to have early and direct intelligence of the momentous manouveres and retrograde manoveres of the Enemy Especially at this Critical Conjuncture, Am Constrain'd to rob the Couch of a few dreary midnight moments, to give some imperfect hints relative to the late movements of the Enemy.

The Committee² wrote you yesterday by their Circular letter inclosing Copy of a letter recd. from the Commander in Chief, but as the fate of the day was then undetermined, nothing particular could be observed, except what was Contained in his Exce'cys Letters affore alluded to.³

. . . .

[278]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (signed by Mathews and Peabody); Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 220 (letter-book copy).

² See nos. 276, 277, *ante*.

³ Washington had removed his headquarters from Morristown to Springfield June 7, and thence, June 22, to Rockaway Bridge, whence the letter to the committee was written. The same day (June 23) he removed to Whippany, the 26th to Ramapough, where he remained until July 1, then established his headquarters at Col. Theunis Dey's, Preakness, near Passaic Falls. There he remained until July 29. Schuyler did not leave Philadelphia until June 26 (probably), and instead of joining the committee at Morristown appears to have been proceeding to Washington's present headquarters at Ramapough. See no. 283, *post*.

[279]¹ N. H. Hist., Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 63.

² That is, the committee at headquarters. See no. 276, *ante*.

³ Peabody describes the enemy's advance upon Springfield, their destruction of the town, and their return to Staten Island. See no. 276, note 5, *ante*; see also Washington to Congress June 25 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 329, ed. Sparks, VII. 85), and Greene to Washington June 24 (*ibid.*, p. 506).

John Mathews wrote to Thomas Bee on the same day, giving some account of the action at Springfield. His letter begins: "Blush! Blush! Ye American States at your tardy, infamous conduct, in suffering the few brave and intrepid spirits, that at present compose your army, to be daily subject to the resentments of a merciless enemy." At the close of the letter he says, "I was down a part of the time, but did not stay long. I saw this last manuvre". The last manoeuvre to which he refers is thus described: "But they certainly turn'd tail on us." This letter is listed in the *Emmet Calendar* (no. 4239) as to "Thomas Bell".

280. JOHN WALKER TO GEORGE WEEDON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, 27 June, 1780.

Dear General:

. . . . Before this reaches you, you will no doubt have heard of your being called into service. This I am sure will be agreeable to you, and may you render your country that service she stands in need of and that which I know you wish to do.² Our affairs 'tis true are critical, but an adverse stroke is now and then necessary to rouse us to action. Our resources are undoubtedly sufficient and we want but exertions to work out our salvation. We are now roused and I hope the work will be finished before we fall into another fit of the lethargy. I think your scheme for recruiting our army an excellent one and wish with all my soul it were adopted. This and the neighbouring States are straining every nerve to bring the present campaign to a happy conclusion; let it not be said that Virginia was exceeded either in zeal or in exertions by any one of them. Where in the name of Heaven are the Monsieurs all this time? We heard of their sailing from Brest the 9th of April.

281. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, June 27th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I do my self the honour to write your Excellency, tho at the same time I am almost ready to believe my letters are not agreeable, as I have not received one line since I left the state.

Congress have taken up and settled the scale of depreciation upon which the Loan office Certificates are to be paid off. This business hath taken up much time in Congress occasioned by the different interests in the states and individuals concerned, bad as it may be thought to be by some, it is the best that could be obtained.² It was become absolutely necessary to establish publick credit upon some basis, Otherwise from appearance the Army will disband and our Country be lost. The embarements of our publick measures are beyond description owing to the want of money.

The merchants in this City offered Congress that they would supply the Army with 3.000.000 of Rations of provisions and Three hundred Hogs-heads of Rum delivered in Camp, to be paid for in six months with Interest at six per cent pr. Annum. The offer is accepted, the Merchants have subscribed a fund of £300 000 hard Money and are sending the provisions forward, which I trust will give a momentary relief,³ At the same time it is to be hoped no one state will fail to exert themselves in forwarding

[280]¹ Seventy-Six Society, *Publications: Maryland Papers*, p. 111.² See the *Journals*, June 16, and no. 192, *ante*; also a passage in Walker's letter of July 11 (no. 304, *post*, but omitted there).[281]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1779-1780, p. 136; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 299.² The completed measure is in the *Journals*, June 28. See nos. 102, note 2, 120, 142, *ante*, and nos. 286, 288, *post*.³ See no. 275, note 2, *ante*, and no. 303, *post*.

their quota of Supplies, As the Enemy build their greatest hopes on our not being able to feed an Army sufficient to look them in the face.

I have little encouragment that I shall be able to obtain any money on the State's accompt, Massachusetts and N. Hampshire have since applied in the same manner but have as yet not been able to obtain any.⁴

I wish some one of my Coleagues may arive soon, the State of Rhode Island is now the only State in the Union that is represented by only one member, I shall be soon out of Cash, the expense of Board in this place is beyond discription. . . .

282. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, June 27th 1780.

S'r,

Inclosed is a Coppy of the Proportion of the new money to be Emitted for the State of newhampshier as fixt by the board of treasury, which I expect to Send on next day after to morrow if I am not Dissapointed by one Captin John Brown of Boston who I Shall ingage to Convey it to Exeter² and allso a motion made by your Delegates for Pay for the Ship *hambden* agreeable to your Request and the Report of the Committee to whome it was Referd, which I make no Doubt will be as Dissagreeable to you as it wase to me. true it is Congress are in grate want of money at this time but as they had granted some Relefe to the State of the Massachussetts they aught to have Done the same by newhampshier when the worst Comes to the worst we must Due our Selves Justice.³ I Did not move for Pay for the Cloathing being advised by my frinds to Postpone it at this time and waite a more favorable oppertunety. I am S'r with grate Respect

your most obt. Hum'le Servent
NATHEL. FOLSOM

283. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO JOHN MATHEWS AND NATHANIEL PEABODY.¹

POMPTON, [June 27 ?, 1780.]²

Gentlemen,

I have perused the letter from the legislature of Maryland, and the Generals answer. I heartily approve of what the legislature proposed, and

⁴ Cf. nos. 262, 265, *ante*, and 282, 286, 298, *post*.

[282]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 67.

² See no. 265, *ante*, and no. 286, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, June 19, 23, and no. 265, *ante*. Weare says in his letter of May 27: "This State the year past actually paid 333,000 Dollars for the Ship *Hampden* her Tackle and Appurtenances lost at Penobscot mens wages etc. and also have advanced at least 600,000 Dollars for Cloathing for the Continental Army" (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 64, f. 110; *N. H. State Papers*, X. 510). The relief granted to Massachusetts, to which Folsom alludes, was doubtless the action of Apr. 8 (see no. 131, *ante*).

[283]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 153, vol. III., f. 531, no. 11, p. 280 (letter-book copy).

² The letter was undated, but is endorsed by Secretary Brasher (on both original and letter-book copy), "recd. by Com. 28th June 1780". It was doubtless written June 27.

think It advisable, If you do so, that the letter which signifies our approbation should contain a compliment on the Exertions of the State.³

Adieu—I am most sincerely yours etc.

PH: SCHUYLER

Pray come on as soon as you possibly can as the Genl. may want us.⁴

284. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS
JENIFER AND JOSIA BEALL.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

MORRIS TOWN, June 28, 1780.

Gentlemen,

We are this moment honored by the receipt of a letter of the 27th instant from the Commander in Chief covering copy of your joint letter of the 22d addressed to his Excellency, with his answer.²

The committee duly impressed with the utility of augmenting the number of regular troops in the field, the cogency of the reasons by you aduced in favour of such augmentation, so far as they relate to your state, in preference to the mode pointed out by the Committee in their Circular letter of the 2d instant in concurrence with the Commander in Chief, for reinforcing the Army, Sensible of the peculiar embarrassments your state might be under, by endeavouring, at this time, to furnish the proposed quota of Militia and wishing to calculate every measure to be adopted to the inclination and convenience of the States, are induced fully to coincide with the General in opinion respecting your propositions. Though, as the General observes, many inconveniences will arise in consequence of so great a deduction from the force you were to have furnished, and if a proportionable dimunition should take place in the other states, although the men, thus furnished will be engaged upon a permanent footing, we are not without anxiety least our Army should be found inadequate to the great objects in view. Our feelings have more than once been tortured, by seeing the General, with his little army, involved at a most critical moment in such complicated embarrassments as few Generals would have encountered, when at the same time his sensibility must have been greatly wounded by reflecting that this labyrinth of distress, was in a great measure owing to the cruel neglect of those whose indispensable duty it was

³ The reference is to the letter of Jenifer and Beall to Washington, and to the latter's reply, June 27, which was sent to the committee under a flying seal for their consideration. See no. 284, *post*.

⁴ See no. 278, *ante*, and no. 295, *post*. General Greene wrote to Col. Udney Hay from Ramapough June 27: "General Schuyler returned last night to Morristown from Philadelphia, which place I left in the Evening; he says the arrangement is nearly Complete, but that it is mutilated in the plan in such a way as will in a great Measure destroy its utility. The Sallary of the State Deputies is to be 130 Dollars pr. Month; an Assistant Deputy 70, and others in the same proportion. I shall say nothing further upon it untill I see it; Congress always destroy with their left hand what they begin with their right. People that will not learn Wisdom by suffering and experience cannot be saved" (*Clinton Papers*, V, 888). See nos. 128, 261, *ante*, and nos. 295, 317, 320, *post*.

[284]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (copy, signed by Mathews and Peabody); *ibid.*, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I, f. 98 (copy), no. 11, p. 201 (letter-book copy).

² Washington's letter to Jenifer and Beall (June 27) is in *Arch of Md.*, XLIII. 525. See no. 283, *ante*.

to have supported their cause by furnishing him with an Army and supplies equal to the exigency of the time, and the importance of establishing their independence, and bringing the war to a speedy and honorable termination; yet we are fully convinced such is his delicacy and candour, such his affectionate regard to the ease and convenience of the states, that he would undergo every species of hardship and fatigue, run every risque that did not with temerity endanger a total loss of the Army; the consequences inevitable to such an event, you will readily conceive. In short, that he would sacrifice every thing but his honor and integrity in support of the independence of these States, rather than they should be burthened by any unnecessary requisition. We shall therefore rely with the most entire confidence, that the condition and proposals mentioned in the Generals letter to you, and upon which he was induced to accept the propositions of your state, will be most rigidly observed, and fully complied with on their part.³

285. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 29th June, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . I am sorry to find that in passing the finance bill, no provision has been made for exchanging money, as this wd. enable you to answer the demands of Congress which are extreemly pressing and at the same time put some money in the treasury without too much distressing the inhabitants by taxes; it was for this purpose the words *by taxes or otherwise* were inserted in the resolution.² If the legislature are sitting, I wish a supplemental bill may pass immediately; if not I think that the necessity would justify you in ordering the treasurer to do it till they met, as it never was the idea of any of us that you could raise the whole sum demanded by tax.

³ Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer was president of the Maryland Senate. He was also a member of Congress and attended for a brief period in the first part of June. Josia Beall was speaker of the House of Delegates. Their letter to Washington, June 22, is in the Washington Papers, and is printed in *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 3 (although Beall's name there appears as "Jonathan"). It was transcribed in the committee's letter-book (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 332).

[285]¹ *Clinton Papers*, V. 896.

² That is, the resolution of Mar. 18. See the "Summary" accompanying Clinton's letter to Congress July 8 (*Clinton Papers*, V. 938), where it is stated that the New York act had been forwarded to Congress by the governor June 21. That letter was read in Congress the same day on which Livingston was writing.

June 29 a circular letter was ordered sent to the states from New Hampshire to Maryland, urging (among other things) compliance with the resolution of Mar. 18. The draft of the letter (drawn by Jared Ingersoll) as reported by a committee (appointed June 27 on a treasury report), and amended in Congress, is in the *Journals*, June 29. Texts of the circular are found in Mass. Arch., CCII. 300; N. Y. Pub. Lib., Misc., Huntington (to President Rodney of Delaware); Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 53; N. J. State Lib.; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XII. 134 (copy; the original to N. Y. was in the Stan. V. Henkels' sale Apr. 24, 1929, *Catalogue*, no. 1430, item 6); Library of Congress, President's Letter-book, p. 47. Printed texts are in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 527; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 375; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 240; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 151. See the *Journals*, Aug. 17; cf. nos. 246, 264, 270, *ante*, and nos. 288, 289, 310, 314, 331, 396, 397, *post*.

We have been in pain for West Point, but I hope that we have now nothing to fear from that quarter, as we hear that our line are returned and that the posts are strongly reinforced. . . .

286. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

S'r,

PHILADELPHIA June the 29th, 1780.

I imbrace the cairlest opportunity to inclose you the Resolution of Congress Respecting loan office Certificats which have been under Consideration every opportunity for a long time Past and Postpond and Put off upon Different views and Different motives to this Day hope it may be agreeable. alltho not exactly according to my mind, yet it is the nighest to Justice Could be agreed on. as soon as the treasury Board have Prepared the Proper tabels for the Several loan officers in Paying off the Principal and Interest they will be forwarded to the Respective loan officers.² . . .

yesterday I Sent off our Preportion of the new money by Capt. John Brown of boston who have ingaged to Deliver it with out loss of time to the treasurer at Exeter for which he have Recd. three thousand Dollers in full for the Same hope it may arive Safe. it was some of the first Struck off and as soon as it wase Ready immediately Sent off³

P S I Shall expect to be Releived in Sepr. as I must then Returne home N F.

287. SAMUEL HOLTEN TO NATHANIEL PEABODY.¹

Dear Sir,

PHILADELPHIA June 30th 1780.

I was favored with yours by Genl. Schuyler and intended to have done myself the pleasure of writing to you by him, but he sit out sooner than I expected.²

[286]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 68.

² Cf. no. 281, *ante*, and no. 288, *post*.

³ See nos. 265, 282, *ante*. In a letter to Weare July 12 (N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, VIII. 82) Folsom acknowledges receipt that day of a letter from Weare of June 19 relative to the money, and reiterates the statement that it had been sent by Captain Brown.

[287]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 520.

² Holten records in his Diary under June 17, "I recd. a letter from the Hon Mr Peabody by Gen. Schuyler". Peabody, then at headquarters as a member of the committee of co-operation, was a member of the medical committee, as was also Holten.

The committee at headquarters left but small record of their proceedings respecting arrangements in the medical department. June 10 Dr. Malachi Treat wrote to Schuyler from Albany that he had understood the medical system was to undergo alterations, and he offered some suggestions relative thereto (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 283, letter-book copy). About a month later Robert R. Livingston presented the following memorandum in behalf of Dr. Thomas Tillotson:

"Mem: for Com: at Camp Relative to Mr. Tillotson.

"He complains of a false return of Doc'r Browne

"He was made senior surgeon June 1776

"Physitian and Surgeon Genl. in Genl. orders in the summer 1777

"By commission from Congress 3d Octr. 1777."

The memorandum is endorsed by Mathews as "filed July 11, 1780".

You mention, that you have not the last returns. Dr. Brown,³ I think, made two returns of the Medical Gentleman not long since, and as I have but one of them I did suppose you had the other, as I tho't I had some remembrance of your taking [it] of me; the return I have is at this time wanted by the committee, as they are considering what Gentlemen are most proper to join the southern army; but if you stand in need of the return, I will send it or a copy; I inclose you a late resolution of Congress respecting the department: And the committee have wrote to Dr. Brown directing him to let them know the state of the middle district, and what stores and medicines are *absolutely* necessary; Mr. Henry of Virginia is added to the committee, and we are doing all in our power to afford supplies.⁴

It gives me concern that the General shou'd be under embarrassments from a resolution of Congress, and I gave it as my opinion to Genl. Schuyler that it might be removed, but it has not been mentioned in Congress.⁵

It is a great misfortune to our country, that when we shou'd have our armies in the field, we have the men to raise and money and supplies to collect, and 'tho' I am not disposed to find fault with any, yet I think there has been delays, and we must now suffer the consequences.

Genl. Lincoln is with us here, and agreeably to the resolutions of Congress and at his desire an inquiry is to be made respecting the surrender of Charlestown, and into his conduct as commanding officer, and report the same to Congress, and I have reason to believe it will be to his honor.⁶

General Ward arrived here about a fortnight since, and Mr. Adams on wednesday last, so that I shall sit out for Boston soon after Jere⁷ returns.

I presented your compliments to the ladies, and have it in charge from them to return you the like salute.

I am, sir, with sincere respect,

your most obedient servant

S. HOLTEN

288. JOSEPH JONES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

Dear Sir,

PHILA: 30th June 1780.

. . . . We hear our Assembly are about to reconsider their determination respecting the scheme of finance recommended by Congress, and that

³ Dr. William Brown, physician and director general of hospitals, Middle department. He resigned a few days later. See the *Journals*, July 21.

⁴ The late resolution referred to is probably that of June 24. James Henry had been placed upon the medical committee May 4.

⁵ Peabody had evidently mentioned to Holten, as he had done in his letter of June 14 to Folsom (no. 248, *ante*), that Washington was embarrassed by the resolution restricting his operations to the thirteen states. See no. 232, *ante*, and nos. 322, note 17, 353, 434, *post*.

⁶ See the *Journals*, June 23; also Washington to the President of Congress July 10 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 338, ed. Sparks, VII. 102). Cf. no. 323, *post*.

⁷ See no. 215, note 2, *ante*. In his Diary Holten records under June 28, "The Hon. Mr. Adams arrived here from Boston".

[288]¹ Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 15.

it was expected the measure would yet be adopted.² I am happy to hear it; being confident the rejection of the proposition and the emission of more paper money could not fail of producing the worst of consequences. Let us not depart from the determination not to increase the quantity. That resolution has already appreciated the money, and a steady adherence to the measure will at length effectually do it. The present is the season for accomplishing the great work of Confederation. If we suffer it to pass away I fear it will never return. The example of New York is worthy of imitation. could Virginia but think herself as she certainly is already full large for vigorous government, she too would moderate her desires, and cede to the united States, upon certain conditions, her Territory beyond the Ohio. The Act of New York the Instructions of Maryland to their Delegates and the Declaration of the State upon the subj't and the late remonstrance of Virga. are now before a Committee, and I expect they will report, that it be recommended to the States having extensive western unappropriated Claims to follow the example of New York and by Law authorize their Delegates to make the cession. I some time past sent Mr. Mason a copy of the New York Act.³ . . .

I have been much and still am depressed to think that America should do so little for herself while France is proposing to do so much; that she should, contending for everything dear and valuable to her, look on with folded arms and suffer other powers almost unassisted by us, to work out our salvation and independence. The idea is humiliating; the fact must be dishonourable, and our posterity will blush to read it in future story.

. . . .

² The scheme of finance referred to was that of Mar. 18. See no. 285, *ante*. The information that Virginia was reconsidering the question had evidently been received within a day or two, for on June 26 William Grayson, member of the board of war, wrote to General Smallwood: "The rejection of the resolution of Congress respecting finance was a fatal stab to the Independence of America. If Virginia does not rescind her determination we are all undone. Her persisting in the idea will not only deprive herself of resources, but the whole continent. This added to her Kentucky policy and her want of exertion in affording assistance to South Carolina, will place her in a very disagreeable point of view with respect to the other states" (Seventy-Six Society, *Publications: Maryland Papers*, p. 109). On the same day on which Jones was writing to Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee wrote from Richmond to Joseph Reed: "This assembly had once rejected the finance plan of Congress of the 10th [18th] of March but the question has been since revived and a bill ordered in for its adoption. The bill is now on its passage and we hope will be finally consented to" (N. Y. Hist. Soc., MSS. of Joseph Reed, VI., copy). July 10 Lee wrote to Henry Laurens: "We have passed an Act to adopt the resolutions of Congress on finance, of the 18 March last when a majority of the States (excluding Georgia and S. Carolina) shall have absolutely or conditionally adopted them—so that I consider them as in fact already Adopted in this state" (*Letters*, ed. Ballagh, II. 186). See also Jefferson to Madison July 26, and to President Huntington July 27 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 319, 322; *Official Letters*, ed. McIlwaine, II. 140, 142), and the *Journals*, Aug. 4.

³ See nos. 29, 93, *ante*. The New York act had been presented to Congress Mar. 7, the Virginia remonstrance Apr. 28, and these, together with the Maryland instructions which had been presented May 21, 1779, were referred to a committee, of which Jones was a member, June 26. This committee offered a report June 30, which was read July 3 but was not taken into consideration until Sept. 6 (see however the *Journals*, Aug. 29, Sept. 2; see, further, no. 422, note 4, *post*). The Virginia remonstrance is in Hening, *Statutes at Large*, X. 557. What appears to be the original is in the Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Coll.; a copy is in Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 65. What is endorsed as "Rough Remonstrance to Congress", dated Dec. 10, 1779, is in Va. State Lib., Executive Papers.

Congress have formed the Scale of Depreciation to apply to Loan Office Certificates. . . . The resolves will be immediately published. . . . This will reduce the principal of Loans from 46.559.235 to 11.053.573.⁴

289. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA June 30th 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Conecticut, New York, New Jersey and Maryland, have adopted the Resolution, of Congress, of the 18th of March last; and pased Acts for funding their proportion of the New Money, it is expected Virgin'a will immediately do the same if not done already. I cannot willingly admit a doubt to remain on my mind, that our State have not adopted the measure, As I think the people before this must be convinced of the Necessity of adopting the measure if not the Justice.²

I cannot help mentioning how far, some states have furnished Supplies for the Army, agreeable to a Resolution of Congress, of the 25th of Febry. Last. N York and New Jersey have furnished the whole, and more; and can Supply no more at any rate therefore you will see the Necessity of the other states exerting themselves. I hope other states will be better able to Comply with the requisitions than I think Rhode Island is. At the same time I cannot doubt her exerting herself even beyond her ability and thereby come nearer furnishing the Supply demanded then some other states better able as often hath been the Case

Your Excellency will receive by the barer of this or soon be informed, of a Warrant on Mr. Clark for the States proportion of 10,000,000 of Dollars, ordered by a Resolution of Congress of the 19th of last Month, Also the States proportion of Bills of Exchange drawn on Mr. Franklin and Mr. Jay by order of the aforementioned Resolution,³ which in Consequence of one of those blunders which in Congress are not looked upon as Maricles, have slept until this day, tho at the same time the Treasury Board were ordered by the Resolve to forward them without delay.⁴

I cannot forbear mentioning that I should be ex[c]eeding happy to hear by every convenient opportunity how public matters are going on in the state. I am often Called upon in Congress to know what is doing. I can only say I have receivd no Inteligence, But have reason to believe the State will do every thing in their power. . . .

⁴ This note concerning the resolve relative to loan office certificates is on a separate slip of paper. It embodies a tabular statement of the scale of depreciation adopted. See nos. 281, 286, ante.

[289]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 5; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 300.

² See no. 285, ante.

³ See nos. 262, 281, ante, 298, 341, 366, 382, post.

⁴ See nos. 305, 306, 308, post.

290. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

MORRIS TOWN June 30, 1780.

Sir,

We inclose you copies of our several letters to the States, agreeable to the inclosed list.

We must rely on your Excellency's candor and generosity, to excuse us for not having done this sooner; but a variety of business has so constantly occupied our time, as rendered it impracticable to have copies of the whole made out before.

The committee have as yet received no answers to any of their circular letters except from New Jersey, Rhode Island and Delaware, copies of which are also enclosed for your information.²

291. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO BENJAMIN HARWOOD.¹

PHILADELPHIA July 2, 1780.

Sir,

By the act of Congress of the 30th Ult. herewith enclosed you will be informed, that Thomas Harwood and Benjamin Harwood Esquires are appointed Commissioners on the Part of the United States, either of them to endorse the Bills that shall be emitted by the State of Maryland pursuant to the Resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last.

You will please to observe the same Bills are to be endorsed on the Part of the United States but by one Commissioner, tho' two are appointed to avoid Delay in Case of the Death, or Inability of one; and it may be convenient for one to endorse all the Bills if practicable without Difficulty.²

[290]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (signed by Mathews and Peabody); *ibid.*, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 94 (copy), no. 11, p. 220 (letter-book copy).

² July 5 the committee transmitted to Washington copies of other letters received, namely, from Delaware and Maryland. See, further, no. 336, *post.* June 30 Washington sent out a circular letter to the states, indicating that it would be unnecessary for the militia called for by the committee to be at the place of rendezvous before July 25, adding:

"The present Crisis is by far the most important and delicate that this Country has ever experienced, and it pains me in the extreme that we are so backward in all our measures. I hope a moment will not be lost in pushing on the Levies to fill the Battalions. Our Allies would be chagrined, were they to arrive to day, to find that we have but a handful of men in the field and would doubt, it is more than probable, whether we had any serious intentions to prosecute measures with vigor. If we do not avail ourselves of their succour by the most decisive and energetic steps on our part, the aid they so generously bring may prove our ruin, and at best it will be in such case among the most unfortunate events, next to that of absolute ruin, that could have befallen us." Library of Congress, Washington Papers; Mass. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 181; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 202; *Clinton Papers*, V. 897; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 242; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 377. See also the letter to Governor Trumbull June 27 (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 180; *Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 93), and to President Weare June 30 (*ibid.*, p. 96).

[291]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia; *id.* to Thomas Harwood, Haverford College, Roberts Coll., 723.

² Except for the address the letter to Thomas Harwood (see note 1) is identical with this. The appointment appears to have been in consequence of a letter from Governor Lee of May 26, read June 30, and referred to the board of treasury. See the letter of Charles Lee, secretary to the board, to Governor Lee July 4, in *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 5.

292. SAMUEL HOLTEN, DIARY.¹

[July 4, 1780.]

4. Anniversary of our independence. Congress attended the public commencement and had a cold collation with a number of Gent.² I wrote to the town of Danvers and to Col. Hutchinson.

293. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

HEAD QUARTERS TOTOWAY July 5, 1780.

Sir,

The Inclosed packet was brought here by a person who could give no Information whence It came further than that he received It at Kings ferry. As It might contain advices that the french fleet was arrived or on the point of arriving, I considered It Incumbent on me as a member of Congress and one of their Committee (my Colleagues not being present) to risk opening It, that If It contained such advices as the Commander In Chief ought *decidedly* to be acquainted of and without delay, I might be in Condition to afford the Information. I hope the reason I have assigned for the liberty I have taken will be Satisfactory to Congress. As the dispatch contained nothing which It was Immediately necessary for the General to know I shall be silent on the occasion—perhaps It may be for the public Interest that the Committee should be expressly authorized to open Letters from Europe Officially directed to Congress at this Important

[292]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 94.

² "Yesterday being the ANNIVERSARY of the declaration of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, it was observed as a Day of Joy and Festivity" (*Pennsylvania Journal*, July 5). The *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 8 contains an extended account of the commencement exercises:

"On Tuesday the fourth instant, being the anniversary of *the Great American Oera*, a Commencement for Degrees in the Arts was held in the Hall of the University, which was honoured with the presence of his Excellency the President and the Hon. Congress; his Excellency the President of the State and the Hon. the Council; his Excellency C. Luzerne, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Most Christian Majesty, and his family; and the several Public Boards; and a most genteel, respectable, and brilliant assembly of Ladies and Gentlemen, both foreigners and citizens: The Festivity was introduced with a band of Music, which began to play as the Trustees entered the Hall, and continued until they and the Faculty were seated."

One feature of the exercises was a dialogue "composed for the occasion" and "suited to the times", the theme being the glorification of America, with liberal condemnation of Britain. The characters are Theron, Felix, and Ardentio, the parts being taken by three of the graduates, Samuel Sitgreaves, John Caldwell, and Peter Chevalier. A brief extract of the dialogue (printed in the issue of July 15) may be permissible:

"Ardentio. . . . Four years has independence (once our fear)

Stood like a rock against the rage of Britain.

Theron. And may it stand united in its parts,

As long as stands the world.

Felix. How like a tree just planted in the soil,

And striking root, did independence bear

The black and bellowing blasts of seventy-six.

Ardentio. The shaking did her good,

And fixt her but the faster in her place.

Theron. May ev'ry shaking have the same effect.

Ardentio. And so it ever will."

[293]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 153, vol. III., f. 533.

Juncture when a want of one days Information to the Commander In Chief may be attended with serious Consequences.²

294. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

HEAD QUARTERS NEAR PASAICH FALLS

July 6th 1780.

Sir,

The Commander in chief has suggested the propriety of Investing the Committee here with power to Call any of the Continental ships of war which may be In the adjacent seas to such points as the exegency of the Service may require; That their aid will be necessary In the prosecution of the Intended operation is beyond a doubt and the delay which must of course take place from a previous application to the admiralty to direct them to a Compliance with the wishes of the General may prove so detrimental that I conceive It ought not be risked.

As the subsistence money to the officers of the line for the retained rations has not been paid for some time past, they are reduced to great distress, and have become exceedingly uneasy—remonstrances have been on foot and would already have been transmitted to Congress, had not the prudent Intervention of the General prevented the Inclosure for the present. I apprehend the Committee will be under the necessity of directing the Commissaries to furnish those In actual service with all the rations they are Intitled to, until the pleasure of Congress is known. permit me Sir to suggest the necessity of some decision on the Subject by Congress.²

295. PHILIP SCHUYLER TO JOHN MATHEWS AND NATHANIEL PEABODY.¹

HEAD QUARTERS TOTAWAY

July 6th 1780.

Gentlemen,

A slight Indisposition retarded my return from Windsor until Yesterday. Since my arrival at this place the General has made me communications on some matters which will claim the Earliest attention of the Committee. I have therefore to Intreat you to repair hither as soon as possible.²

If you can find any Short forrage at Morris Town It will be prudent to bring as much with you as you conveniently can as none is to be procured here.

² At the time this letter was read in Congress, July 10, a number of despatches were presented, but whether all of them were included in the packet there is nothing to indicate. Cf. no. 307, *post*. For a second instance in which the committee opened despatches directed to Congress see no. 328, *post*.

[294]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 109.

² This letter was read in Congress July 10, and the part relating to Continental ships of war ("frigates") was that day referred to the board of admiralty. July 11 the part relating to subsistence of the army was referred to the board of treasury. The board's report thereon was brought in July 18 and adopted. Thomson endorsed on the letter the first reference but not the second. Touching the matter of the last paragraph see no. 322, *post*.

[295]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 153, vol. III., f. 537, no. 11, p. 280 (letter-book copy).

² See nos. 278, 283, *ante*.

296. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA July 8, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 7th Instant, recommending to the State of Maryland to grant Permission to such Agent as the Minister of France shall appoint to purchase in that State any Quantity of Flour not exceeding three thousand Barrels and ship the same to such of the Spanish Colonies in the West Indies as he may direct.

This Recommendation is founded on the special Request of his Catholic Majesty through the Minister of France to supply the Spanish Armament lately arrived in the West Indies

The Minister of France I have no Doubt from his Prudence and good Intentions to serve these States will direct the Purchase in such Manner as shall be most agreeable to you, and best prevent any ill Consequences arising therefrom.

There is no Room to doubt from the Nature of the Case, this Request will be complied with if the Flour can be spared from the State of Maryland.²

297. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JOHN DAVIS.¹

PHILADA. 8th July 1780.

Dear Sir,

For these few days past this place affords but little news. The Enemy remain at Philips's House on the N side of Hudsons River, but have yet made no attempt toward West point. A private letter from Baltimore brings intelligence that a French as well as a Spanish Fleet (of the latter we heard some time ago) is arrived at Martinique—but for what purpose, or exactly of what size we have not yet learned. . . .

The Governors of South Carolina and Georgia are both here which is very wrong, but Governor Rutledge will suddenly return.² In a New Plan for the Qr. Masters Department now before Congress It is proposed that only one Assistant Qr. M: Gl. will be allow'd—and he to reside near Congress. One Deputy Qr. Master in each State to procure Carriages etc.

[296]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 50; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 55; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 8.

² The request of the minister of France was in a note of June 28 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 822), read in Congress July 1. The report of the committee to whom it was referred is *ibid.*, July 7. See Luzerne to Governor Lee July 18 (*Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 15), in which he states that he has engaged "Mr. Thomas [*i. e.*, Robert] Morris Nezoriant [Negociant]" of Philadelphia to take charge of the business. A letter from Morris to Governor Lee the same day is in Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VIII. 6. Morris in turn designated William Smith of Baltimore as purchasing agent. A number of items in *Arch. of Md.*, XLV., pertain to this matter.

[297]¹ Library of Congress, Papers of John Davis.

² The governor of Georgia, Richard Howly, was attending Congress as a delegate (see the *Journals*, July 6). The governor of South Carolina, John Rutledge, together with many other South Carolinians, had come to Philadelphia after the fall of Charleston. In the passage omitted Armstrong discussed the situation in South Carolina.

he is to be named by the Qr. Master Genl. but must be approved by the Supreme Council of each State and the Board of War—he will have Clerks or assistants, but without Forage or Rations. No Forage Master farther to be allowed but with the Army. The pay of this State Qr. Master is not yet fixed. In Pennsylvania he will have much Work. Who will Genl. Greene pitch on for this State? It is not yet known whether he will serve, but as the System is only designed for the Campaign, it's thought he will—his pay is to be about 15 hundred a Year or at the rate thereof in hard money including his pay as Major General.³

Mrs. Armstrong has wrote me for £150 and I cannot send her one pound, but have referred her to you.⁴

298. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA July 9th 1780.

Sir,

. . . . I allso, inclose you² the proceedings upon the motion I made in Congress, for a Warrant to Issue in favour of the State for 300,000 dollars. I only wait a favourable opportunity to renew my Motion. How far I shall succeed I cannot Say. The bills of Exchange I mentioned in my last³ that would be sent to the State are again stopt by a Quarrel between the Treasury Board and Keeper of the Loan Office in this City.⁴ there is such a fatallity attends them that I despare of any being Sent. Delicacy forbids my mentioning the constant obstructions our publick business meets with, by the Quarrels and petty disputes that are subsisting between the Several Boards and Civil officers serving under Congress, of which there is by far two large a Number I am Confident more than the Continent can maintain. It would surprise you to see the Constant grants that are made them. Many members wish to lessen their Numbers. they are appointed and have their friends and how to get rid of them is the question.⁵

³ Greene wrote to Davis July 9, discussing at some length the delay in Congress in framing the measure for the quartermaster's department, and explaining his own situation and attitude (Library of Congress, Papers of John Davis). See no. 318, *post*.

⁴ John Davis, deputy quartermaster-general, was stationed at Carlisle, which was Armstrong's home.

[298]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 7; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 301.

² Preceding this passage Cornell mentioned enclosing newspapers, adding that Congress had received no despatches for a week past.

³ June 30 (no. 289, *ante*).

⁴ This was the quarrel between Francis Hopkinson, treasurer of loans, and Ezekiel Forman and John Gibson, commissioners of the treasury. See no. 176, note 2, *ante*.

⁵ Cf. no. 341, *post*.

299. SAMUEL ADAMS TO JOHN ADAMS.¹

PHILADELPHIA July 10 1780.

My dear Sir,

I wrote to you several Times when I was at Boston, and receivd your Favor by the Marquis de la Fayette. Another to which you referd me, has not yet come to hand. This letter will be deliverd to you by Mr. Searle,² a Member of Congress for the State of Pennsylvania. He will be better able to inform you of the State of things here, than I can, who after twelve Months Absence from this City, returnd but a few days ago. . . . The french Fleet is not yet arrivd. Perhaps their long Passage may turn out for the best. An earlier Arrival might have found us not altogether prepared to cooperate with them to the best Advantage. I now think we shall be ready to joyn them. One would think the Exertion which America might make with such Aid, would rid us of British Barbarians. I hope this will be a vigorous and an effective Campaign. I left Massachusetts exceedingly active in filling up their Battalions by Drafts, besides raising 4000 Militia for the Service.

Mr Laurens arrivd here from the Southward a few Days past. He will speedily embark for Holland to prosecute a Business which you are not unacquainted with. Adieu my dear Sir.

Yr. affectionate Friend

300. JAMES LOVELL TO CHARLES W. F. DUMAS.¹

PHILADELPHIA, July 10, 1780.

Sir:

I know not how I can profess all the regard which I feel for you without appearing, on the one hand, to do it upon slight grounds, or, on the other, to have delayed it too long.

I have been steadily in Congress, without once visiting my family in Boston, since January, 1777, and from May, that year, have been a member of the committee of foreign affairs; consequently, I am well informed of your truly republican spirit, your particular affection for these States, and your industry in their service, most of your numerous letters, down to December 30, 1779, having come to hand.

The honorable gentleman who will deliver this, being also a member of Congress, has a just esteem for you, and promises himself much advantage from an opportunity of conversing with you. Mr. Searle is well able to make a due return of the benefits from the fund of his intimacy with American state affairs, his extensive commercial knowledge, and his science of mankind, gained by former travels.²

I shall shortly write to you again by another respectable gentleman of our assembly,³ and I will use every means to make him the bearer of what

[299]¹ *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 199.² See nos. 300, 308, 309, *post*.[300]¹ Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 842.² James Searle. Cf. no. 299, *ante*, and nos. 308, 309, *post*.³ Probably Henry Laurens is meant.

you have so rightfully solicited, as a faithful *first* correspondent of our committee, from whom you will, probably, have regular official letters under a new arrangement of a secretaryship, which has been vacant from the days of a confusion excited by an indiscreet and illiberal publication here on the 5th of December, 1778, and which you have read with grief.

In the mean time I hope you will receive kindly this individual testimony of cordial friendship, from, sir, your very humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

301. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, STATE OF NEW JERSEY,

Preakness, July 10, 1780.

Sir,

The Commander in Chief, having laid before this Committee letters from the Quarter Master General, and Commissary General of Forage, respecting tents and forage, which appeared to be matters of such vast consequence, as induced us to address the States, south of Delaware, to Virginia, inclusive, on the subject of the latter, and the associated Merchants of Philadelphia, on the former.²

The scarcity of flour in the states North of Delaware; the little probability of any effectual supply from these States, for a very considerable time beyond harvest, as many of the inhabitants will be taken off, by militia duty, either with the Army, to protect the frontiers, or be employed in the necessary transportation, excites a wish, that the associated Merchants should lay out and forward the whole amount of their fund in that article. But the danger and distress which the army will be exposed to, for want of *tents*, should it operate in a part of the Country, where there are no materials for a substitute, is so evident, that it admits of no alternative, and obliges us to call on them for a supply; we have, however, only requested one thousand, in hopes that some may be procured from the Navy Board at Boston. It is probable the Commander in Chief will address the eastern Merchants, to afford their aid, on the occasion, and to extend it to the article of sand bags, and knapsacks, the former of which, in a serious operation, seem almost indispensable; especially if the Army should operate in a part of the Country so destitute of wood, that gabions and

[301]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 109 (original, signed by Schuyler and Peabody), f. 111 (corrected copy), no. 11, p. 28 (letter-book copy); *ibid.*, Washington Papers.

² The committee's circular is no. 302, *post*, the letter to the associated merchants no. 303, *post*. The letters from Greene were probably those of July 7 and 8. The first (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 255, no. 11, p. 323, copy) enclosed a letter from Clement Biddle, July 6 (*ibid.*, f. 259 and p. 324, respectively), and discussed the shortage of forage and also the general situation in his department. "The present channel, in which the public business is transacted", he says, "appears to be well calculated to produce disappointment; and if the object of Government had been to disgrace those at the heads of the great departments, no measures could have been better adapted to the purpose." The letter of July 8 (Washington Papers) relates to tents, etc. See Washington to Congress, July 10 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 336; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 184). Washington's letter was read in Congress July 13, that of the committee July 14. See the *Journals*, July 18, and nos. 310, 313, 326, *post*.

fascines cannot be procured, without great expense and labour. Perhaps, Sir, it might not be improper for Congress to give assurances that if any associations should take place, to the Eastward, to furnish the articles we have mentioned, or any others, necessary for the service, the associators should in point of security, for their disbursements, be put on the same footing with those in Pennsylvania. Should the house be in sentiment with us on this subject, a speedy communication of their determination may tend to expedite the business.

The uncertain footing on which the Officers in the Quarter Master Generals department now stand, will occasion many to resign, unless their stipends are ascertained. It is therefore much to be wished, that an immediate determination of Congress on the arrangement of that department, should be conveyed to the General, or the committee. We do not allude merely to a system for conducting it; for how can one [be] adopted that will apply to contingencies, remote, and which no human penetration can foresee, or guard against? To direct the movement of supplies to be drawn from such a variety of sources, and by the different channels which the very nature of state supplies renders unavoidable, and through the agency of state officers, unaccountable to the military, or, to one conducting body, will be a task infinitely arduous, and we fear it will not be effectually done, even with the best exertions of the public Officers, without the frequent intervention of Congress, by some of its members repairing as occasion may require, to this or that State, to give countenance, aid, and advice to the agents.

Should the quantity of flour, and short forage, accumulated on the banks of Delaware, exceed the means of transportation by land, would it not be advisable to take measures for speedily collecting a number of Vessels to convey it to the Bay of New York, should the French fleet gain that point, and the passage from Delaware thither, be rendered safe by any ships of War which might be appointed to convey the provision transports.

P. S. The committee have done themselves the honor to inclose your Excellency copy of the address alluded to in the above written letter.

302. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE STATES OF DELAWARE, PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, AND VIRGINIA.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

PREAKNESS, NEW JERSEY, July 10, 1780.

Sir,

The Commander in Chief, having laid before this Committee, letters from the quarter master general, and Commissary General of forage, stating the necessity of immediately forming a magazine of short forage, in the vicinity of Hudsons river; It will readily occur to your excellency,

[302]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 68, no. 39., vol. III., f. 53; *ibid.*, Washington Papers; Md. Hist. Soc., LXXXVII. 187; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 404.

that without this article, the necessary transportation to convey the variety of stores incident on a large operating Army, cannot be maintained. They have therefore to intreat your earliest attention to expedite the orders for forwarding, *the quantity required of your state, by the Committee.*² This state, by supplying the Army during the winter, and to the present hour, is intirely exhausted. The failure of crops last year, in the state of New York, and the drafts made from it, for the support of the Cattle at West Point, have rendered that state incapable of furnishing any for the present, so that our main reliance, at least until some time after the present crop is gathered, must be on the States south of Delaware.

We have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most Obt. Hble. Servts.

PH'P SCHUYLER
NATHL. PEABODY

Circular to the States of Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.³

To the State of Virginia, in lieu of what is underscored.

forwarding so much of the quantity required of your state, as can possibly be spared agreeable to the resolution of Congress, permitting you to retain what should be necessary for the southern operations.⁴

303. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO A COMMITTEE
OF THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

PREAKNESS, NEW JERSEY, July 10, 1780.

Gentlemen:

The scarcity of flour in the States North of the Delaware, the little probability that they will be in a condition to furnish any until some considerable time beyond harvest, induces a wish that the whole amount of the fund you have, with such patriotic generosity created for the relief of your Country at this critical juncture, should be expended in the purchase and transportation of that article, but the exceeding distress the Army would experience for a want of Tents, and the little probability of procuring an adequate supply in any other quarter, obliges the Committee to intreat you to appropriate part of the fund in the purchase of one thousand Soldiers Tents. The General has requested the Committee to take measures for obtaining this necessary article with every possible degree of dispatch.²

² Not underscored in the letters sent, but in the retained copies, to indicate the words to be displaced in the Virginia letter by the passage appended.

³ See the letter to Congress, no. 301, *ante*.

⁴ Presumably the resolution of June 17.

[303]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 262 (letter-book copy), no. 39, vol. I., f. 113 (draft); *ibid.*, Washington Papers.

² Concerning the fund raised by the citizens of Philadelphia see nos. 246, 255, 259, 261, 264, 275, 281, *ante*; cf. nos. 310, 316, 326, *post*.

We have the honor to be, with the highest consideration of esteem,
Gentlemen,

Your Most obt. and very H. Servts.

P. SCHUYLER

NATHL. PEABODY

To the Gentlemen of Philadelphia
appointed to procure and forward Supplies to the Army.³

304. JOHN WALKER TO GEORGE WEEDON.¹

PHILADA., July 11th, 1780.

Dear General:

. . . . The French fleet, we are informed by the Baltimore papers, has arrived at Martozines [Martinique]. I think that by forming a junction with the other French and Spanish forces in that quarter our relentless foes may be more suddenly and vitally wounded than on the continent. Their united fleets in the West Indies will not be far short of fifty sail of the line with about 30,000 troops. With such a force as this, what is to prevent their immediately possessing themselves of all the British isles in those seas? This being done, the continental business will not be difficult. On the other hand, should they come immediately here, we shall be found so shamefully unprepared to co-operate with them, that I fear it will serve only to reflect disgrace on us and render us unworthy of their notice in future. . . .

By dispatches just received from Europe our affairs in that quarter wear on the general face of them a very favourable aspect; a little more time and perseverance will assuredly confirm our Independence, and unless we are greatly deficient in virtue (which by the bye I fear) will render us a happy and respectable people. . . .

305. THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
AND JOHN JAY.¹

PHILADA. July 11th, 1780.

(In Com'tee for for'gn Affairs)

Hon'ble John Jay²

Sir:

Congress having appointed the Honble Henry Laurens to solicit a Loan of Money in the United Provinces of the Low Countries, In order to

³ This letter, together with the other letters of the committee of this date (nos. 301, 302, *ante*), appear to have been sent by Lafayette under cover to Luzerne: "Je joins ici, Monsieur le chevalier, plusieurs lettres que je vous prie de vouloir bien faire remettre. Celles du g'al Schuyller sont très pressées et contiennent des demandes relatives a la cooperation." Lafayette to Lucerne July 10, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 363.

[304]¹ Seventy-Six Society, *Publications: Maryland Papers*, p. 112. Addressed, "General Geo. Weedon, Fredericksburg, Virginia".

[305]¹ S. C. Hist. Soc., Laurens Papers, vol. XXVIII., no. 23 (marked "Copy J. L."), addressed, "Honorable John Jay Esqr. Minister Plenio. of the United States of America Madrid"; Library of Congress, *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 79, vol. I., p. 266; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 846 (to Franklin). The letter is signed by Lovell and Houston.

² The letter in Wharton (*Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 846), which is addressed to Franklin, has only minor variations. The letter-book (*Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 79), presumably the source of the printed text, has a single copy for the two.

facilitate his Success the enclosed Resolution has been passed. We need say nothing to explain or urge it, except that it is thought a mark of Attention and Confidence due to those Powers named in it; that their Interest, if the State of Politics inclines them to exert it, will have a good Effect; and that the Want of Money makes this Loan a very capital Object to the United States.

You will, we are assured, give Mr. Laurens every assistance in your Power, and solicit the countenance of the Court where you reside to forward his Negotiations.³

Till Mr. Laurens shall arrive Mr. Adams is commissioned and empowered to undertake that Business and in Case of his Disability Mr. Dana is in like manner commissioned and empowered.⁴

306. THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

PHILADA. 11 July 1780.

Sir,

After the repeated Remonstrances you have made to Congress on the Subject of Bills of Exchange the inclosed Resolution we are well aware, will need an Apology. We regret that you should have so much Trouble and be put upon so many Expedients in Matters of this Kind, well knowing how delicate a Point it is to solicit further Advances after so many have already been made. Congress attending to your Letters and Representations have taken this Step with Reluctance. But the present crisis when not only the Preparations for a vigorous Campaign call for large Expenditures but the Expectation of a cooperating Force make great Additions necessary, has induced Them to risque the Sum mentioned. The Bills will not be drawn faster than indispensable Exigencies may require, and it is to be hoped that this mode of commanding Cash will not be again resorted to.²

³ Cf. no. 306, *post*. Laurens was chosen, Oct. 21, 1779, to negotiate a loan in Holland, and Nov. 1 following was elected commissioner to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with that country. For proceedings relative to the mission see the *Journals*, Oct. 15, 18, 21, 26, 30, Nov. 1, 5, 6, 8, 1779; also vol. IV. of these *Letters* (index, Netherlands). Laurens had not hitherto been successful in his efforts to proceed upon his mission and was at this time in Philadelphia making preparations to that end. See the *Journals*, July 3, 6, 8, 10, and no. 308, *post*. The resolution said to be enclosed was no doubt that of Nov. 8, 1779. That resolution assigned to the committee that prepared the instructions to Laurens the further duty of drafting a letter to the ministers to the courts of Versailles and Madrid respecting Laurens's mission, but that committee does not appear to have reported such a letter. See Lovell's remarks in the close of the letter to Jay, no. 308, *post*. May 31 the committee of foreign affairs was instructed to write the letters.

⁴ See the *Journals*, June 20.

[306]¹ Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers, XX. 52 (marked "3d Copy"); Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 846. The letter is signed by Lovell and Houston.

² This letter appears to be a belated compliance with the instructions of May 31. See the *Journals*, May 19, 31; cf. no. 305, *ante*, and nos. 308, 309, *post*. The bills of exchange drawn on Laurens and Jay in accordance with the order of Nov. 23, 1779 (see these *Letters*, vol. IV., pp. xxxii, 525, 529, 531, 532), to say nothing of earlier bills, had given Franklin no little worry. Some of those on Laurens in particular were at this moment turning up in Europe and clamoring for payment, while that gentleman had not yet arrived and his fate was still unknown (he had been captured at sea Sept. 3; see Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 56; see also *ibid.*, III. 467, 721, 735, 739, 741, 752, 771,

307. THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO JOHN ADAMS.¹

PHILADELPHIA 11 July 1780.

Sir,

Your Letters of the 3rd and 3 of the 4th of April last were received in Congress yesterday. We are to thank you for the intelligence they communicate.²

P. S. *Aug. 1.* Your various Letters by Mr. Izard were this day read, of dates from March 20th to the 29th. That of the 24th respecting two points on which you ask instructions is committed specially to five.³

J. L.

P. S. *Oct. 28.* The Journal of Sepr. will show the receipt of your communications up to June 10th.⁴

P. S. *Dec. 9.* I add a list of receipts and dates.⁵

J. L.

774, 784, 803, 817, IV. 11, 15, 47, 80, 86, 175). Other correspondence between Franklin and Jean de Neufville and Son concerning these bills is to be found in the various collections of Franklin Papers. One such letter, from Franklin to Neufville and Son, dated July 21, 1780, was printed in the *Washington Star* May 1, 1919, under the heading "Revolutionary Liberty Loan", accompanied by some account of a claim of the Neufvilles arising out of these bills, together with some curious remarks concerning the identity of "M. Laurens".

Another letter from the committee of foreign affairs to Franklin, July 11 (Library of Congress, Franklin Papers, no. 609; Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers, XX. 52, "3d Copy"; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 845), conveys the sentiments of Congress concerning the conduct of M. Chasseaulx ("Chezault") set forth in a resolve of May 31. The third copies of these letters (in Am. Phil. Soc.) appear to have been transmitted by Lovell with his letter of Oct. 28 (no. 494, *post*).

In Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 848, and in John Adams's *Works*, VII. 218, is a letter from the committee to John Adams, dated July 12, mentioning an enclosed description of the bills of exchange and accompanying "secret checks", with the added statement that the quality of the paper was sorry, therefore "unless the impression of the bills is very fine and clean, it will be very difficult to discover the whole of the secret checks perfectly". In the letter-book copy (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I., p. 270) this letter is addressed to Jay and Adams jointly.

[307]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I., p. 275; Adams, *Works*, VII. 218; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 847. Of the postscripts, only that of Aug. 1 is in the printed texts. The letter is signed by Lovell and Houston.

² Two letters dated Apr. 3 are in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 588, 593, and one dated Apr. 4 is *ibid.*, p. 596. These and two others dated April 4 are in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 84, vol. I., ff. 387-416. They were numbered by Adams from "Letter LXX" consecutively to "Letter LXXIV", and four of them are endorsed as received July 19, 1780. One of those dated April 3 (Letter LXXI, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 593) is endorsed as read Sept. 11. The letters received July 10 are doubtless those found in the packet which came mysteriously into Schuyler's hands (see no. 293, *ante*, and nos. 328, 335, *post*).

³ See the *Journals*, Aug. 1. Letters dated Mar. 20, 23, 24 (two), 26, and 29 are in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 561, 568, 570, 572, 573, 578. Concerning letters of Mar. 8, 18, 19 (*ibid.*, pp. 539, 557, 560) see no. 328, *post*. The letter in which Adams asked for instructions is at p. 572. See the *Journals*, Aug. 3, Oct. 7, 9, 18.

⁴ For a separate letter of Oct. 28 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 107) see no. 494, *post*.

⁵ The several postscripts were presumably added to successive copies of the letter.

308. JAMES LOVELL TO JOHN JAY.¹

July 11th, 1780.

Dear Sir:

By a letter from Messrs. Gardoqui and Sons, of May 3d, received yesterday I have the pleasure of knowing you were then well.² In a postscript to one of his former of February 24th, the P. S. not dated, he says he hears of you *every week*. This creates a chagrin, as we have none of your favours later than March 3d. You are not to suppose that I dare to *complain*: I have read my Bible to better purpose. I am not entitled to throw the "first stones," but I have as good a title as anybody to palliate my own faults, and to shift them upon others. There is said to be a committee of foreign affairs. Each member is loaded with a variety of business; two have amiable wives near Philadelphia; I miss the gentlemen, therefore, frequently. Mr. Livingston is now absent, but you have, herewith, a letter he sent to my care a few days ago. The weather is murderous hot, and I cannot go up and down to the offices, in search of those authenticated papers, which ought to be regularly forwarded to you, and other dignified officers abroad.³ You will be pleased therefore to know from me, *individually*, and by way of a resolve of Congress of June 21st, certified by me, that Mr. Dohrman, of Lisbon, is appointed our agent in Portugal.⁴

Mr. Searle is the bearer of this, *via* France, and Mr. Laurens will either go for Holland in the same ship, the *Jay*, or will sail in a few days by another opportunity for Holland. The former gentleman is on business for the State of Pennsylvania, and perhaps, for some mercantile companies also.⁵ You already know Mr. Laurens is to negotiate a loan. Indeed, an instruction was given to a committee to bring in a draft of a letter to the ministers plenipotentiary of these States at Versailles and Madrid, directing them to inform his most Christian and Catholic Majesty of the appointment of Mr. Laurens, and to solicit the aid of their majesties, respectively, on this occasion.⁶

I am, Sir,

your friend and very humble servant

JAMES LOVELL

[308]¹ William Jay, *Life of John Jay*, II. 56; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 847.

² The committee letter-book (no. 79, vol. I., p. 266) contains the following letter to Gardoqui and Sons, dated July 11:

"Your letters of the 24th February and 3 of May last were yesterday received in Congress. We are to thank you for the intelligence communicated by them" (signed by Lovell and Houston).

A letter from Gardoqui and Sons, Feb. 24, had been read in Congress May 11.

³ July 10 Congress ordered that copies of letters from Governor Galvez, Oliver Pollock, *et al.* (see no. 217, *ante*) be transmitted to Jay, but there is no indication in the committee's correspondence that this was done. For Jay's reply see no. 494, note 3, *post*.

⁴ Arnold Henry Dohrman. See the *Journals*, June 21, and the letter to him July 11 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 845). Mar. 12, 1781, Lovell again wrote Dohrman, to say that it had never been learned whether any copy of the letter of July 11 had been received, and that accordingly a fifth copy was now sent "by the good opportunity of Mr. Harrison". Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I., p. 279.

⁵ See no. 300, *ante*, and no. 309, *post*.

⁶ See no. 305, *ante*.

309. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

PHILADELPHIA July 12, 1780.

Sir,

. . . . Mr. Searle will present you with Bills to the Amount of one thousand Pounds Sterling drawn by Order of Congress, in Favour of the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, upon their Minister at the Court of Versailles

I lament the Necessity which hath occasioned so many Draughts upon you and hope the Affairs of these United States may soon be regulated in such Manner as to prevent the like Necessity in future ²

. . . . Your Letters of the 30th of September, 4th of October and 17th of October 1779 and 4th of March 1780 have been received and laid before Congress.³

310. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, July 13th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . A letter was this day read in Congress from Genl. Washington, setting forth the great want of Marques and Tents Also another from the Q. M. G., stating the Cost of the number wanted, at the same time representing, that it was out of his power to procure them, for want of Money. Genl. Washington, expressed an earnest desire, if Congress could not furnish the money, that they would recommend to the Merchants of the four N. England states to furnish them, in the same manner that the Merchants of this City furnished provision and Rum for the Army. The letter is refered to a Committee of all the N. England delegates. They have not made any report. But am ready to believe they will report, in favour of the plan proposed by the General, for it is out of the power of Congress, to furnish them, without the immediate assistance of the States or individuals. Should Congress adopt a plan that should appear Generous, I flatter myself the Merchant in New England will be as ready to lend a helping hand as those in Philadelphia. And those in Rhode Island according to their ability, among the foremost.²

[309]¹ Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers, vol. XIX., no. 18; Paris, Aff. Etr., E. U. 13:23. The letter is not in the President's Letter-Book.

² See the *Journals*, July 6, 10, 11; cf. nos. 300, 305, 306, 308, *ante*. James Searle, who was going primarily on a mission for the state of Pennsylvania, was the bearer of other letters. See nos. 299, 300, 308, *ante*. A letter from him to the President of Congress, written at sea Aug. 18, is in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 514. He arrived in Paris Sept. 10. See Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 60, 61, 73, 87; cf. no. 482, *post*. For some account of his mission, together with correspondence concerning it, see the *Life of Joseph Reed*, II. 246, 286, 293, 450-465. Additional correspondence (with one or two duplications) is in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 399, 532, 625, IX. 62, 311, 367, 519, 564, 589.

³ Of these letters of Franklin that of Sept. 30 was read in Congress Feb. 23, those of Oct. 4 and 17 on Mar. 4, and that of Mar. 4 on May 15.

[310]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governor, 1780, p. 7; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 302.

² The committee of New England delegates made its report July 18. See no. 301, *ante*, and nos. 311-313, 326, *post*. Washington's letter of July 10 is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 336, and *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 205.

I beg your Excellency will excuse me, I cannot help entreating in the most earnest manner, that you will communicate to me, as often as convenient, all publick transaction of the State. I am repeatedly called on by Congress and the Members, to know what the little State of Rhode Island is doing, in this time of distress. I have only been able to say, that if they would judge, from her former Conduct, they had nothing to fear from that Quarter. Untill within a few days, when I had the good luck to receive the Gazette, Containing the Laws for Emitting £20000, and for raising Six hundred and od[d] men for filling up our Continental Battalions. the whole was highly satisfactory to Congress. They are anxious to hear the state hath fully complied with the Resolutions of the 18th of March last, especially the delegates from the N. England states.³

311. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

PREAKNESS, STATE OF NEW JERSEY July 13, 1780.

Sir,

We have the honor to transmit your Excellency Copy of a letter of this date from the Commander in Chief to us, with Copies of ours to all the states north of Virginia. A letter we have just been favoured with from Governor Jefferson, and which affords us great satisfaction, superceeds the necessity of addressing him on the present occasion.²

The states have been individually called upon for such portions of the supplies, they were required to furnish by the Act of Congress of the 25th Feby. as these [*sic*] situation with respect to the point against which it is in Contemplation to direct the military operations of the Campaign, and their then, and present abilities, indicated to be not only proper but necessary and indispensable. The same principle prevailed in making the requisitions for Extra Supplies, and the aggregate of the whole was estimated to be barely sufficient effectually to obtain the object in view: a retrospect to the return of what was required from each state, and which was inclosed in the letter we had the honor to address Congress on the 2d of June last, will evince, that if the state of Pensylvania either will not (which we do not suppose) or is not in a condition, to comply with the requisition, A Co-operation with the force of our Ally, against any capital object, will be clearly impossible, unless other states can make good the deficiency of that, but until the Committee is advised that Pensylvania refuses to comply or is incapable of furnishing the supplies allotted to it, In the whole

³ See no. 285, *ante*, and nos. 314, 331, 333, 396, 397, *post*.

[311]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 116, f. 114 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 30.

² Washington's letter to the committee is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 187; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 206; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 10; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VII. 414; *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 344 (part). Jefferson's letter to the committee, July 2, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), II. 317, and *Official Letters*, II. 137. The circular letter is no. 312, *post*; the letter to Reed no. 313, *post*. See also the committee's letters of June 2 and 12 (nos. 213, 238-241, *ante*).

or in part, we cannot enter upon a new apportionment of such deficiency to the other states.

We assure you Sir, that altho we have the most Indubitable testimony that Governor Reed has received at least some of our letters, yet the state has not even deigned to acknowledge the receipt of any one. The Consequences that may result to the public from this Inattention on the part of that state, will so readily and so fully occur to Congress, that we conceive it needless to elucidate the subject by any farther observations on it.

It is incumbent on us to advise Congress unless the state in question becomes sensible of the attention which is due to a Committee of Congress, and conveys the necessary communications to us on the subject of our important Mission, that we shall decline addressing them in future, Persuaded that we should be culpable in suffering the dignity of the great Council of the United States to be wounded thro' us, by submitting to insult from any.³

312. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE STATES FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE TO MARYLAND.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

PREAKNESS, STATE OF NEW JERSEY July 13, 1780.

Sir,

We do ourselves the honor to enclose your Excellency copy of a Letter of this date, from the Commander in Chief. You Sir, are so fully impressed with the necessity of improving every moment to promote the great object of the present Campaign, It will be needless to aduce any arguments in support of the sentiments contained in the Generals Letter. Permit us only to observe that in proportion as any state is deficient in the number of men and quantum of supplies for the Army, our prospect of success will be deminished, and should unhappily your State rely that the exertions of other States will be competent to the business and the same opinion entertained by others, It is evident that disgrace, and ruin must be the portion of this Country. Persuaded that your feelings will revolt at the mere Idea, we rely with confidence, that not a moments time will be lost, in fulfilling the engagements of your State, and in a perfect compliance with the requisitions of this Committee, as specifed in former applications for any extra supplies or services.

Your Excellency will not conclude us too importunate in the repeated reiterations on this important subject, as we are convinced that the occasion will justify us in this address. [Thus far circular]

³ This letter is signed by Schuyler and Peabody and is endorsed: "Letter from Com'ee at head quarters, July 13, 1780. Read July 17 [thus far by Thomson, remainder in another hand] with A. B. C. A. Gen. Washington's letter July 13, B. Circular Letter to the States, July 13. C. Letter to Prest. Reed, July 13."

[312]¹ Copied from the original (to Delaware), then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia; Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 55, no. 11, p. 69; Mass. Arch., CCII. 332 (to Governor Trumbull); *ibid.*, CCII. 333 (to James Bowdoin); Md. Hist. Soc., LXXXVII. 188; *R I. State Recs.*, IX. 207; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 9.

To the State of New Hampshire:

The Committee are so unhappy as not to have been provided with the determination of your state upon their various applications, nor have we had the least assurances of what is to be expected from them, or even the receipt of their applications acknowledged.²

313. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA (JOSEPH REED).¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

Sir, PREAKNESS, STATE OF NEW JERSEY July 13, 1780.

We should stand fully justified to our Constituents and to the world, if we declined any further communications to the state of Pensylvania, on the Subject of our mission; as it has not even acknowledged the receipt of any of the letters we have addressed it, altho the importance of this Committees being advised of what the state would, or could do, is so evident. But incapable of sacrificing the interest of our Country to our own feelings we once more address you.

The inclosed copy of a Letter from the Commander in Chief contains observations so important to the weal of the United States, that we hope they will be seriously considered by yours. We will only observe that in proportion as any State is defecient in the number of men, and quantum of Supplies, or aids in transportation, our prospect of success will be diminished, and should unhappily your State, on whose exertions so much depends, rely that those of others will be competent to the business, and should it be a fact, as we are persuaded it is, that other states are for the *present at least* incapable of larger aids than those required of them; It is evident that neglect on your part must produce disgrace and ruin to this Country, we hope however, that the feelings of your State will revolt at the Idea, and that impressed, as it ought to be with the magnitude and importance of the common object of the United States, It will be impelled to a perfect and immediate compliance with the former requisitions of this Committee, and afford us the most explicit assurances on the subject.²

314. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO OLIVER WOLCOTT.¹

Sir, PHILADELPHIA July 14th 1780.

. . . . I have been long of Opinion that the Subject of our finances is of the greatest Importance, that a fixed and Stable medium must be estab-

² A notation on the retained copy and the letter-book copy reads: "Circular, To the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland." The special paragraph to New Hampshire is taken from the draft in no. 39, vol. III., f. 55 (same in no. 11, p. 69).

[313]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 69, vol. II., f. 254, no. 39, vol. III., p. 97 (draft), no. 11, p. 202 (copy). The letter is signed by Schuyler and Peabody.

² See nos. 200, 241, 261, *ante*; also Washington to Reed July 4 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 99; *Life of Reed*, II. 220), Reed to Washington July 15 (*ibid.*, p. 223; *Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, III. 15), Reed to Congress July 17 (read in Congress July 19; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 419), Reed to Greene July 19 (*ibid.*, p. 426), Reed to Congress July 30 (*ibid.*, p. 458), and the *Journals*, July 26.

[314]¹ Conn. Hist. Soc., Oliver Wolcott Papers, vol. III., no. 17.

lished and am perswaded had all the States adopted the resolves of the 18th of March with the same dispatch and decision as Connecticut did, we should by this time have been in a great measure Insensibly relieved from our most pressing difficulties. I have now receivd *official* Information from all the States as far South as Maryland inclusive (except Rhode Island and Delaware,) that they have adopted those Resolves; hope soon to receive the like information from Virginia and North Carolina: from South Carolina and Georgia in their present unhappy circumstances nothing of that nature can be expected.²

I am happy to be informed that Connecticut are in so fair a way to furnish their Quota of Troops and cannot but hope a Spirit of necessary exertion is increasing in general. It is with pleasure I can assure you there is greater appearance of it in this State than I have seen for some years, and believe should the Armament arrive which is now daily expected from France we shall see vigorous exertions

General Gates is ordered to take the Command in the Southern department, and I most devoutly wish his former good Fortune may still attend him

315. WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON TO MOORE FURMAN.¹

PHILADA. 14 July 1780.

Moore Furman, Esq.

Route 17.

On my arrival at Congress I immediately applied to the Committee appointed to confer with the Inspectours of the Bank in this City, and explained to them as my own Idea the Subject on which we conversed, mentioning also that you were apprehensive of Inconveniences. The Paper I delivered to Mr. Livingston, one of the Committee,² who promised to confer with the Inspectours. He has since been at Trenton and says he has called upon Mr. Meredith who explains the matter to him so as to make it appear that by loading the waggons deeper and giving them less Time to go the Trip, they transport cheaper than the publick officers in the Quarter Master General's Department. I am glad you have signified the

² State compliances with the act of Mar. 18 are recorded in the *Journals* under dates following: Connecticut, May 11; New Hampshire and Massachusetts, May 20; New Jersey, June 28; New York, June 20; Maryland, June 30 (see *Arch of Md.*, XLIII. 205, XLV. 5); Virginia, Aug. 4; Rhode Island, Aug. 14; Pennsylvania, Aug. 21 (see no. 396, *post*; Reed states that Pennsylvania gave conditional acceptance, in the act of June 1, but there is no mention of the act in the *Journals* prior to Aug. 21). Concerning Delaware see no. 340, *post*. For responses to the more general inquiry in the resolve of June 17 see no. 270, note 2, *ante*. See also nos. 285, 288, 310, *ante*, 331, 333, 357, 396, 397, *post*.

[315]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

² A committee, consisting of Ellsworth, Duane, and Scott, was appointed June 21 to confer with the directors and inspectors of the bank, and made a report June 22. July 3 Livingston and Samuel Adams (the name of Houston was first entered, then erased) were appointed in the room of Duane and Ellsworth, who were absent.

Moore Furman was deputy quartermaster-general, stationed at Trenton. For some account of his difficulties in the early spring see his letters of Mar. 24 and 26 to Charles Pettit (*Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 143, 146). See also the *Journals*, July 19, 22, 24, and no. 352, *post*.

Prospects of Difficulty to the Board of War, as they have, I understand, a constant intercourse with the Inspectours. I am so exceedingly engaged in the Business of Congress, that I have little or no opportunity to attend to any Thing out of Doors, but hope the Board of War and Committee will not fail to make every necessary representation to the Inspectours, that as little interference as possible may be made in the publick Movements. I expect to be at Trenton early next week.

I am Sir your very obedt. hble Servant

WM CHURCHILL HOUSTON.

316. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA July 15, 1780.

Sir,

At seven P. M. this Day I am honored with your Excellency's Favour of yesterday announcing the Arrival of the French Fleet at Newport, believe that Congress will press every Measure in their Power to put the Army in a Condition to begin the intended Co-operation with Vigour and Efficacy.²

Your Letter proposing a Plan to obtain Supplies of Tents etc. from the Merchants to the eastward etc. hath been duly received and laid before Congress.³

317. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADA. 15th July 1780.

Dear General,

. . . . Of late the general part of business before Congress is only of the Executive kind. two or three Resolutions in the legislative stile I shall briefly touch—The manner of paying off the Principal and Interest of our borrowed money, and fixing the Era of depreciation to the 1st of Sepr., 1777, and the progressive depreciation from thence to the 18th of March —80, with Tables shewing the different sums to be received by the Creditor according to the time of lending. This resolution I hope will give general satisfaction, not being framed on the Skeleton of naked justice, which indeed cou'd not be ascertained, but in the line of justice self evident and illustrious, or if you please, on the scale of liberal policy.² The Qr. Master department has undergone a revisal, and a temporary system

[316]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² Washington's letter of July 14 is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 343. Letters to Lafayette (July 16), Rochambeau (July 16), and Greene (July 19) on the same subject are *ibid.*, pp. 345, 347, 349. The letters are in *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII. 107, 109, 110, 112. See also the letters to Rochambeau July 19, and Lafayette July 22 (*ibid.*, pp. 111, 117), and Rochambeau to Washington July 12 (*ibid.*, p. 511). The information of the arrival came to Washington through a letter from General Heath, written from Providence July 11. Cf. nos. 322, 323, *post*. Washington also transmitted a plan for the inspector general's department. See the *Journals*, July 17, Aug. 14, 24, Sept. 23, 25, Dec. 4, and no. 359, *post*.

³ See nos. 301, 303, 310, *ante*, and no. 326, *post*.

[317]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVII.

² See the *Journals*, June 28.

is framed, some what different from the former, which will be sent you, and in which Commissions are laid aside and a Sallary adopted.³

21st. The Court Martial has clearly acquitted Dr. Shipen of all the charges exhibited agst. him except one for *Speculation*, in some Articles needed by the publick in his own line, for which says the Court he is *reprehensible*. The General having thrown the decision of that matter on Congress, we are now tormented with reading the rubbish of large bundles of testimony, but not yet come to the Doctors defense which will probably end, indeed, must end in approving the sentence of the Court Martial.⁴

The promotion of our worthy friend Coll Morgan appears to labour.⁵ it will not rest chiefly with the Govt. and delegates of Virginia. I wish him as I do my own son for the present to travel on in the line of duty, which when wisely and successfully performed will secure its honors, distinct from those arising from Rank. The Board of War have not yet reported nothing in the other instance, nor is their determination yet known to me, but shall soon be able to find it, and then write. what wou'd you think of a Brevet, if at present nothing else cou'd go down?⁶

I am dear General with perfect respect your Affectionate friend and humbl. servt.

JOHN ARMSTRONG

.

General Gates⁷

318. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

PREAKNISS July 16th 1780.

Sir,

Your letter of the 14th Instant with several papers Inclosed was delivered us this Morning.²

³ The system adopted for the quartermaster-general's department is in the *Journals*, July 15. See nos. 128, 258, 294, *ante*, and nos. 318, 327, 330, 336, 345, 346, 349-351, *post*.

⁴ The consideration of the court-martial of Dr. Shippen ran intermittently from July 18 to Aug. 18. For some account of the affair see no. 159, note 2, *ante*.

⁵ See no. 321, *post*.

⁶ The reference is to a promotion for Maj. John Armstrong, son of the writer of this letter. Cf. no. 250, *ante*.

⁷ The letter is endorsed as received Aug. 28.

[318]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 90 (copy in the writing of Schuyler), no. 11, p. 250 (letter-book copy); Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 310.

² In his letter to the committee July 14 (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I., f. 327, no. 39, vol. I., f. 182, copy, no. 11, p. 236, copy; Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 304-308), Greene transmitted a copy of Washington's letter to him of the same day (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 341, ed. Sparks, VII. 106) instructing him to arrange the quartermaster-general's department and put everything in proper train for co-operation with the French fleet. He would cheerfully comply, he said, but a correspondence between the treasury board and Charles Pettit indicated the purpose of the board to hold him responsible for his appointments in a very different manner from which he had ever conceived himself bound: "Nor would I hold the office upon such a footing for any consideration that could be offered me." He had written to Congress June 19 (Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 288) stating the degree of responsibility that he would assume, "nor shall I agree to make a single appointment upon any other footing". He further refers to a rule of the treasury board requiring estimates to accompany applications for money. It would be

We observe in your letter of the 19th ultimo³ to Congress that you have stated the degree of responsibility which you think ought to be required of you In the Expenditure of monies in the Quarter Master Gen-

impossible, he said, to comply with the board's order without foreknowledge of the future, and "no person the least acquainted with the nature of the business would have thought of such a measure".

Neither Greene nor the committee as yet knew, of course, that Congress had adopted (July 15) the plan for the quartermaster's department (see no. 317, *ante*, and nos. 322, 327, 330, 336, 345, 346, 349-351, *post*). A letter to Greene from Charles Pettit, written from Philadelphia July 13, that is, two days before the final passage of the measure, is of interest in this connection:

"I have lately heard but little said about your letters to Congress and the Treasury Board; with the latter indeed I have no communication but through the Board of War. The System for the department has been much debated in Congress, and is yet a bone to pick at odd hours. A few days since Genl Cornell dined with me, when he shewed me a plan comprized in fewer words than are already in this letter, which he told me would probably be substituted in lieu of the system. As well as I remember, for I read it hastily in the midst of conversation, it leaves the whole arrangement to the Q M G. He is to be responsible for the appointments he makes, that is, that they are men of sufficient abilities and character, and for the orders he gives them—they to be answerable for the execution of the orders they receive. Touching your responsibility in time past I believe there has been much debate, and I do not know that there is any decision upon it. Some arguments have been drawn from something you said or wrote concerning Col. Hay when in the beginning he supposed his first appointment not superseded on your being created Q M G. It is said you urged that it was because you were made responsible for the Deputies which made it necessary that you should choose and appoint them. This I had from Mr. Livingston, who mentioned it to me one day when we accidentally met at the State House door. I have never spoke to any of the members upon it but when they have opened the Subject, and then as sparingly as possible, . . .

"A day or two ago a member of Congress wrote me a note as a friend requesting my opinion of the draught shewn me by Genl. Cornell, and that I would communicate any plan I might have in my thoughts. I told him that were the circumstances of the finances such as would admit of *any* system being practicable I would readily give him my thoughts upon the business, but that as we were circumstanced I did not think it possible to frame a system that would not fetter and embarrass the business in a manner incompatible with the end of its institution. That rules might nevertheless be adopted to the greater outlines, but the smaller lines which guide the business in detail must be at liberty to bend to circumstances as they arise, and governable by a discretionary power which must be lodged somewhere—that the seat of this power should be as near the scene of business on every occasion as it could be safely trusted, and certain portions of it should be delegated to the agents employed in proportion to the nature and extent of the business committed to their management. That these sentiments arose from the present circumstances of public affairs, but that whenever these circumstances would admit, I should wish to see all the departments governed by regular systems harmonizing with each other. The Gentleman also asked what sum would be satisfactory to you; in answer to which I gave him the following paragraph.

"With respect to the sum that would be satisfactory to Genl. Greene as Q M G, I cannot pretend to ascertain it. Were he looking to this office as one he would wish to continue in, I have reason to believe he would not accept of less than £3000 currency Per annum and perhaps he might demand £3000 sterling; but as I am confident he now continues in from other motives than a view of gain, and wishes to leave it whenever he can consistently with the public good and his own honor, I believe he will neither demand nor accept of more than an indemnification for his expences. I ground this opinion as well on what I have heard him say on the subject, as on my own feelings, being actuated by the same motives, as to a continuance in office, as I suppose him to be. Whether he means to admit the pay he receives as Major General, as a deduction or not, I cannot say, but I should suppose that ought not to be the case."

"The same Gentleman intimated to me some days before that he imagined 166 dollars p mo would be the sum affixed." Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia. See Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 297-299.

³ Schuyler's copy has, inadvertently, "Inst.", but the letter-book copy corrects this to "ultimo". Greene's letter of June 19 was read in Congress June 29, and action taken upon it July 24. See no. 345, *post*.

erals department and that you have requested the Sense of Congress on that Subject. As you have not obtained their determination, as the System for Conducting your department reported by this Committee has not to our knowledge been decided upon, as the Commander In chief, Impelled by necessity, has directed you to arrange It In some Effectual Manner to give dispatch and Efficiency to your measures equal to the present Exigency, and as you decline making the necessary appointments until this Committee afford you their Opinion on the degree of responsibility by which you ought to be held as Quarter Master General In the Expenditure of public Money, they conceive It Incumbent on them In order to prevent the Evils which may arise to the public from a dissolution of the department before the Sense of Congress can be obtained: to give you their Opinion on the Subject—we have maturely considered the reasons which you assign in your letter to Congress In Support of your position [*sic*], and we assure you they appear so Cogent to us that we do not hesitate to declare our Sentiments generally Coincident with those you have stated In the third paragraph of the Letter to which we have alluded.

With respect to the resolution of the Treasury board of the 23d March last, requiring Estimates approved by the board of war to accompany every application for Money to prosecute the business of the department, we must suppose to have originated from a want of the necessary Information or It would have occurred that a strict adherence to the order in your department, under our Circumstances, must of necessity in some cases Invol[v]e the Army In great difficulties, and In others prove absolutely ruinous. It would be easy to state a variety of Instances which from the nature of things must occur In Every Campaign In Support of this Opinion, but we decline giving them as It would we conceive be like demonstrating a self evident proposition.

In Justice to you Sir we Embrace this Occasion to declare that after having Examined your arrangement of the Quarter Master Gen: Department, we are convinced the Measures you have adopted and the principles on which these Measures were founded, were well Calculated to promote the Service whilst they fully evinced your attention to the public Interest. how far your arrangements have been complied with by your Subordinate Officers, whether these have appointed more assistants than what were absolutely necessary properly to Conduct the business, whether they have adopted the most prudent Measures in the purchases, and Expended the public property with a proper degree of Oeconomy, are Questions we are not in a Situation to determine, nor does It appear necessary we should on this Occasion.⁴

319. THE BOARD OF WAR TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

Sir,

WAR OFFICE July 17, 1780.

There being no Resolve of Congress to Justify the issuing of continental provisions to soldiers Wives when absent from their Husbands,

⁴ The letter is signed by Schuyler and Peabody. See nos. 322, 349, 351, *post*.
[319]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 179; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 15.

The board have ordered the issuing Commissaries to discontinue the practice.

Compassion to those poor people who are in this situation, belonging to your State, induces the board to mention this circumstance to your Excellency, in order, that if it should be Judged expedient, some State provision may be made for them, as has been the custom in some other States.

The board conceive that if the situation of any particular state, should occasion it to send men who have Families, into the Field in part of it's quota of Troops, the charge of supporting the Families, should be at the expence of the State—at least, in the First instance it should be the business of the State to afford them relief as being best acquainted with the Characters and circumstances of the people—and if proper to be brought into account against the United States, it may be done hereafter.²

320. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

CAMP PREAKNESS July 17th 1780.

Dear Sir,

Circumstanced with every Embarrassment incident to Carrying on a War without an Army, Magazines, or Treasury, one fourth part equal to the exigency of the Times—the Greatest discontent in the Army now in the field for want of pay and Clothing neither of which seem near at hand, I have scarce time to address a single friend, or even to advise my own family, of my situation. Thus Circumstanced I am necessitated to remain in Camp contrary to my wish, and vastly injurious to my private interest, with little prospect of rendering essential Service—and less of giving Satisfaction to the various orders, degrees, and societies of men, necessarily composed of Individuals widely differing in their Customs, manners, interests, views, and attachments, whom the Committee by their Missions are necessitated to Transact very important Business with and for.

The French fleet is now arrived and some few recruits are daily joining our Army. The plan of Operations for this Campaign is agreed upon in full Confidence that the States will rigidly Comply with the requisitions made on them. Tho' we have not been favoured with a single line from your State, not so much as even to acknowledge the Rect. of any one of our letters. Yet from the Zeal and Exertions the State have heretofore uniformly discovered on less important occasions both the Commander in Chief and the Committee have little room left to doubt your unremitting efforts in the present instance.

Most of the other States have given us very explicit assurances that nothing shall be wanting on their part to Compleat the Great object in view. Massachusetts have singular merit, and you would be surprized at the instantaneous exertions of some of the other States. It is in Contem-

² This appears to be a reply to an inquiry which has not been located. Cf. *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 138, XLV. 308. The letter was written and signed by Ben Stoddert, Secy.

[320]¹ Library of Congress, Force Trans., Weare, p. 177b.

plation for one of the Committee to *visit* the Assembly of Eastern States upon matters of interesting importance, probably it will be my Tour, and it would be a happy Circumstance in my favour, if the expectations of the Public, and the Trust reposed in me should not render it indispensable immediately to return.

I most sensibly feel for the Convulsion and distress my fellow Citizens in the State must experience by endeavouring to Comply with the requisitions of Congress and their Committee, but be assured that every attention was paid to their ability and Convenience which the nature and demands of the Service would possibly admit.

It is unhappy for me and disadvantageous to the State that I am totally uninformed of their municipal affairs and Transactions, an intimate knowledge of which would often put it in my power to render them essential service and at the same time promote the public interest.

please to make my Compliments agreeable to my friends and acquaintance with you.

I have the Hon'r to be Sir

with the most entire Consideration of respect and Esteem

Your most obedt. and very Hum'le Servt.

NATHL. PEABODY

Please not expose this hasty *scrawl*.²

321. JOSEPH JONES TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILA. 18 July, 1780.

Dear Sir,

A report from the Board of War in consequence of a letter of General Gates to Congress, referred to the Board, respecting the promotion of Col. Dan. Morgan to the office of Brigadier General, now lies upon the table, at my request. The Board have stated his former services, his being first colonel of our line, and the deficiency of that state at present in her quota of troops. If a promotion of general officers is to take place, and to be made through the line of the army, Morgan has many before him; but if the promotions are to be through the line of the State, that officer it appears stands first. General Gates has mentioned his intention of giving Morgan the command of a body of light infantry, but as the state has given the command of the militia lately sent to the southward to Col. Stevens, who was Morgan's junior officer in the Continental line, with the commission of Brigadier General, he will command Col. Morgan, and this Gates thinks, will disgust him, and therefore with great earnestness and warmth presses his promotion. I shall thank you for your confidential communications upon the matter, as the report, I think, will not be pressed or taken up until the Virginia delegates are fully informed, as it

² Peabody again wrote to Weare July 25, chiefly concerning personal and state matters, but mentioning that incessant application had injured his health (*ibid.*). Cf. no. 346, note 3, *post*.

[321]¹ *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 19; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 29.

was upon my motion to obtain time for information, it lies upon the table. Besides, as he left the army in disgust under your immediate command, I did not like the present mode of his obtaining the promotions without that I know of any alteration of circumstances, at the pressing instance of General Gates.² . . .

322. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

BREKKNES, July 18, 1780.

Sir,

We do ourselves the honor to transmit your Excellency copy of a letter from the Quarter Master General, Marked A, with copies number 1 to 13 of sundry papers delivered therewith, and of our Answer B. We hope the reasons assigned for our interference on this occasion will meet the approbation of Congress.²

The fleet and land force of our Ally are arrived at Rhode Island; a few days refreshment will put the latter in condition to take the field, and the former to point its operations where it may be directed. The eyes of Europe generally, and those of all America are intently turned to Congress, and to the operations of their Army in this Campaign. Those of the powers of Europe, in order to determine our Character, and to judge by the event of this Campaign whether it will be prudent to espouse our Cause or to throw their weight in the opposite Scale. Those of America in anxious expectation that an attempt will be made to expel the Enemy from that strong hold, whence they have given these states so much annoyance. The hopes of the people are raised in proportion to the exertions of the states.

But as we cannot contemplate without horror the Effects of disappointment—as we apprehend that it will be experienced from the want of exertion in some states; It behoves this Committee entrusted to call forth the resources of the Country, in order to enable the army to act with vigour and efficacy in any co-operation with the force from France, to recapitulate the measures they have pursued to accomplish the object of their appointment and thereby afford an opportunity to their Constituents, and if necessary to their compatriots to judge whether they have conducted with propriety or not, and to whom the misfortunes which will result from an inactive campaign will be Justly imputable.

² The report of the board of war relative to the promotion of Col. Daniel Morgan is in the *Journals*, July 14. See also an earlier report and consequent order, *ibid.*, June 16. Washington's reply to this letter, July 22, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 356. Morgan was made brigadier-general Oct. 13. See no. 317, *ante*, and nos. 363, 486, *post*.

[322]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 134, f. 120 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 31 (letter-book copy); *ibid.*, Washington Papers (copy by Abraham Brasher). The letter is signed by Schuyler and Peabody.

² Greene's letter was that of July 14, the committee's reply that of July 16 (no. 318, *ante*). See no. 330, *post*.

On the 23d of May we were honored with the Acts of Congress of the 19th of that Month directing us to require from the states whatever was necessary to enable our army to Co-operate with the then expected succour from France. On the 25th we addressed a circular letter to the states, in which we detailed the difficulties and distresses the army sustained, truly delineated its weakness and its wants; and remarked that every reliance for assistance and relief was placed in the states, both in point of recruits for the Army—the necessary provisions to *subsist* it, and the means of transportation. We earnestly entreated their attention to these important *objects*, and that they would adopt such measures as would most effectually accomplish the great views Congress had in Contemplation; and we concluded our address with exhibiting the probable consequences which inattention, neglect or want of adequate exertion would produce. On the 31st May the Commander in Chief in a letter to the Committee, urged the necessity of knowing with precision the means America would have in her power to employ in an operation with the Combined force against the object, he had in view, and of which we were advised. In consequence of this application we wrote a third Circular letter to the states, on the 2d June, requesting *specific* aids of men, provisions, forage, Horses, and Carriages to be attached to the Army, and the means of transportation for the variety of articles Incident to its wants. We stated the principles on which the allotments to each were made; we observed that the requisitions, tho large were barely competent—that they were the least adequate to the intended operations—that it appeared essential a proper understanding should prevail on all hands—that the states should be fully informed of our wants—That the General and the Committee should be clearly and explicitly advised of the ability of the states, both individually and Collectively, and to have what might be expected and relied on determined with precision. Exigencies which have subsequently arisen, impelled to the necessity of reiterated applications, Copies of which have been regularly transmitted to Congress.³

It was reasonable to conclude that every state so fully advised of the alarming situation of public affairs, would not have left any measure to which it was equal unassayed, to preserve the empire from the impending ruin with which it was threatned, to support its honor, and maintain its Character amongst the powers of the Earth, and effectually to establish the great object to accomplish which they had already expended such a deluge of blood. We have learnt with the most sensible satisfaction that the people in most of the states are roused from the torper which had so generally prevailed. That a due sense of duty to their Country has with all ranks of men been productive of a patriotic activity evincing that they mean effectually to support the Common Cause—that some of the states, from whom aid has been required have explicitly advised us of their intentions, whilst others have been partial, and some altogether silent on the subject.

³ See nos. 194, 195, 209, 213, 236-241, 266, 269, 276, 302, 303, 312, 313, *ante*.

Massachusetts Bay has engaged compleatly to comply with the requisitions of Congress and this committee, in every article. Rhode Island has done the like, except as to the Militia, and the article of Rum on which they have not been explicit. Connecticut has engaged to Comply in the whole, altho the Governor expressed a doubt, If the state will be able to furnish all the flour and salt. New York has engaged to comply in the whole, but the Governor observes that the short forage can not be immediately supplied; but that the whole quantity called for, will be delivered directly after harvest. New Jersey has engaged to furnish the provisions required of them, the horses and waggons to be attached to the Army—to empress carriages for transportation in the Counties of Hunterden-Burlington-Monmouth-Essex and Sussex—To compleat their three Battallions, but do not say to what number—“but they have not vested in any persons such powers as to enable them on the requisition of Congress or their Committee to draw forth the *military* resources of the state.[’]” Delaware has *generally* engaged to comply with the requisitions of Congress and of this Committee, and the Governor has given assurances that he will exert himself to the utmost, but no horses, Waggons, or forage have yet been delivered. Maryland has engaged to compleat her Battallions to the Establishment of 504 Rank and file—by raising 1469 men to serve during the War and to raise another battallion for the same term—If by this she can be excused from furnishing her Militia, “unless in cases of extreame emergency.” The General and the Committee conceiving this offer favourable to the United States have acquiesced in the proposition but she has given no assurances on any other part of our requisition. Virginia, by subsequent Acts of Congress to those of the 19th May being directed to dispose of her supplies for the southern Army, except so much short forage as could be spared for this, has given assurances that the greatest quantity possible will be sent. From New Hampshire we have no official accounts; private information advises that it is exerting itself. Pennsylvania has not favoured us with a single line, in answer to the various applications we have made; Some horses but a number vastly short of what we required have been sent to the Army—a quantity of Beef whether exceeding or not the quantity required, we cannot say. A little a very little flour, not more than fifty Barrels as the Commissary General informs. A little Rum, no Bacon, no forage that the Quarter Master General knows of, no Waggons, some recruits for the Army—but we are informed that they do not intend to Compleat their Battallions to the establishment recommended by the General and the Committee. We are ignorant of the measures if any, which they have taken to draw forth the 3465 Militia required of them.⁴

Thus Sir, have we stated the prospects we have and Congress will perceive that the General and the Committee are far from being able to *determine with precision what may be expected*, consequently the former finds himself embarrassed and distressed in the moment when every doubt should have been removed, and when every hour is of such importance,

⁴ See nos. 336-339, *post*.

that if not closely improved, the success of the operation will be greatly endangered. In this Crisis, when the honor and reputation of Congress and their constituents are eminently exposed—when a want of Virtue and exertion clearly involves the destruction of the Empire; we conceived it our indispensable duty, as public men, and part of the directing council of the foedral union, charged with an important Mission, plainly to expose facts without exaggeration; but without disguise or palliation. If we had remained silent we should have been culpable. If we had been deterred by the fear of offending, It would have argued an unbecoming pusillanimity. These sentiments have influenced us, and under that influence we shall continue our observations, and intreat the attention of Congress to the return which accompanied our letter of the 2d June last, In which is stated the number of men and quantum of supplies requested from each State. We wish Congress to compare what is required from each with the aggregate of the whole; and it will be evinced that the non Compliance of such a state as Pensylvania will render it impossible to prosecute the operations which the Commander in Chief contemplates. It will appear that any considerable deficiency on her part will render it difficult to act offensively at all; and that she is not surcharged in the allotment made, when her extent of Country, her Numbers, her Commerce, and her resources are compared with those of the other states. But if Pensylvania will not, or willing, cannot afford, at least a great portion of what has been requested of her—and if we cannot without her aid prosecute the object of the Campaign, Is it not time to put a stop to the great exertions which several of the states are making? We think it is, least *they* should so far exhaust themselves as to be hereafter render'd incapable of the means of defence, unless measures can be adopted to induce every state to afford those aids which are necessary to promote the weal of the Union, and to establish its Independance on a permanent and lasting Basis.⁵

The arrival of the french force, and the hopes which were afforded the Commander in Chief that by the exertions of Congress and the states, he would be put in condition to Co-operate with the succour of our Ally, render'd it incumbent on him to take the necessary steps for operation. Among other things, he directed that the flour in Sussex County should be remov'd with all expedition to Hudsons River. Carriages were required of this state to convey it to Warreck, in the state of New York, beleiving that they would be obtained; he ordered that others should be procured in that state to convey it to Hudsons River; upwards of an hundred of the latter went to the place, but no flour had arrived there; the Inhabitants of this State absolutely refusing to go, unless they were immediately paid, altho urged by every consideration which could influence their humanity, or their feelings as Citizens; hence the flour, small as the quantity is, remains in Sussex, the troops at West Point, rapidly increasing in number, and a few days is to bring on another involuntary fast in that quarter.⁶

⁵ See nos. 241, 261, 313, *ante*.

⁶ The numerous orders given by Washington at this time with a view to co-operating with the French fleet may be gathered from Fitzpatrick, *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington with the Officers*, vol. II. See no. 316, *ante*.

General Knox has likewise been ordered to remove a variety of stores, to hudsons River, and to apply to the Quarter Master Genl. for the means of transportation, which must be considerable. Inclose you Copy of General Greenes Letters on the subject, marked C.⁷ To procure carriages by military aid, on very sudden emergency's is not only right, but may be eligible on the occasion; but to rely on it, in a serious operation which will probably continue for months, would be precarious, inadequate, and ruinous to the Army, and to the inhabitants. We do not mean that it should be infer'd that this state, which has already exerted itself in this Line, is any degree equal to the transportation of the Stores, which must pass through it in the course of the Campaign. It can afford considerable assistance, but it must be aided by others, and it is impossible to mistake by which.⁸

The adjutant General and his Deputies, The judge Advocate and his, The Regimental adjutants, Quarter Masters, Surgeons and Mates have requested us to obtain a determination of Congress whether they are considered as Intitled to that justice which has been done to the line of the Army by the act of the 9th of April last—and whether at the Conclusion of the War they are to partake of the bounty of the states in point of Land and other emoluments. Connecticut has settled the depreciation with the Surgeons and Mates, in their line, on the original establishment of 1776. Representations have been made us on this head, and they claim it on the subsequent establishment which guided the settlement with the other Officers; We mention this that it may be considered in the deliberations of Congress on the subject of this paragraph, and we intreat a speedy determination in order to remove the fears and jealousies which prevail in regard to this matter, and we wish, if possible, that the *decision* should be extended to comprehend such Officers in the civil departments of the Army as have served on daily or monthly pay, in order to prevent that multiplicity of applications with which we are daily perplexed, and to Erradicate this source of discontent.⁹

Mr. Schuyler in a letter of 6th Instant (the Committee being absent) mentioned the inconveniency which the Officers laboured under, in not receiving the subsistance money for the retaind rations. In answer to their applications on this distressing subject, assurances were given that Congress would be advised of the matter, and that a speedy decision would be requested. Indeed Sir, the disagreeable spirit which is already unhappily too prevalent on this occasion is increasing and unless speedily attended to, may be productive of serious consequences.¹⁰

Yesterday two Officers of Colo. Hazens Regiment waited on us, and represented in behalf of themselves and others that they had left their

⁷ See Washington to Knox July 15 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 108), Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 312, and nos. 330, 335. *post*.

⁸ That is, Pennsylvania.

⁹ The "Petition from the Regimental Surgeons and Mates of the Connecticut Line", dated "Camp Nelsons Point July 7th 1780", and endorsed as received July 10, 1780, is in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 245. Other memorials to the committee are at ff. 243 and 263; copies of the three are in no. 11, pp. 290-293.

¹⁰ See no. 294, *ante*.

native Country, to follow our fortunes, that previous to their leaving Canada they made Considerable disbursements in Specie to promote our service, Colo. Hazen assures us to the amount of about five hundred Pounds Sterling, and that it is included in his accounts, which are passed but remain unpaid. These officers are, as they declare, so destitute of Cloaths that they are incapable of doing duty, and some of their family's, residing in different parts of the Country, are suffering for want of the mere necessary's of life. Their case is peculiar, they have no friends from whence they can draw Assistance; humanity pleads so strongly in their favour that we can not dispence with most earnestly recommending that some money should be advanced them without delay.¹¹

The Commander in Chief has put into our hands a letter from the Board of War to him on the subject of military Stores, and desired us to take some steps in consequence of it. In this letter the board observes that "the time is too short for complying with the Estimate for sixty days", that "they are convinced of the utter impracticability of procuring more than half the amount of the Estimate last sent". That "Had they money and were time enough allowed them for procuring the shott and shells, they are convinced *a sufficient quantity of powder could not be obtained*". That "they will do their utmost to procure the articles mentioned in the Estimate for thirty days, but thought it unnecessary to begin the provision without being informed whether or not the business can be undertaken, If the articles agreeable to the thirty days Estimate as at first furnished can be had, and they beg His Excellency's speedy answer on the subject". The letter is of the 11th Inst. and was not received until four OClock Yesterday. It were to be wished that the board had gone on with the matter, as far as was possible for them to do, that so much time as must now of necessity be lost might have been saved. We intreat the business may be spiritedly entered on, and upon the largest Estimate, and the articles forwarded from time to time as they are prepared; We mention the largest Estimate as the board will perceive that in the one which they have transmitted, they state as on hand In Pensylvania sundry articles, which General Knox had already included in his Return, as part of the amount which he stated to be in hand; hence the deficiency's appear to be less than they really are.¹²

The Board presumes General Knox can influence the proprietors of Iron Works in this State to enter on the business of Casting shott and shells. Mr. Faesh has given proposals to make about two hundred Tons. We have requested him to commence the work and have given him assurances we would recommend that he receive the same allowance which is, or may be given by the board of War, in the State of Pensylvania, and that we would likewise recommend that he should be furnished with the money he requires, which is "Twenty thousand pounds immediately or five thousand pounds weekly, on account, or he will give loan Office Certificates in lieu to that amount". We believe he will accede to this, and

¹¹ The two officers have not been identified.

¹² The letter of the board of war, July 11, is in the Washington Papers. Washington's reply, July 18, is *ibid*.

hope If Congress approves, That measures may be pursued to furnish the money.¹³

General Greene has transmitted us Copy of a letter from Mr. Wadsworth to him, which we have the honor to inclose marked D. The subject is interesting. General Greene informs us that the forage required from the Eastern states cannot be converted to the use of the french Troops, as there will not be a sufficiency for ours, especially since the supply required from Virginia depends on the contingency of that state being able to spare any without distressing the Southern Army. It seems necessary that this business should claim the earliest consideration of Congress.¹⁴

Colo. Hazen has presented us a memorial accompanied with other papers Marked E. As it is far from being within the line of our duty to decide upon the contents; we transmit them to your Excellency for the inspection of Congress. A Monsieur Garranger has also put into our hands a memorial F which for similar reasons we also transmit.¹⁵

In our remarks on the requisition made of Pensylvania and in stating what we are advised she has furnished, we took no notice of that generous aid of the associated Company of her Citizens, because we conceived an evident distinction between the exertions of a state and some individuals of it—nor will that assistance capital as it is militate against our conclusion “ that the military operations in contemplation cannot be prosecuted ” without great exertions in the Government of that state.¹⁶

By Resolutions of Congress the Commander in Chief is restricted in his operations to the limits of the United States. It would be easy to assign a variety of conclusive reasons, that such restraint may be attended with many disagreeable consequences, whilst no[t] a single advantage can possibly result from it. But we wave stating them as we conceive the restriction has arisen from mere accident in wording the Resolution, and that barely mentioning it, will lead to a reconsideration. If the General has not conveyed you his sentiments on the occasion, we are inclined to impute it to a delicacy which may not permit him to request an extention of power, rather than to any doubt he may entertain on the propriety of the measure we allude to as necessary. Should the Sentiments of Congress

¹³ John Jacob Faësh was the owner of blast furnaces at Mount Hope, New Jersey. July 20, in a letter to General Knox, he expressed a fear that his furnace would be destroyed and asked for a guard (Washington Papers). Aug. 11 he wrote the committee respecting a supply of provisions, money to pay his men, and the necessity of exempting the men from military duty. *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Greene's letter, dated July 19, is in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I., f. 345, no. 11, p. 242 (copy). The copy of Wadsworth's letter is not with it, and on the face of Greene's letter is written, probably by a clerk of the committee, “Sent the Inclosed to Congress—July 19, 1780”. Aug. 2 Congress referred Wadsworth's letter to the board of war.

¹⁵ Hazen's memorial, which was referred Aug. 2 to the board of war, has not been located. He had however preferred a memorial to Washington (Feb. 12) respecting his rank, his losses, etc., and again on Mar. 1, 1781, the latter memorial being referred by Washington to Congress (*Journals*, 1781, index, Hazen). The committee was in this instance severely criticized by Congress for receiving these petitions. See the *Journals*, Aug. 2, and the committee's final report, *ibid.*, Nov. 16. The case of Garanger was considered Sept. 26, 29.

¹⁶ See no. 303, *ante*.

be coincident with ours on this subject, the present posture of affairs will indicate that their decision cannot be too early conveyed to this quarter.¹⁷

323. JAMES LOVELL TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN.¹

July 19th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Your Letter of July 5th to the Delegates of Mass'ts and That of the 7th to me came duely on. I am sorry that there is any Delay as to the Court of Enquiry, and more so that you are not quite certain of a speedy Exchange.² . . . We are as to News from Rh: Isld. as we were from

¹⁷ See nos. 232, 248, 287, *ante*. The votes of powers to Washington (except in some specific and limited cases) had not expressly limited these powers to the United States; but an explanatory resolution of Aug. 23, 1777, did contain the words "within the United States", and it was doubtless that resolution that appeared to stand in the way of effective co-operation with the allied forces. That explanatory resolution had been adopted in response to an inquiry of Washington, Aug. 22, 1777 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VI. 45, ed. Sparks, V. 38). Congress did, by a resolve Aug. 2, remove the restriction, yet not without opposition. Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina voted solidly against the resolution, Georgia was divided, William Few voting for it, Edward Telfair against it, while Connecticut and Pennsylvania each cast one vote in the negative, those of President Huntington and Jared Ingersoll. President Huntington transmitted the act to Washington Aug. 3 without other remarks than a bare summary of its substance. See also nos. 353, 434, *post*.

This letter of the committee and also those of July 21 (the *Journals* speak of one of them as of the 20th) were laid before Congress July 24 and referred to a committee of five (Adams, McKean, Sherman, Laurens, and Clark), to whom also was referred, July 31, a letter from Washington July 22. A report was brought in Aug. 1 and action taken Aug. 2. One part of Washington's letter (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 354, ed. Sparks, VII. 120) calls for particular notice: "I beg leave to observe", he says in closing, "that from present appearances it seems to me indispensable that Congress should enlarge the Powers of their committee. We have every reason to believe it will become unavoidable to exert powers, which if they have no sanction, may be very disagreeable to the people, and productive of discontents and oppositions which will be infinitely injurious." Congress not only refused to enlarge the committee's powers, but administered a severe rebuke (Aug. 2), and a few days later (Aug. 11) discharged it. See nos. 361, 373, 376, 383, 385, 400, *post*.

[323]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

² See no. 274, *ante*. Lincoln, who was a prisoner on parole, had been endeavoring to have himself exchanged. The question was referred to Washington June 26, and July 1 Lincoln set out for headquarters (Holten's Diary, July 1). Washington wrote to Congress July 10 of the obstacles at that time both to the inquiry into Lincoln's conduct and to his exchange (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 338, ed. Sparks, VII. 102; see the *Journals* July 17). The exchange was not effected until the following November. Some of the correspondence between Washington and Lincoln on the subject is found *ibid.*, VII. 122 (July 26), *Letters to Washington*, III. 59 (Aug. 11), *Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 429 (Sept. 10), IX. 23 n., and ed. Sparks, VII. 290 (Nov. 8).

Matthew Clarkson, who had been aide-de-camp to General Lincoln, had been taken prisoner at the same time (May 12, 1780), and was likewise on parole, wrote to Lincoln from Philadelphia July 17, acknowledging Lincoln's letter of July 6, with its "very disagreeable intelligence", and commenting upon their respective situations. He then relates this incident:

"Two or Three Days since I fell in Company with a certain Governor Howley now a Delegate in Congress there were a number of Members of that Body present and sev'ral other Gentlemen upon my entering the Room this exalted Scoundrell took the Liberty immediately of introducing the Subject of Charles town in spe[aking] of which he gave himself great Libert[ies] I had just then received Jackson's Letter which informed me our exchange was inadmissable you may suppose my Mind was not then in a situation to bear much I did not suffer the Governor to proceed any considerable length before I interrupted him in such a manner that he thought proper to drop the

Charleston. "Ships were seen which answered private Signals on the 10th and are doubtless now in Port 1 o'Clock morn'g of 11th Providence" recd. three *days ago*. We shall know *in a Fortnight* whether the french fleet is arrived or not.³

324. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO AZARIAH DUNHAM.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

PREAKNESS July 19, 1780.

Sir,

The Commissary General of Forage having laid before this Committee a copy of your letter to him of the 14th Inst., and represented that great embarrassments daily occur in transporting supplies, obtained in other States, through this State, for the use of the Continental Army, for want of pasturing etca. which the Laws of the state do not oblige their contractors to furnish. Therefore to remove a difficulty so injurious to the operations of the Army, the Committee are induced in behalf of the United States, earnestly to intreat that you will take the most effectual measures to procure and furnish for the horses and Teams to be employed in such transportation, whatever quantity of pasturing, and other forage, the quarter Master General, his Assistants, or Deputies, may from time to time request.²

325. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

PREAKNESS July 20, 1780.

Sir,

Since the Conversation we had with your Excellency, on the subject of Cloathing the troops, We have maturely considered the matter, and from every point of view, in which we have revolved it, are fully of Opinion, That to put the army into an entire uniform, will have a happy influence on the soldiery, and tend to inspire the foreign troops, with a more respectable opinion of ours, than would be entertained, were they to continue

Subject, to the no small diversion of the Company by whom, and the rest of Philada. I have the pleasure of seeing him universally despised this is the only Rascall that has dared even to lisp any thing improper, and I'll engage he never will again." Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

³ See no. 316, *ante*. Lovell's quotation is a paraphrase of words of Heath (*Writings of Washington*, ed. Sparks, VII. 108 n.) and of Washington.

[324]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 262 (letter-book copy), no. 39, vol. I., f. 138 (draft by Peabody).

² The letter is signed by Schuyler and Peabody. Col. Azariah Dunham, superintendent of purchases in the state of New Jersey, had written from Morristown, July 14, to Col. Clement Biddle, commissary general of forage, stating that a doubt had arisen whether the laws of New Jersey authorized the contractors to procure pasturage for teams employed in the transportation of articles other than those purchased within the state, and, as he did not wish to transgress the law by which he held his appointment, he deemed it necessary to obtain an order from the commander-in-chief or the committee of co-operation (*ibid.*, no. 11, p. 285). Cf. no. 338, *post*.

[325]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (signed by Schuyler and Peabody); *ibid.*, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 221.

in their present motly dress. These considerations in addition to those which arise from reflecting that it will redound to the honor and credit of the states, Induce us to advise, (If your Excellency thinks it will afford satisfaction to the army) that the Cloathing arrived from france, should be distributed amongst such of the men, as are engaged during the War. That the uniforms now possessed by these, should be given to the recruits, who are to serve to the end of the Campaign. But as this will deprive those who are engaged for the war, of the use of the Cloaths, which must in this case be considered as their own property, We think, If they insist upon it, that appraisment should be made, and assurances given them, that the value will be paid—The recruits who may receive the same to account for the value in such manner as Congress may direct.

326. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE EASTERN STATES.¹

PHILADA. July 21, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 18th Instant, with a Copy of General Washingtons Letter of the 10th and an Estimate of Tents and other Camp Equipage wanted for the Army. By this Act the four eastern States are requested to take such Measures as they may judge will be most speedy and effectual for procuring within their respective States, the Portions mentioned in the Estimate, or as great a Part thereof as may be had, especially of the most essential Kinds.²

The Assurances given to the Subscribers to a Bank in Pennsylvania by the Resolution of Congress of the 22d of June it is presumed you have received; the same having been forwarded by the Secretary in the printed *Journal* to the several States.

The Bank in Pennsylvania have subscribed a Fund of three hundred thousand Pounds in Specie, and undertaken therewith to supply Provision to feed an Army of forty thousand Men for two Months; and Congress by the Resolution above mentioned have engaged to indemnify and reimburse them. It is hoped that Gentlemen in the eastern States will not be behind them in their Exertions on this Occasion.

N. B. The like to New Hampshire, Mass. Bay and Rhode Island.

327. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

[July 21, 1780.]

Mr. Elsworth, who is gone home to Connecticut, was your fast friend and his country's friend. Mr. Sherman, he is full in the faith that no more expense ought to be created, than the people will annually pay by taxes. Yet I believe you may set the State of Connecticut down as your friend,

[326]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 54 (letter-book copy is addressed to "His Excellency Governor Trumbull").

² See nos. 303, 310, 316, *ante*.

[327]¹ Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 299 (extract).

if that can be determined by the majority of their delegates. Mr. Ingersoll hath prejudiced me much in his favor; he appears at all times to be governed by principles of the strictest honor and justice. Mr. Matlack is a strange mortal for a man of sense. I never know one day where to find him the next. He hath a great notion of being a courtier; perhaps in some countries he would appear a coarse courtier. As for Livingston, Scott, and Duane, they were for curtailing every salary fixed in the Quartermaster's system; they have something in view; what I am not certain; they make me think of the snake in the grass. It is often thrown out in Congress as a burlesque, that who can ask such and such things of you when you had the modesty to write Congress you would serve them for three thousand a year sterling. Perhaps more of this in my next.²

Congress are very sanguine in their expectations on the intended offensive operations. It is not popular even to suppose a miscarriage, in case any unforeseen accident should happen, much less to mention any of those difficulties that at present to me appear almost insurmountable.

Congress in general appear exceeding easy in the present situation of affairs. There doth not appear the most distant wish for more powers, but rather on the contrary, a wish to see their States without control (as the term is) free, sovereign, and independent. If anything appears difficult in regard to supply, etc., what can we do? Why, we can do nothing; the States must exert themselves; if they will not, they must suffer the consequences.

For my own part I have been exceedingly disappointed in my expectations in regard to Congress, and am still at a loss as to their motives and views, *if they have any*. There appears to be a languor that attends all our conduct, want of decision and spirited measures. The greatest part of our time is taken up in disputes about diction, commas, colons, consonants, vowels, etc. More in my next.

328. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

PREKNISS July 21st, 1780.

Sir,

The inclosed dispatch from the honorable John Adams to Congress was delivered us this morning. as Congress has not decided whether the reasons assigned by Mr. Schuyler for opening the last dispatch, were satisfactory or not, and conceiving it might contain matters of which the commander in chief ought to be advised, without delay, we have presumed to open and peruse the contents, which will not be disclosed to any person except the commander in chief, and to him under the seal of secrecy.²

² See nos. 318, 322, *ante*, and nos. 350, 354, *post*.

[328]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I, f. 141 (signed by Schuyler and Peabody), f. 140 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 38 (letter-book copy).

² See nos. 293, 307, *ante*. The unauthorized opening of letters does not appear to have been included in the bill of indictment presently preferred against the committee, but it no doubt had its weight. See nos. 335, 373, *post*, and the *Journals*, July 26, Aug. 2, 11.

The despatch of Adams here referred to was probably that of Mar. 23, which was read in Congress July 24, the same day on which the committee's letter was read.

329. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

PRECANISS July 21st, 1780.

Sir,

Since writing this Morning Mr. Mathews is arrived, has brought Letters for the Committee from the Governor of Maryland and President of New Hampshire affording us full Information and much Satisfaction.² As an Express waits we must defer transmitting Particulars to another Opportunity.

[P. S.] Mr. Thompson will be so good as to return a copy of this as Mr. Schuyler has not time for this one.

330. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

CAMP, PRAEKNESS, July 21, 1780.

Sir,

We are honoured with your letter of yesterday's date covering an Estimate delivered you by General Knox, stating the weight of ordnance stores, for which he requires the means of transportation; with one of yours, exhibiting what number of Carriages will be necessary to move those stores, and others you mention from Trenton to Dobbs Ferry.²

You wish to be inform'd "Whether the Committee can give you full assurances, that such aid will be given in the business of transportation both with respect to teams and forage, and all other matters of contingency dependant on the same, as will authorize you to engage to the General to perform the transportation required."³ Convinced of the impracticability of prosecuting extensive military operations, without ample

Three letters (Mar. 8, 18, and 19) were read July 22, but the committee's letter could scarcely have reached Congress by that time. It should here be noted that the letter of Mar. 8 which was read in Congress July 22 is the second letter of that date as printed in *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 539. It is marked by Adams "Letter XLIX.", and is endorsed as "read July 22d" (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 84, vol. I., f. 307). The first of the printed letters is marked "Letter L.", and is endorsed as read Sept. 11. *Ibid.*, f. 311.

[329]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 142 (A. L. S. of Schuyler), f. 143 (copy), no. 11, p. 38 (letter-book copy).

² The Maryland letter was that of July 10 (*Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 216). Cf. the letter to Washington, same date (*ibid.*, p. 217). The New Hampshire letters were of July 1, 2, and 6. The first of these is in *N. H. State Papers*, X. 515, the last, *ibid.*, p. 517, though without indication in either instance to whom the letters were addressed.

[330]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 157 (copy sent to Congress).

² Greene's letter to the committee July 20 is in the Washington Papers (original and copy). He enclosed the same estimates in his letter to Washington July 21. The estimate of the weight of cannon, etc., prepared by Knox, is in the Washington Papers under July 21 (f. 18997). Of the estimate of teams, etc., there are two copies in the Washington Papers, the one transmitted by Greene to the committee and bearing his signature being under July 20 (f. 18987), that transmitted to Washington, under July 21 (f. 18999). See no. 336, *post*.

³ Greene further insisted: "Unless the Committee can provide ways and means of furnishing the carriages and the forage necessary for them, the operations which

means of transportation, the Committee have long since recommended it to the attention of the states individually—New Jersey, Pensylvania, and Delaware seem to be the only States from which Carriages can be drawn for what stores may be moved from Trenton to Dobbs Ferry, and any intermediate or adjacent places, South of the Highlands and West of Hudsons River. The Government of this State has empowered the magistrates to impress teams, when required; but on a recent occasion they could not be procured in that manner. The Government of Pensylvania has not advised us of their intentions on this, or any other subject. The Governor of Delaware has promised that the state will exert itself to the utmost, generally to comply with the requisitions of this Committee; hence we are not sufficiently informed to decide, what reliance can be made on their aid, or how far the Governments of those states will interpose to procure it. The Committee in a late letter to Congress have been very Explicit on the subject of the various supplies requisite to put the Army into a state of activity and impressed as that body undoubtedly is, with the importance of having matters of such high moment to the weal of their Constituents ascertained with every possible degree of precision, they will probably come to an *ecclaircissement* with the states; and it seems impossible that the latter should not be impelled to adequate exertion when they shall be convinced that the General cannot avail himself of any advantage which may offer or commence an operation, whatever his force may be, unless supplied with the requisite stores and that an inactive Campaign will involve the states in a series of distress, which no friend to his Country can contemplate without the deepest anxiety; nor will the Committee fail to reiterate their observations on the subject. But should those states in whom a reliance must be now immediately placed for this aid, and which you assure us they are competent to, be capable of a measure so injurious as to withhold it, we shall certainly not hesitate to advise and request that the Military be employed to assist you in obtaining the necessary Carriages, persuaded that men who have entered into that profession to preserve their dearest rights as Citizens will execute the disagreeable duty with every possible degree of tenderness, and relying that we shall stand Justified with the virtuous part of the Community, who whilst they with us lament the necessity of the measure, will decide that of the two evils, we had avoided the greater.

The Committee Sir, are sensible that providing the Teams and forage under the present plan of procuring supplies and aid, thro the medium of state agents not immediately dependant on your Department as Quarter Master General, does not render you accountable for their malconduct. We consider it, however, your duty to make the requisitions to the states and to prosecute every means in your power to obtain both. The Committee see with anxious concern the embarrassments which incessantly arise from such extensive dependence on the states for *every* supply—That it is productive of partial burthens on particular states from their

the General has in contemplation *cannot be prosecuted* without we have recourse to Military force for obtaining them; and even this would be precarious and uncertain, as well as unequal and distressing to those who lay most within reach of the Army." Washington Papers (original); Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 155 (copy).

local situation, That it will ever create a reluctance in the individuals of such states to the public service, That whilst a want of money compels Government to committ their affairs to persons not accountable to those whose reputation in a great measure depends on the Conduct of such persons; It is impossible business should be prosecuted with either propriety or oeconomy, and persuaded that nothing can remedy this evil, and confine business to its proper Channel, unless the confidence of the Inhabitants is regained by adequate assurances that the debts due, or such as may become due will be discharged without loss to the Creditors, and unless the Quarter Master Generals Department be supplied with money to pay for the necessary contingency's thereof. under this persuasion, the Committee will earnestly intreat Congress to turn their attention to both.

As many of the stores included in Genl. Knox's Estimate are at West Point and placed East of Hudsons River, and others much nearer to Dobbs Ferry than Trenton, and as the whole quantity required will not be procured in time on this side of Hudsons River, We conceive the calculation of carriages on his Estimate very considerably too high. We also believe a diminution [*sic*] might take place in the others as the whole quantity of forage will not be carried on to Hudsons River—that of Virginia being directed another way, and that a substitute for it, will in all probability be drawn from New York and the more Eastern States. We wish you to reconsider the Estimate that the application may be the least that will effectually suffice, as it will diminish the difficulty in obtaining them, and evince that every attention is paid to the ease and Convenience of the States.⁴

331. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA, 22 July, 1780.

I am honored with your Excellency's three letters of the 10th instant and the papers to which they refer.²

The Act of Congress appointing Commissioners to settle accounts in the several States, etc., referred to in my letter of the 18th of June, extends to all public accounts in any department (if my memory serves), and will be adequate to the purposes you mention of settling accounts in the Quarter Master's Department, as well as the Commissary's, and I hope a Commissioner will soon be ordered to Connecticut for that purpose.³ . . .

I have received official intelligence that all the States north of Virginia, except Delaware and Rhode Island, have adopted the resolutions of the 18th of March, and by my last from Gov'r Greene, he expected that State would adopt them in a few days, and the same is expected from Virginia.⁴

⁴ This letter is signed by Schuyler and Peabody and is endorsed by Secretary Thomson, "No. 1 Enclosed in Com'ee letter July 23". Greene replied July 21. *Ibid.*, no. 39, vol. I., f. 159 (copy); Washington Papers (original). See nos. 318, 322, *ante*, 336, 343, 349-351, *post*.

[331]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 81.

² Trumbull's letters are *ibid.*, pp. 57-64. They were read in Congress July 18.

³ See no. 260, *ante*, and no. 333, *post*.

⁴ See no. 314, *ante*, 333, 397, *post*.

I hope Connecticut will with the greatest expedition in their power call in the quota of Continental bills required of them; the sooner they are got out of circulation and sunk the better.

Had all the States adopted the resolution of the 18th of March, and acted thereon with the wisdom and decision Connecticut has done, we should have been extricated out of our embarrassments in a great degree and almost insensibly.

We have no later intelligence of consequence from the southern department than what you will receive in the paper inclosed.

332. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO REV. JAMES COGSWELL.¹

Hon'rd Sir,

PHILADELPHIA July 22d 1780.

I have been favour'd with your kind letter from Stanford, but the multiplicity of business hath prevented me the pleasure of returning an answer until now.

Indeed the weight and burden of business is Continually increasing and like to increase while the war continues.

Dispatches not only from all parts of the United States daily arrive but frequently from various powers and parts of Europe. We have lately receiv'd Intelligence that the United Netherlands with Denmark Sweeden and the Empress of Russia at their head, have determin'd to maintain a Neutrality and protect their Trade. this is an important Stroke and all that America would wish for on the Subject, yet our enemies in New York feign to publish it as favourable for Great Brittain, to prevent Ill Impressions among them or for some other purpose not Honorable with regard to truth.

There Seems a Spirit rising in this part of the Country to exert themselves in the common cause greater than I have Seen for Some years. I hope very good Effects will flow from it. the Arrival of the French Armament seems to add yet more to the Animation.

The news papers here with enclos'd will give you as late Intelligence as we have receiv'd from the Southward

I have also the Satisfaction to Inform you great Harmony and Unanimity continues in Congress, Notwithstanding the many Embarrassments and difficulties they have to go through; and hope that a kind Providence hitherto so Manifest in our favour, with firmness patience and perserverance in the use of means in our power will Conduct these United States safely through the Glorious Contest.

333. ROGER SHERMAN TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 178[0].

Your Excellency's several letters to the President of Congress of the 10th instant were received and publicly read. No measures have yet been

[332]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Sprague Coll., I. 412.

[333]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 76; Boutell, *Life of Sherman*, p. 111 (extract).

taken by the Board of Treasury for sending Commissioners to settle accounts in the several States, which they are fully authorized to do by a late resolution of Congress. As I am at present a member of that Board I shall do every thing in my power to forward that business which has been too long delayed.² Your Excellency's letter of the 8th of June last was referred to a Committee, who reported thereon the 6th of July, "That all the creditors of these United States who have not been paid their just demands shall be intitled to receive in the present money to the full value of the sums due to them respectively, at the time they ought to have been paid". When the report was taken up in Congress there was no objection to making just allowance for the depreciation, but that it was necessary to point out some mode for the adjustment of the sums due, and therefore it was recommitted, and will, I suppose, be again reported on very soon. Congress seem disposed to do justice in every case as far as is practicable.³

Our affairs have been considerably retarded and embarrassed for want of money, and for want of proper arrangements of the staff departments. A new arrangement of the Quarter Master's Department has lately been established⁴ which provides for the receiving, safe keeping and transportation of the provisions and other supplies to be purchased by the several States, pursuant to the resolution of the 25th of February last, and for procuring other supplies. All the officers employed will be on salary and not commissions; issuing posts in the country are to be discontinued. I believe it will be a means of saving considerable expence if duly executed, tho' not so much as could be wished. New arrangements are also ordered for the Commissary's and Medical departments, to be made by the Committee at Head Quarters and reported to Congress. . . .

I understand that of late the army have been well supplied with provisions. I am sorry that the State of Connecticut have had occasion to emit so large a sum in bills of credit previous to their being furnished with the bills prepared by order of Congress, but am glad to hear that they have laid so large a tax to be paid in the new bills. I esteem that to be a very wise measure to introduce the bills into circulation with full credit, and ought to be imitated by all the other States. I am fully perswaded that no way can be devised, in our circumstances, to support the value of a paper currency but by taxing to the full amount of our expenditures, after having emitted a sufficient sum for a medium of trade, which is limited by the resolution of Congress to ten millions of dollars for the thirteen States; and if the particular States extend their emissions beyond their quotas of that sum, it will in my opinion give a fatal blow to the

² See no. 331, *ante*. Concerning the settlement of accounts see the *Journals*, June 12, 16, July 31, Aug. 10, Oct. 2.

³ Two letters of Governor Trumbull, dated June 8, were read in Congress June 15. One of them was referred to the board of treasury, which made report June 19. The other (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 50), of which Sherman here speaks, was referred to a committee (McKean, Ellsworth, and Henry), who brought in a report July 6. This report (which is not found in the *Journals*) was considered July 13 and referred to a new committee, of which Sherman was chairman. This committee, to whom had also been referred (Aug. 22) a letter of Thomas Burke, July 21, brought in a report Aug. 24, and Congress took action upon it Aug. 26. Cf. nos. 380, 402, *post*.

⁴ The system is in the *Journals*, July 15.

credit of the whole paper currency, and involve us in worse evils than we have heretofore experienced. Therefore I think that no supposed necessity, or other consideration whatsoever, should induce any State in the least degree to exceed the limit fixed by the United States by the resolution of the 18th of March last. I am sensible that it was necessary to make some State emissions before those bills were prepared, but then I think they should be considered as part of their quotas of the ten million dollars. The resources of this country are great and may be drawn out in so equable a manner by the wisdom of the Legislatures of the several States as fully to answer the exigencies of our affairs, without being very burthensome to the people. It may be necessary to run in debt for some foreign articles, but I think not for any that are to be procured in this country.⁵ I shall return home by the middle of August, so as to attend the circuit, if relieved by the arrival of another delegate. Mr. Root writes me that he dont expect to come 'till the beginning of October. I have wrote to General Wolcot, but have not yet received an answer.

The bank set up here for the supply of the army I hope will be attended with some good effect. . . . Of the new bills have been sent to Connecticut about half their quota, to New Hampshire their whole quota, to Massachusetts, including what is now sent by Brown, 540,000 dollars. The quota for N. York is done, but not sent forward, the quota for New Jersey will be printed next. Eight States have adopted the measure [*i. e.*, of March 18], and we hear that Virginia has, which will make nine. Delaware has not yet, and we have no account from N. Carolina. South Carolina is not in a condition to do it at present.⁶ I hope General Gates will be able to collect such a force as to re-establish civil government there.

334. THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE TO JONATHAN POTTS.¹

PHILADA. July 22d, 1780.

Sir,

Your letter of this day I have laid before the medical committee, and have it in charge from them to inclose you several resolutions passed by them and the resolution of Congress upon which they are founded.

In behalf of the committee

S. HOLTEN Chairman

[The following directions from the medical committee to Dr. Potts accompanied this letter:] The Medical committee direct that D.² Potts purveyor of the Hospitals in the middle district dispose of the money granted by Congress the 21st instant to his department as follows (*viz.*)

⁵ A joint letter from Sherman and Benjamin Huntington to Trumbull the same day (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 79; Boutell, *Life of Sherman*, p. 112, extract) likewise discusses the subject of state emissions. The letter concludes: "Congress have established a new regulation of the Quarter Master's Department; it is now in the press and will be transmitted to your Excellency as early as possible. It is expected this new arrangement of that department will save great expence to the public."

⁶ See nos. 314, 331, *ante*, and nos. 340, 397, *post*.

[334]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Potts Papers, II. 514 (addressed, "D[r]. Potts, Present").

² A very common abbreviation of Doctor. The grant referred to by the committee is recorded in the *Journals*, July 21.

Sixty thousand dollars for purchasing and laying in hospitals stores, such as, Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Rice or Barley; but the committee do not conceive wine to be absolutely necessary therefore none is to be purchased at present; Twenty five thousand dollars is to be delivered to D. Craigie the Apothecary General, in order to enable him to pay of[f] debts due from his department and to purchase some small necessary articles: And you are further directed to pay the wages due to the officers of your department to the first of april last: and to keep the remainder of the money on hand untill the further order of the committee. and make return of your doings as soon as may be.

Attest. S. HOLTEN Chairman

PHILADA. July 22d, 1780.

335. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA, July 23, 1780.

Gentlemen,

Your two Letters of the 21st Instant together with the foreign Despatches to which they refer are just come to hand by Messenger Misner. Enclosed is a Copy of the one agreeable to your request.

Your several Letters of the 19th and 23d of June and 13th of July have been duly received, and the Despatches which accompanied them for the different States immediately forwarded, the receipt of some of them I believe hath not been before acknowledged.

Congress have not yet given any Answer on the Subject you have mentioned, respecting the Opening Letters directed to them.²

336. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

PREAKNISS, July 23d, 1780.

Sir,

We have the honor to inclose your Excellency copy of a letter from the General officer's to us, No. 1, and copy of their memorial to Congress,

[335]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 119, no. 11, p. 16; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 55.

² See nos. 293, 307, 328, *ante*. Huntington was writing on Sunday. The committee's letters of July 21, together with that of July 18 (nos. 322, 328, 329, *ante*), were laid before Congress Monday morning, the 24th, and referred to a committee of five. This committee brought in a report Aug. 1, particularly respecting the letter of July 18, and severely criticizing the committee at headquarters. The principal items of the report were adopted Aug. 2. Meanwhile Congress had received a letter of July 17 from the Pennsylvania executive (see the *Journals*, July 19, 26), protesting against the committee's complaints directed toward that state (see especially no. 313, *ante*), and had had under consideration letters of the committee (July 23, 27, 30, nos. 336, 346, 351, *post*), together with letters of General Greene, respecting the department of the quartermaster-general. Then came Mathews' letter of Aug. 6 (no. 361, *post*), and Congress at once (Aug. 11) recalled the committee (see no. 373, *post*).

[336]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 148 (signed by Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody), f. 144 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 38.

No. 2, which we received on the 20th instant.² It is certain that the fortitude and perseverance with which the officers and soldiers of the Army have encountered the various hardships and difficulties they have been exposed to, and the faithful and eminent services rendered their Country in the course of the present contest, fully entitle them to her gratitude, her ample justice, and loudly calls for the earliest decision of her supreme council, on the subject matter of their memorial.

The inclosed No. 3, is copy of a letter from the commander in chief, to the quarter master General, No. 4 is copy of his letter to us in consequence of the former, No. 5 and 6 are returns which accompanied it, No. 7 is copy of our letter in answer to his, No. 8 of his reply.³

On a matter so important as that which is the principle object of these papers, we earnestly intreat to have the sense of Congress explicitly stated, and speedily conveyed to us. The committee were led to decide for a Military coercion in procuring carriages, if other means of obtaining them should prove ineffectual, because they conceived it a self evident proposition, that ample, but distant supplies of provisions for such an Army as you have called into the field, without adequate means of transportation, must render every operation abortive; increase the distress of the Country, and call in question the wisdom of the directing council of the Empire.

Governor Livingston, with whom we have conversed since our last to Congress, has explained the quotation we gave from his letter respecting the "Military resources of the state"—he meant only to convey, that no *new* powers had been conferred on any person to call them out, but assured us that by former acts of the legislature, he is authorized, with his council, to draw forth the Militia on the requisition of Congress, or General Washington.

The honorable President Weare, in letters of the 1st, 2, and 6th, which we received on the 21st instant, advises us that he has "reason to expect the major part at least" of the troops to recruit their line "will rendezvous in the southern extremes of the state on the 4th of July". That "the Militia are ordered to be at the same places on the 12th, on their way to Camp". That "the quota of beef, allotted to the state, for July, will be ready". That "the first months allotment of rum is ready". That "persons are employed to purchase the 150 horses required of them, and thinks it probable they will be ready in a few days". That "the legislature of the state have *fully* empowered the President with the committee of safety to call forth *all* and *every* resource of the state when wanted, on the recess of the general court, to whom we are to apply for future aid". In his letter of the 6th, he observes "upwards of one hundred recruits for the Continental Army had marched forward on the preceeding Tuesday and wednesday from Kingston, and by the best information, they were equally forward in the Counties of Hillsborough and Cheshire.

² See nos. 355, 357, 375, 387, *post*.

³ With regard to the department of quartermaster-general see nos. 318, 322, 330, *ante*, 343, 346, 349-351, *post*.

His Excellency the Governor of Maryland's information is also full, and greatly satisfactory. as his letter is short, we deem it unnecessary to enclose it, and therefore transmit a copy, No. 9.

We have this day in concurrence with the commander in chief, annexed the regiment commanded by Colo. Henry Jackson to the Massachusetts line—that of which Samuel B. Webb Esqr. is colonel we have also annexed to the Connecticut line. Copies of our resolutions are inclosed, No. 10 and 11.

We wish to be favoured with copies of the Journals of Congress as far down as they are printed.⁴

337. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS, MINUTE.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

CAMP PREAKNISS July 23d, 1780.

The Commander in chief having laid before the committee an act of the State of Connecticut, which is in the words following, towit.² . . .

Resolved, by and with the advice of the commander in chief, that the regiment whereof Samuel B. Webb Esqr. is colonel, now commanded by Liet. Coll. Ebenezer Huntington, and one of the additional corps, be, and is hereby, annexed to the Connecticut line in the Continental Army, and shall henceforth be considered and called the Ninth regiment in the Connecticut line of Continental troops, provided that nothing herein contained shall be considered or taken to be a credit to the State of Connecticut for more of the non commissioned officers and soldiers than were citizens of that state, at the time of their engagement in said Corps.

P. S. It was sent blank in the 7th line of the resolve to Congress.

P. S. The number of the [*sic*]³

⁴ The letter is endorsed: "Letter from com'ee at head Qrs. July 23, 1780 Read 28. With enclosed (No. 1) Letter from the Genl. Officers; (2) Mem'l genl. Officers to Congress; (3) Genl. Washington to genl. Greene July 19; (4) genl. Greene to Com'ee July 20; (5) Return of teams for transportation from Trenton to Dobb's ferry; (6) do. W't of Military stores for seige N. Y. for 60 days; (7) Com'ee to Gen Greene July 21; (8) Genl. Greene to Com'ee July 21; (9) Gov Lee to Com'ee July 10; (10) Com'ee's resol'n for annexing Jackson's reg to Massachusetts line; (11) do. for annexing Webb's to Connecticut line."

Enclosure no. 1, dated July 11, is in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 150; no. 2 is *ibid.*, no. 43, f. 259, copy in no. 39, vol. I., f. 151; no. 3 is in Washington's *Writings* (ed Ford), VIII. 349, (ed Sparks), VII. 112; nos. 4, 7, 8 (see no. 330 and note 2, *ante*); nos. 5, 6, as transmitted to Washington by Greene July 21, are in the Washington Papers, under July 20 and 21; no. 9 is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 216; nos. 10, 11 (see no. 337, *post*).

[337]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 101 (copy by Abraham Brasher, with autographic signatures), no. 39, vol. I., f. 164 (copy sent to Congress), no. 11, p. 288 (letter-book copy).

² The Connecticut act, passed in response to a memorial of Ebenezer Huntington, colonel-commandant of the battalion of which Samuel B. Webb, then a prisoner of war, was colonel, adopted the battalion as one of the state line in the Continental army and requested Congress and the commander-in-chief so to consider it.

³ What is meant is that in the copy of the resolve which was transmitted to Congress no number was given to the regiment. In the text here used the word "Ninth" was inserted by Mathews. A similar postscript is attached to the letter-book copy.

A minute in practically identical terms, *mutatis mutandis* (no 39, vol. II., ff. 102, 162, no. 11, p. 289), records the committee's action with regard to the regiment of Col.

338. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE GOVERNOR OF
NEW JERSEY (WILLIAM LIVINGSTON).¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
CAMP PRAKNESS, July 23, 1780.

Sir,

In your Excellency's letter of the 23d [28th] ultimo informing us of what had been done by the Legislature of your state: Among other acts therein enumerated, is one for procuring the teams required; not only those to be annexed to the army, but also such others as were necessary for the transportation service. We were in hopes those acts would have been as vigorously carried into execution, as the exigency of our affairs at present demand, but on a late application made by the Quarter Master General, in consequence of this law for procuring a number of teams, on a very urgent occasion, his utmost efforts to this end were defeated. We think it our duty to make this communication to your Excellency, as the supreme executive authority of this State, that an enquiry may speedily be made into the cause of the failure. Your Excellency will at once see the pernicious consequences resulting from such neglect, without any comments on our part, and we flatter ourselves, that an enquiry will be productive of such beneficial consequences, as to prevent the like embarrassments in future.²

The Garrison at West Point is rapidly increasing, and must soon be in want of flour, unless the Q. M. Genl. can be immediately furnished with

Henry Jackson, which was designated the Sixteenth regiment in the Massachusetts line of Continental troops. The action was taken in response to an act of the Massachusetts legislature, conveyed by President Jeremiah Powell May 4, to the effect that Jackson's regiment was deemed to belong to the Massachusetts line, and that General Washington be requested to arrange and number it accordingly. This minute respecting Webb's regiment was enclosure no. 11 in the committee's letter to the President (no. 336, *ante*); that respecting Jackson's regiment, enclosure no. 10.

[338]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 111, no. 11, p. 205 (copies signed by Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody).

² For an intimation of the difficulties experienced in New Jersey, see no. 324, *ante*. July 24 General Greene, in a letter to the committee, set forth the problem in some detail. There was great difficulty, he said, in getting pasturage and forage for cattle and horses coming to camp and for teams employed on the great lines of communication. "The law requires that application shall be made to the magistrate. People coming to Camp are not willing to expose themselves to civil prosecutions, and there being no magistrate to be found, they let the cattle go from day to day without the least sustenance. . . . To look up a magistrate and go with him through a whole neighborhood in search of pasturage, and to take it in the divided state they commonly lay it out . . . renders the transportation little less tedious than the Jew's passage through the wilderness." Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. 1., f. 347, no. 11, p. 243.

Governor Livingston replied to the committee's letter, July 26, that he deemed the law altogether effectual for the purpose intended. "If", he wrote, "the magistrates neglect, upon proper application, to carry it into execution, they are doubtless amenable to the judicial, but not to the executive authority, of the state." The latter would nevertheless, upon proper proof, direct a prosecution. "Compel it cannot. But to commence an enquiry into the cause of the failure complained of without the least specification of the Justices delinquent, or the persons refusing, appears to me like an attempt of rearing an edifice without a foundation." (Livingston's letters of June 28 and July 26 are *ibid.*, no. 39, vol. III., ff. 161, 215, copies in no. 11, pp. 81, 96). Cf. no. 352, *post*.

the means of transporting the flour from Sussex County to Warwick, in the State of New York, where teams will be ready to forward it to West Point.

339. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA (THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
PREAKNESS July 23, 1780.

Sir,

We were honored with your excellency's favour of the 2d Inst. on the 21st.² The Cantonements [*sic*] of the Army in this quarter, added to the extreme badness of the Crops last season has so totally exhausted the country of grain for forage, that the Army is in great distress on this account; the transportation of the necessary stores delayed, and every embarrassment increased; we have therefore to intreat, that the moment the impediments to the transportation from your state to the head of Elk are removed, Your Excellency will please to direct the proper Officers to lose no time in expediting to the Army as much grain as can possibly be spared, together with the bacon, and any other provisions which you may have as a surplus of what is necessary for the southern Army.

Whether all or any of the five thousand troops, raising by your state, will be ordered hence, will probably depend on the state in which our affairs may be to the southward in the course of next month. The Commander in Chief will advise you on that Subject.³

[339]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 206 (signed by Schuyler, Mathews, and Peabody).

² Jefferson's letter of July 2 is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), II. 317. Cf. his letters of the same date to General Washington and the President of Congress (*ibid.*, pp. 315, 316). The letters are also in *Official Letters*, II. 136-137.

³ Besides the letters to Livingston and Jefferson, July 23, the committee wrote on the same day to each of the other governors north of Virginia (except Pennsylvania), principally to acknowledge receipt of letters and legislative acts indicating the measures taken by the several states in response to the committee's requisitions. In most of the letters the committee took occasion to emphasize the importance of having the supplies punctually delivered, but expressed satisfaction with the steps taken. In some instances (the letters to New Hampshire and Maryland particularly) was added the hope that entire confidence had been established and would continue to subsist between the executive authority of the state and the committee. In the case of New Hampshire a slight complication had developed in consequence of a delay in sending forward the order of the commissary-general with regard to forwarding supplies. The letter to Governor Clinton contained, in addition, this paragraph:

"We doubt not, Sir, but that directions will be given to furnish the forage as early as possible; we are apprehensive of a deficiency in that necessary article, as a considerable part of that which was requested from Virginia will, in all probability, be converted to the use of the southern Army."

In the letter to Governor Rodney the committee remarks: "We do not find by your letters that the legislature has made any provision for augmenting your line of the Army to the number stated by the Commander in Chief and this Committee. Your Excellency will please favour us with information on that head." A similar statement is contained in the letter to Governor Greene of Rhode Island. Copies of the letters are in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., ff. 101-122, and no. 11 (committee letter-book), pp. 203-207. A brief letter to Weare, July, 25, is no. 39, vol. III., f. 123, and no. 11, p. 208. The original to Maryland is in Md. Hist. Soc., vol. LXXXVII., f. 189; the letter to Rhode Island is printed in *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 209.

340. THOMAS MCKEAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF DELAWARE
(CAESAR RODNEY).¹

Dear Sir,

. . . . The public duty I am obliged to perform is too much for me, and as our State affords me no relief in Congress I shall be obliged to decline the Delegation. The truth is, should my health and strength hold out, my finances will not; while I continue in the station I will support the Rank of a Deputy of the State, and this I find so expensive in these times that without some support from the Government I cannot endure it much longer. I have not received a farthing since the first of January 1779, and I am not a single day out of Congress unless when attending some court of justice, so that I cannot attend in the least to my private affairs, nor to the wants of my family: however I will endeavor to persevere until the General Assembly meet again, especially as the difficulties and dangers we have had to encounter, owing to our change of system for the support of the war by taxes and loans are not yet over. For God's sake exert yourself in enforcing the collection and payment of the public taxes, or we may yet be ruined; if we had but money we could finish the war in all probability the present campaign, notwithstanding the loss of South Carolina.

A fleet of eight sail of the Line, besides several frigates and armed transports, with 5,000 troops on board, are safely arrived at Rhode Island from France, sent for our assistance by our great and good Ally, whom God protect. This fleet is superior to that under Admirals Graves and Arbuthnot, notwithstanding what you may have seen or heard to the [con]trary. Be that as it may, believe me we shall be *vastly superior* to the Enemy on this Continent very soon. Keep this to yourself, as you love your Country; *verbum sat sapienti*.² The Tories will propagate, and, I will suppose, do believe the contrary; I hope they will gain credit for a time. Nothwithstanding the *res arduae domi*, and appearances abroad, you see I have some consolation in being a member of Congress; and if I had not now and then these grateful animating cordials, yet I [could] not quit the Helm in the midst of a Storm.

I cannot conclude without informing you, that Delaware at present stands high in the Opinion of Congress, and that if they had revised and altered the tender law, and adopted the plan of discharging the national debt of the 18th of March last (for which omissions they are alone censured) they would have stood higher than any State in the Union.³

PHILADELPHIA, July 24th 1780.

[340]¹ N Y. Pub. Lib., *Bulletin*, vol. II. (1898), p. 333; *ibid.*, Misc. MSS., McKean.

² Cf. nos. 342, 343, *post*. These remarks were probably made in view of the expectation of the second French squadron (see nos. 363, 364, *post*).

³ See no. 314, *ante*, and nos. 357, 396, 397, *post*.

341. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA July 24th 1780.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencys letter of the 11th Instant, this day. There is official accounts that Admirals Graves and Arburthnott, with Twenty one Ships of War, sailed from Sandy Hook, making their Course South East by South, until they were out of sight, their destination unknown, various are the conjectures, some suppose Rhode Island, others that they are gone, in quest of the reinforcement expected from France.

Since my arrival at this place, I have spent a considerable part of my leisure time, (of which I have plenty) in making myself acquainted with the Institution of the several Boards as ordered by Congress, their several modes of doing business, the several chambers of accompts and their method, together with the Conduct of all persons employed in public business under the immediate direction of either of the Boards. That [Lest?] I should be thought, either imprudent, or indelicate, I must omit entering into particulars, on this subject. But the want of decision is evident, and oftentimes in matters of great National concern, at this critical conjuncture and it is too evident that a general languor hath spread itself over all our public transactions.

Our Finances are in a most deplorable situation, and but little attention paid in order to put them upon a more respectable footing. The task being difficult and the Complicated obstructions that always stare us in the face at first view, Appears to me to be the reason that no more attention is paid to so great a National Concern. I wish the time may not be near, when the most fatal consequences will overtake us, merely for want of money for public purposes. I wish you not to construe this letter to be wrote by dictates of fear. I assure it is not, but with that truth and sincerity that the servant of a free people ought to speak.²

I have also paid attention to all our foreign intelligence, and upon the most favorable construction, I cannot see the least probability of a peace taking place, unless some Capital stroke can be struck this Campaign, in this Quarter. It is probable that Great Britain will propose a Truce with the several states, for a limited time, the propriety of Conceding to this measure, I must leave you to Judge. It appears the victory the Britains obtained in Savannah last fall hath much revived their Spirits in Europe. The effect the reduction of Charlestown will have I must submit to your better Judgment.

I should be happy, If a more pleasant scene presented itself to my view than prosecuting the present Campaign and making preparations for the next in our exhausted situation, but as through that door at present is all

[341]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 15; R. I. State Recs., IX. 299; Staples, R. I. in Cont. Cong., p. 297.

² See nos. 262, 298, *ante*; also Greene to Cornell, July 22 (Staples, R. I. in Cont. Cong., p. 296), and the Journals, Aug. 15.

our hope of political Salvation, I hope the United efforts of america, joynd heart and hand in this Common cause (in a more Zealous manner then they have been of late), will shew to the world that no difficulties are insurmountable when fired by that noble Ardor that burns in the breast of every true American

N B. The fleet mentioned sailed on Thursday last.

342. JOHN WALKER TO GEORGE WEEDON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, July 25, 1780.

Dear General:

. . . . The tories in Carolina have had a gentle currying:² Thank God for small mercies. I hope this is but a trifling prelude to some adagio that is to come. I speak in musical terms to a musical man. The French force at Rhode Island consists of eight ships of the line, Five thousand troops, two bomb catches, and three frigates.³ General Washington to be honored and obeyed by the French army as a marshall of France: the American troops always to have the right and our officers holding commissions of equal rank and date with them to take command. These are marks of great attention. Our new levies are very tardy in their operations. Why are they not sent forward? Something important must be done this campaign or shame and disgrace will be our portion.⁴

343. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JOHN DAVIS.¹

PHILADA. 25th July 1780.

Sir,

I have recd. your favour, and think it not improper you shou'd be in town at the time you mention—but inform you that Congress have yet received no answer from General Green[e] whether he accepts the office under the new regulation or not—we suppose he will, and if so he must immediately nominate deputys for the approbation of the Supreme Council in every State.² Your friend Mitchel³ I presume is soliciting, having told me he wou'd serve without any regard to pay. This day Mr. Charles Pettit was chosen D: Qr. G. of these there is to be but one.

The French Fleet and transports arived at R. Island on the 12th Inst. consisting of seven ships of the line, a Bumketcher and three Frigates with five thousand infantry. Near the same day arived Adml. Graves at

[342]¹ Seventy-Six Society, *Publications: Maryland Papers*, p. 113 (addressed to Weedon at Fredericksburg).

² Ramsour's Mills, June 20.

³ See no. 343, *post*.

⁴ In an omitted paragraph Walker mentions the sailing of Admiral Graves and the conjecture with regard to his destination, etc., and adds: "All this by spies etc. from New York. Observe I tell it to you on no other authority. By some 'tis conjectured that Greaves is gone to take a peep at Admiral Tournay [Ternay], if so I hope he may be made to pay for peeping." Cf. no. 340, *ante*, and nos. 343, 379, 387, *post*.

[343]¹ Library of Congress, *Papers of John Davis*.

² See nos. 297, 318, 322, 327, 330, 336, *ante*, and nos. 345, 346, 349-351, *post*.

³ Col. John Mitchell, deputy quartermaster-general.

N: York with six ships of the line, which together with the former naval force, gives him at present superiority. On last thursday he sailed with 21 ships of force from the Hooke, but whether to attack our allies, or to the West Indies we cannot tell. We are not without reason to expect a farther reinforcement and soon, but this you must take as private opinion.⁴

. . . .

[P. S.] Coll: Blain is at Camp.

344. THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES TO THOMAS CUSHING AND
TIMOTHY DANIELSON.¹

PHILADA. July 25th 1780.

Gentlemen:

We have been disagreeably betrayed into a Neglect till now of answering your Letter of May 16th. This is doubly mortifying to us, because the Reasons which we must give for our Delay will tend to condemn others. We expected that a Business so reasonable as the one relative to drawing monies out of the Hands of the Deputy Paymaster general in the Eastern Department by Warrants signed by some others than a General Officer would not have required any Debate; and we thought day after day that we should be able to inclose to you the Determination of Congress on that Head. A proposition delivered in by us was once and again withdrawn for the Sake of conciliatory amendments and on the 23d of June was referred to the Treasury who reported not till yesterday what is herein forwarded.²

We are Gentlemen Your very humble Servants

JAMES LOVELL
S. HOLTEN

Hon'ble Messrs. Cushing and Danielson
Committee etc.

345. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT
HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA, July 26, 1780.

Gentlemen,

Enclosed is an act of Congress of the 24th Inst. containing an answer to Major General Greenes Letter of the 19th of June, which you will please communicate to him.²

Enclosed you will also receive an extract of a letter from William Denning, containing information of the neglect or misconduct of sundry persons respecting public Stores. The Original is referred to the Board

⁴ Cf. nos. 340, 342, *ante*, and nos. 379, 387, *post*.

[344]¹ Mass. Arch., CCII. 376.

² See the *Journals*, June 23, July 24.

[345]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 58; *ibid.*, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 16 (copy).

² The committee transmitted the resolution to Greene Aug. 1 (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 92, draft, no. 11, p. 253, copy). See nos. 330, 336, *ante*, 346, 349-351, *post*.

of War, but it is thought proper this information should be communicated to the Committee at Head Quarters.³

P. S. Your Letters of the 18th, 20th and 21st Inst. have been received and laid before Congress.⁴

346. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
BREAKNISS July 27th, 1780.

Sir,

We have this moment received a letter from the quarter master General of this days date, enclosing copy of one of his to Congress, in which he resigned his office.² We think it our duty to observe that whatever measures Congress may deem expedient to pursue on this interesting occasion, should be speedily determined on, to prevent an increase of the various embarrassments with which the commander in Chief is already too much perplexed; for it is evident that an Army cannot be put in condition to operate, or even hardly exist without a quarter master General, and one too, that is capable of combining and directing the various duties of the subordinate officers in that department, and we cannot but express our anxiety on the difficulty of finding a person competent to this important office, if the present one is permitted to leave it in this advanced stage of the campaign. We have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem

Your Excellencys most obedient servants,

PH: SCHUYLER
JNO. MATHEWS
NATHL. PEABODY³

³ The extract of Denning's letter, written from Bethlehem, July 10, to John Fell, was brought to the attention of Congress by Fell July 19. The extract transmitted to the committee is in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 121; a copy in no. 11, p. 16. See, further, the *Journals*, July 21, Aug. 21 (pp. 752, 754), 22.

⁴ See no. 335, note 2, *ante*. The letter here mentioned, and likewise at several points in the *Journals*, as of July 20, was dated July 21. There are two letters of that date.

[346]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., ff. 166, 168 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 40 (letter-book copy); *ibid.*, Washington Papers (copy).

² Greene's letter to Congress (July 26) was read in Congress the 29th, the committee's letter not until the 31st (it is endorsed as read July 30, but that was Sunday, and the *Journals* record no session that day), when it was referred to the committee on Greene's letter. The committee brought in a report the same day, and when it was taken up for consideration (Aug. 1) it was recommitted and two members added to the committee. A new report was brought in Aug. 3, and that in turn was recommitted. A third report was offered Aug. 4, which was debated that day and the next, when Timothy Pickering was chosen quartermaster-general and the further consideration of the report postponed. See nos. 330, 336, 343, 345, *ante*, 349-351, *post*.

³ This is the last of the committee's letters signed by Peabody. Because of illness he returned to Morristown (presumably the following day), whence he wrote to the committee July 29 that he was none the worse for the ride, and added: "I have forwarded such of the articles wrote for as I have been able to obtain—have wrote Colo. Brasher particularly—have sent more materials for saddle Cloathes than was wrote for supposing Mr. Mathews might take one" (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. XVIII., f. 311). See nos. 361, 362, 379, *post*.

347. THE SECRETARY OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

(Circular)

SECRETARY'S OFFICE OF CONGRESS

July 28th, 1780.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose you an act of Congress passed yesterday by which you will perceive that commissions etc. for private armed vessels are to issue from this office. In consequence thereof I embrace the earliest opportunity of forwarding to you for the use of your State fifteen² blank commissions bonds and instructions as agreed to the 2d day of May last, and have it in charge to inform you that it is the intention of Congress that all commissions and instructions in force on the 2d day of May last be cancelled as soon as possible and that commissions, bonds and instructions of the new form be substituted in the place thereof.³

You will please to order the bonds when executed to be returned into this office. When more commissions etc. are wanted for your State they shall on the first notice be forwarded by Sir

your obedient humble servt.

CHA THOMSON

348. THE BOARD OF WAR TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

WAR OFFICE July 28th: 1780.

Sir,

In Consequence of your Excellency's Letter on the Subject of the Jersey Arrangements the Board² (fully sensible from Experience of the Justice of your Observations on the Impropriety of the individual States interfering in such Cases) reported the Matter to Congress in Hopes of an Alteration in the System being produced. But we are this Day informed that Congress have been pleased to negative our Report. Matters must therefore remain as they are until Congress shall alter their Sentiments on this Subject and restore Propriety to the Mode of arranging the Army. We cannot under present Circumstances issue the Commissions to the Jersey Officers from Considerations which must strike your Excellency

[347]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 95; Mass. Arch., CCII. 403; Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 18, p. 3 (letter-book copy); *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 35.

² This is the number in the letter to Maryland, the text of which is here used. In the letter-book copy the space is blank.

On the same day the board of war wrote a circular letter in accordance with instructions of July 24. The letter is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 34. See no. 367, *post.*; also Jefferson's reply, Aug. 30, in *Official Letters*, II. 175. A circular letter from the President complying with instructions of July 25 is *ibid.*, p. 35.

³ See the *Journals*, July 27. Cf. no. 268, *ante.*

[348]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² A draft of Washington's letter to the board of war (July 5) relative to commissions in the New Jersey line is in the Washington Papers. The board's report to Congress, bearing date July 11, is in the *Journals*, July 12. The consideration of the report was assigned for Monday, July 17, but it does not appear to have been taken up until July 26, when the board's recommendations were negatived. See Washington to Sullivan Dec. 17, 1780 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 332, ed. Ford, IX. 63), wherein several of the problems of promotion are discussed. In a letter to Congress Dec. 20 (*ibid.*, IX. 68) Washington placed some phases of the problem again before Congress. The letter was read Jan. 1, 1781, a report brought in Mar. 9, considered and recommitted, and action was finally taken upon it May 25.

on every View of the Subject. When the Government of the State transmitt us the Arrangement not a moment shall be lost in sending your Excellency the Commissions.

We have the Honour to be, with the highest Respect and Esteem
your very obedt. Servants

RICHARD PETERS

By order and in Behalf of the Board

349. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

CAMP, PRAEKNISS, July 28, 1780.

Sir,

Your letter of yesterdays date, covering copies of yours to Congress of the 26th instant, has been duly received.²

Persuaded that a change of officers in your department, and at this advanced stage of the campaign, of which the business is so very extensive and complicated, must be attended with the most serious consequences,

[349]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 177 (copy sent to Congress), no. 39, vol. II., f. 91 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 252 (letter-book copy); Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XV. 159; Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 318 (where, however, it is erroneously stated that the letter was signed by Schuyler and Peabody). The letter was signed by Schuyler and Mathews. With regard to Peabody see no. 346, note 3, *ante*.

² Greene's letter to the committee (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I., f. 403, no. 11, p. 244, copy; Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 316) is actually dated July 28, although it bears an endorsement by Secretary Brasher, "recd. the 27th July 1780".

"I shall make no comment on the measures of administration", Greene says, "further than to remark that to introduce a new system in the middle of a campaign is a bold and dangerous experiment, and such an one I believe as never was attempted by any nation on earth. I wish it may succeed agreeable to their expectations, but I cannot think of making myself responsible by attempting the execution when I see so little probability of succeeding."

His letter to Congress July 26 (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I., f. 399; copies *ibid.*, f. 407, and no. 11, p. 245), read July 29, is in Washington's *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII. 512. A copy was transmitted to Washington July 27, with further comments on the measure adopted by Congress (*ibid.*, p. 514). The letters are also in Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 314, 317. See, further, the *Journals*, July 31, Aug. 1-5; also no. 346, note 2, *ante*, and nos. 350, note 2, 351, *post*. That which was probably chiefly responsible for stirring the wrath of some members of Congress and bringing down upon Greene the charge of "insult" was the following passage, particularly the term "administration": "Systems without Agents are useless things; and the probability of getting the one should be taken into consideration in framing the other. Administration seem to think it far less important to the public interest to have this department well filled, and properly arranged, than it really is, and as they will find it by future experience."

Greene had chiefly relied for the conduct of the department upon Col. John Cox and Charles Pettit. Cox wrote to Greene Aug. 7:

"I am informed that the word *administration*, in your letter of resignation, was so highly offensive to Congress, that some of the worthy members immediately on the letter being read, moved the House instantly to disrobe you of all military rank at the same time that they accepted your resignation as Quartermaster-general. Others more moderate, though not at bottom more friendly, objected to a measure so violent, but at the same time proposed that Congress should immediately desire the Commander-in-chief to signify to you that your future services in the line would be dispensed with until your accounts in the Quartermaster's department were settled; neither of which proposals, though warmly urged by your enemies, were carried into resolves; nor do I

we have thought it our duty to express our apprehensions to Congress on the subject;³ and have since had a conference on it, with the commander in chief, and we are perfectly in sentiment with him, "That your declining to act at present will be productive of such a scene of confusion and distress,⁴ that it will be impossible to remedy the evil, or to reduce the business to a proper channel during the remainder of the campaign." We have therefore most earnestly to entreat, that you will continue to direct the department until the sense of Congress can be obtained on your letter of the 26th, and on ours of yesterday: But as you positively decline acting on the plan established by Congress on the 15th instant, which has been officially handed to you by the commander in chief, and as the consequences which we have stated must inevitably follow, and be probably extended to eradicate every hope which the country entertains of an efficient operation against the enemy, in conjunction with the force of our ally, we conceive it indispensibly our duty from these considerations to require of you to continue in the direction of the quartermaster generals department under the orders of the commander in chief, as signified in his letters to you of the 13th [14th] instant and on the conditions stated in our letter of the 16th instant until the further pleasure of Congress can be known.⁵ And we undertake to justify you for acting in consequence of this requisition, and will submit our conduct on this occasion to the judgement of Congress.⁶

350. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

[July 29, 1780.]

Your letter . . . was this day read in Congress containing your determination not to act in the Quartermaster's department; some warmth appeared on the occasion. For my own part, I must confess it would have given me pleasure if you could have reconciled yourself so far as to have superintended the department until the end of the present campaign, as you would thereby [have] kept out of the power of your enemies, at least so far as to prevent their tantalizing over you, to the great mortification of your

believe they dare, great as they are, seriously to attempt anything of the kind, though some of your friends have been not a little alarmed on the occasion" (Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 324); Greene's use in his letter to the committee of the term "administration" was apparently without thought of the offensive connotation.

³ See no. 346, *ante*, and no. 351, *post*.

⁴ In Schuyler's draft the word is "discordes". Cf. Washington's letter to the President of Congress July 30 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 363, ed. Sparks, VII. 126). See also his letter to Greene Aug. 6 (*ibid.*, VII. 144).

⁵ See nos. 318, 322, *ante*, and no. 351, *post*.

⁶ Greene replied the same day that, with regard to the committee's request that he take up the management of the department under General Washington's order of July 14, that order had already been cancelled by Washington's letter to him July 26. He added, however, "If the General will give a new order authorizing me notwithstanding the new system, to proceed in the business independent of it, and as it is the request of the Committee that I should continue 'till the sense of Congress is known; I will agree to conduct the business for ten days". Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I., f. 411, no. 11, p. 246 (copy); Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 319.

[350]¹ Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, II. 320 (extract).

friends, of which you have a number in Congress who I believe are unanimous in opinion that your resignation at this time is attended with many delicate circumstances. When I pay the greatest deference to your wisdom and prudence, I cannot but believe it is in the power of Congress to hurt your feelings more sensibly than they yet have done, which I am ready to believe some of them would be happy in showing an instance of, and that soon. Your letter is committed; the committee are Mr. Ward, McKean, and Henry, from Maryland. I suppose they will report on Monday next; the measures that will be taken I will not undertake to say, but I expect debate will run high.²

I wrote you a letter sometime since.³ I fear it is mislaid, as I have no answer. I cannot take my leave of you without saying that I never approved of the plan as adopted by Congress for regulating the Quartermaster's department. My greatest objection was, that many of the salaries were, as I thought, insufficient, and by that means the public would suffer for want of men of ability to act in the several departments, which I expected they would soon be sensible of; and had you continued, Congress must have taken all that blame to themselves, which by the steps you have taken they will endeavor to lay at your door with too much success. I hope I may be mistaken. I suppose there is not a set of men on earth more fond of charging their blunders to other people's fault than we are. As I conceive the great clamor against the staff departments to be first raised in order to charge the depreciation of the currency to their account by the Board of Treasury and by them spread like other infections.

351. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

PARAMUS July 30th, 1780.

3 OClock in the morning.

Sir,

Previous to our letter of the 28th Inst. to General Greene, Copy whereof we have the honor to inclose No. I.,² The Commander in Chief came to our quarters and informed us the Enemys movements had rendered it necessary that he should Change his position and approach Hudsons River. That he had ordered the army to march at three on Saturday morning. That as the Quarter Master General had Intimated his intentions to Congress, and the Committee, that he would not continue the direction of the department under the New System, every species of embarrassment would arise and a scene of confusion and distress be produced, which in all probability would be Irremediable, and therefor[e] entreated the Com-

² See nos. 343, 345, 346, 349, *ante*, and nos. 354, 355, 357, 363, 366, 376, 383, *post*.

³ July 21 (no. 327, *ante*).

[351]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 174 (in the writing of Mathews, signed by Schuyler and Mathews), f. 169 (draft by Schuyler), no. 11, p. 40 (letter-book copy).

² No. 349, *ante*; see also the endorsement, note 4, below.

mittee to apply a remedy, If in their power; a circumstance so painful, and which might produce such serious and distressing consequences, called for our immediate attention; nor was it easy to determine on such a line of conduct as would not involve the honor of Congress, (to which we are Incapable of being indifferent) on one hand, and avoid on the other evils beyond what the Generals delicacy would permit him to state to us, and to which the Public were so evidently exposed; We concluded after having maturely considered the matter, under the extensive view of all the probable consequences which would flow from a deprivation of a directing head in a Department on which the very operation of the Army depended, that a personal conference with General Greene might be productive of happy effects; We accordingly had a conversation with him, the result of which was: that he would continue to direct the business untill congress could be advised with, by us, provided we should signify what is substantially contained in the Letter No. 1. We accordingly addressed the letter to which we received an answer of which No. 2 is a Copy. Alarmed at the short period stated by General Greene, as that beyond which he would not continue to act; considering what was proper to be done on this occasion, we concluded to desire General Greene to take back his letter, and to request a declaration on his part, that he would continue to serve until the pleasure of Congress should be known. We determined on this with the express view, that if he consented to make the alteration agreeable to our wish, we would submit to Congress, whether combining every consideration, It might not be advisable for Congress to withhold an answer on the subject as stated in our letter No. 1, Inclosed, and to let the business slide on under the orders of the General, countenanced by the Committee, in order to superceed the necessity of repealing an act so recently passed and the objections to which were likely to produce a change of Officers and a consequent variety of embarrassment in a most critical moment. Impressed with the necessity of this measure as the only one which afforded a probable prospect of bringing this business to any tolerable conclusion, we last evening met General Greene and proposed the alteration, he replied, In substance "that such an alteration was totally Inadmissable—that if even he should continue to act, Colo. Cox and Mr. Pettit would not—That others would also resign—That without the two former especially, he could not efficiently prosecute the business of the department, already involved in almost insurmountable difficulties, from the want of money and the Jealousies which were entertained in regard to the Officers of the Department—That nothing less than a repeal of the act of the 15th Inst., and a power lodged in the Commander in Chief, in the Committee, or in both conjointly to regulate the department as circumstances should require, and a request on the part of Congress, to Colo. Cox and Mr. Pettit, to re-assure their employments, could again put the business in train and induce a continuance of his and their services, in this line—That he required no pecuniary reward beyond his necessary expences, nor did Colo. Cox make it an object, but Mr. Pettits circumstances would not admit of his serving the public without an adequate compensation". Thus Sir, have we stated the transaction on this business and Congress are now fully

possessed of all the facts relative to it, and in their deliberations on the subject will doubtless contrast two great objects, their dignity, and the public Weal, in the present critical situation of our affairs, and come to such conclusions as shall appear to them most proper. at the same time we will beg leave to observe

That in whatever point of view we consider our present situation, distress in the extreme presents itself. Intelligence has been received (not yet indeed authenticated but bearing so strongly the semblance of truth, that its varacity is little doubted,) That the Enemy are gone in force to Rhode-Island, this will probably oblige the General to cross Hudsons River, and impell him with his little Army to movements tending to draw back the enemys attention. These movements may point at New York, but they can merely point for what more can be done, with an Army when that department on which so much reliance in operations must be placed, is on the point of being totally dissolved—an Army scantily supplied with provisions and other necessaries to which the means of transportation is not afforded—the forage required not furnished, and the Officers still acting in the Quarter Masters Depart't without money to provide either; Indeed Sir, we are arrived at a dreadful period, and nothing now seems capable of extricating us from ruin, but decisive and spirited measure[s] by Congress in some cases, and a temporising conduct in others, when times, exigencies and conjunctures render it indispensable.

Aware Sir, of the delicacy of giving an opinion on a subject w[h]ere the feelings of Congress are so evidently concerned, Nothing could induce us to it, but the clearest conviction, founded on the most minute observation, and meeting with the Concurrence with the Commander in Chief, that a change of Officers in the Quarter Master Genls. Department, in this stage of the Campaign, and under the embarrassments of our affairs, must be absolutely productive of ruin; under these circumstances we conceive that to be silent would be criminal; and therefore must take the freedom of recommending a suspension of the New System for the Quarter Masters Departmt., as pressing exigencies have arisen which render it necessary for the present, and to empower the Commander in Chief, to arrange the Department, in such a manner as to adapt it to the present Circumstances of our affairs.

We have just now received a letter from Genl. Greene of which the inclosed No. 3. is a Copy. We have had the subject under consideration before, and took measures to procure forage, it seems without effect.³

³ Cf. nos. 328, 336, *ante*, and no. 352, *post*. Washington wrote to Congress on the same day (July 30):

"The Committee address Congress by this opportunity to inform them of the most disagreeable crisis to which our affairs are brought in the Quarter Master General's department. I think it my duty to assure Congress that I intirely agree with the Committee in opinion and that unless effectual measures are immediately taken to induce General Greene and the other principal officers of that department to continue their services, there must of necessity be a total stagnation of military business. We not only must cease the preparations for the campaign; but shall in all probability be obliged to disperse if not disband the army for want of subsistence." *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 152, vol. IX., f. 65; *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 363, (ed. Sparks), VII. 126.

We wish Congress to interfere with as much dispatch as the business evidently requires—We have had the honor in the course of this month, to address Congress, on matters of the first moment to the Weal of the States, a want of adequate information from them, is extremely distressing. We therefore intreat their Determination on the most capital articles, as on this, which most certainly does not admit of any delay.

P S. 7. OClock

Dispatches are this moment arrived from Rhode-Island of the 26th and 27th Inst. The British fleet is off the harbour, and in such force as to give us great pain for the event, should an attack be made on ours. This should be kept a secret ⁴

352. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO MOORE FURMAN.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
ROBINSON'S HOUSE, July 30, 1780.

Sir,

General Greene has represented to us that you cannot procure carriages to transport the provisions and other stores which are indispensibly necessary for the Army, nor forage to subsist the Cattle.² At this important Juncture when the Army cannot be put into a state of activity without those supplies, We are decidedly of opinion that you ought not to hesitate to procure Carriages or forage by impress, or such other mode as will be best calculated to promote the public service.³

⁴ This letter is endorsed: "Letter from the com'e head Quarters July 30, 1780 Read Aug. 1 with nos. 1, 2, 3. Referred to Mr. Henry, Mr. McKean, Mr. Ward, Mr. J. Jones, Mr. Ingersoll. 1. Com'ee to genl. Greene July 28 2. Genl. Greene to Com'ee July 28 3. do. to do. July 30."

The three members first named constituted the committee to whom Greene's letter of July 26 and the committee's letter of July 27 had been referred, July 29 and 31, respectively. Jones and Ingersoll were added when this letter was referred to the same committee Aug. 1. For the further proceedings see the *Journals*, Aug. 3, 4, 5, and no. 346, note 2, *ante*; see also no. 350, note 2, *ante*.

[352]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 262, no. 39, vol. I., f. 181 (draft).

² In his letter to the committee, July 30, Greene mentions that he had repeatedly called attention to the difficulties Furman was encountering in keeping up the transportation in New Jersey. Furman had informed Green that it would be impossible to keep the business in motion under the present embarrassments; that the state contractors were without money and that Furman himself, even if he had money, which he had not, was seriously handicapped by the state laws. Unless the committee could fall upon some speedy and effectual mode to remedy the evil, Greene declared, the army must starve or disband as the transportation was growing longer and more difficult every day. Papers Cont. Cong., no. 155, vol. I., f. 419, no. 39, vol. I., f. 180, copy, no. 11, p. 248, copy.

³ The letter is signed by Schuyler and Mathews. It is to be observed that the committee does not order impressment, but only strongly counsels it. On the following day, however, Washington did empower Furman to impress means of transportation and forage, so far as might be necessary (Library of Congress, Washington Papers, draft). On the 30th he had given such an order to General Greene (*ibid.*). Cf. nos. 315, 338, 351, *ante*.

353. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA August 1st 1780.

Dear Sir,

I do myself the honour to Write your Excellency by this post. Altho I have nothing new to write, yet like all the human specie, I cannot help complaining when in distress. All public business, appears to be nearly at a stand. Part of the Ten Millions of Dollars, the states were called on for by the Resolution of the 19th May, hath been paid into the Treasury, which gave us a momentary relief, but is now every farthing expended. Our public officers cannot command any, if the salvation of our Country should depend on that single point. The necessity of appointing General Washington, sole dictator of America, is again talked of as the only means under God by which we can be saved from destruction. At the same time, some reprobate the measure.² It appears to me that of the two evils necessity will soon compel us to make our choice. I hope we shall be so wise as to chuse the least. The people will not work for the Continent without money or trust her for any articles, wanted for the Army. Therefore they must be supported by the force of Military Law, or disband, until the new bills is put into circulation—when that will be I know not.

354. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA August 1st 1780.

Dear S'r,

I wrote you on Saturday last mentioning your letter containing your refusal to act as Q M General since which a letter from General Washington another from the Committee at Head Quarters inclosing your letters to them on the same subjects have been read in Congress. The Comtt I mentioned in my last reported yesterday that report with the formentioned letters is recommitted. If I can judge from information and from my own observation I shall be happy if the dispute shall terminate more favourable to you then the passing a Resolution ordering the Commander in chief to excuse you from all further Command in the line of the Army untill you shall have fully settled all your accompts in the Q. M. G. Department. In a word I believe it is the wish of some that the suspension may finally operate as a final discharge. I am convinced your conduct is considered in a different point of view from what you expected.²

I am with every sentiment of esteem

your most obedt Huml Servant

E C[ORNE]LL

[353]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 24; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 303.

² The question actually before Congress at this time was whether the restriction limiting the operations of the commander-in-chief to the United States should be removed. This was done by resolution Aug. 2. Cornell voted in the affirmative. See nos. 232, 248, 287, 322, note 17, *ante*, and no. 434, *post*.

[354]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² See no. 350, *ante*.

355. HENRY LAURENS TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.¹

PHILADELPHIA 1st Aug. 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . The Quarter Master General at a most critical period has signified an inclination to resign. this Morning will probably produce an acceptance but not without traits of displeasure. The present conduct of that Gentleman seems to give much dissatisfaction within doors. what can have tempted him to treat Congress with sneer and sarcasm? he applies to them the odious epithet, Administration, and is so fond of the conceit as to repeat and reiterate his wit.²

The General Officers in the same unlucky moment remonstrate for means which shall enable them to dress and keep Tables upon a par with Officers of their Rank in the Army of our Ally. a friend of yours says Aye! the demand is reasonable—a Warrant moreover should be Issued for furnishing them with equipages, good breeding and education equally with the French Nobility, said Officers, “to be accountable”. These are cursed troublesome affairs in a cursed troublesome conjuncture of knotty points. Majr. Gen. McDougal I am told is waiting an answer, but we have not yet determined that Congress shall be enabled to live in splendor equal to that of the Minister of France, nor that the American Minister at Versailles shall cut as superb a figure as the Venetian Ambassador. 'tis to be hoped the General Officers will not insist upon taking by force the right hand of fellowship. what shall we conclude of the designs of Gentlemen who demand what they know cannot be granted.³

356. JOHN MATHEWS TO THOMAS BEE.¹

PEAK'S KILL August 1st, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I am a good deal surprised at not having heard from you since I left Phila.

On the enemy's making a movement towards Rhode Island, our army moved on towards the grand point of our intended operation to be ready to take advantage of favorable circumstances but their sudden return to New York, has, I fear disconcerted all our plans, and we must now return to our original one, how far we shall be able to pursue it, and whether to expect, circumstances and time must determine—Whatever important changes from time to time happen this way, you may be assured of being informed of.

The arrival of the French fleet in so weak a state, when Graves's sailing must have been known, is a political stroke I cannot develop—Can you? I almost give over all hopes of a Southern Campaign this winter,

[355]¹ Univ. Va. Lib., Lee Papers.² See nos. 345, 346, 349, note 2, 350, 351, 354, *ante*, and nos. 357, 363, 366, 376, 383, *post*.³ The memorial, bearing the date July 11, was transmitted by the committee at headquarters July 23 (no. 336, *ante*), but appears not to have been taken into consideration until Aug. 3. See, further, the *Journals*, Aug. 12, 24, and nos. 357, 375, 387, *post*.[356]¹ Charleston Library Society, Misc. MSS.

for without a superiority at Sea, the thing is not to be undertaken. I suppose 'ere this you'll have seen Izard, full of wrath, and indignation. I have not time to say more, than to request my Complt's to Mrs. Bee, and Miss Smith, and to assure you that I am My D'r Bee, Yours most sincerely

357. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO WILLIAM IRVINE.¹

PHILADA. 3d August 1780.

Dear General,

. . . . As you are now to have but a few hints, the great concern of an *Empty Treasury* with a thousand daily demands, forms the front line of my highest fears and deepest distress. We want at this moment to draw money, produce, transportation etc. from these States to whom we are already deeply indebted, and whom our delinquency in payment disables from advancing those Taxes whereon at present we depend. How the Scheme of business and Finance contained in the resolution of the 18th of March last will operate for our relief is yet uncertain but doubted by too many, for altho' it is considered by many good judges to be at once just and wise respecting the publick at large, yet various individuals suppose themselves injured or disappointed by fixing the money at forty to One, and therefore decry the measure.² Mr. Laurens by our reverse of fortune in South Carolina has been retarded in his Voiage to Holand for which place he sets out from hence in a few day's for the purpose of borrowing money for the United States. Mr. Sarel [Searle] was Set out (before yr. letter came to hand) for Holland also, in order to procure Cloathing for the Pennsylvania line of our Army, with some other necessities for the State, which if he is successful, I hope may be of some use to us. Genl. Greens peremtory Resignation in the business of Qr. M: Gl. or refusal to act under the new regulation for that Departmt. at this very critical moment, has at once disappointed and thrown Congress into a degree of vexatious distress, greater than can well be expressed, or has yet happened in regard of any individual. nine tenths of the difficulty arises from the importance of the present moment. The Committee of Congress at Camp appears to make Genl. Greens continuance of absolute necessity, so that if he is retained, the measures of Congress for reforming that department must be recinded, and the Censures of the publick must remain agst. Congress, as deaf to their remonstrances for the reformation of abuses.³ The Remonstrance of the Genl. Officers was this morning read and Committed to a Respectable Committee,⁴ the greater part whereof will in my Opinion meet the Cordial attention of Congress who are as well disposed to do any thing in their power that is in itself right, as men can be.⁵

[357]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Irvine Papers, X.; *Hist. Mag.*, VIII. 16.

² See nos. 314, 340, *ante*, 396, 397, *post*.

³ See no. 355, note 2, *ante*.

⁴ See no. 355, note 3, *ante*.

⁵ In a passage here omitted Armstrong discusses the controversy between Generals Irvine and Hand respecting rank. See Armstrong's letter to Irvine Oct. 30, 1779, vol. IV. of these *Letters*, no. 623. A board of general officers had recently (July 4-5) adjudicated the case (Washington Papers). Cf. Washington to Wayne Sept. 6 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 423, ed. Sparks, VII. 187).

[P. S.] The present State of Our Southern department is very forbidding the letters of Genl. Gates and Baron De Calb, draw the picture of universal want, more particularly in the Articles of money and provisions. Genl. Green having so peremptorily refused the necessary service, is likely to be discharged from all other. Today must end this disagreeable matter.⁶ I beg you will present my best wishes to the Gent'n of our line. I intend this by Coll Johnstone, together with a conference before he set out. J. A.

358. SAMUEL ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Augt. 3d, 1780.

My dear Sir,

I receivd your favor of the 13th of July by yesterdays Post. On my Journey I met Mr. Gerry at Hartford, where we were unexpectedly engaged in publick Business with Governor Trumbull.² I utterly forgot that I had your Letter to him, but since you have empowerd me to open it, I find, it would have been no Advantage to you to have deliverd it to him there. I waited upon the *only* Gentleman of the Committee of Commerce now in Town,³ who told me your Account was not settled. I urg'd it, and will continue to do so as a Matter which ought not to be delayd. When this is done, I will pursue the Step which you request.⁴ . . .

The Doctor⁵ is this Moment going, which prevents my adding to this Letter. I refer you to him for Intelligence.

359. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
PEEKS KILL, Augt. 3d, 1780.*Sir,*

Deeply impressed with the necessity of a speedy determination on the plan proposed to Congress for arranging the Inspectors and Muster Masters Departments, we beg leave to call the attention of Congress to that business: as the troops are daily coming in and there are no proper officers

⁶ A letter from Kalb was read in Congress July 31, and one from Gates Aug. 4. See nos. 360, 370, *post*.

[358]¹ *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 137.

² See nos. 236, 237, *ante*.

³ Three members of the committee of commerce, namely, John Fell, Edward Telfair, and Timothy Matlack, were in attendance Aug. 2, as shown by the yeas and nays.

⁴ See no. 467, *post*. A certificate in Warren's favor was presented to Congress by the committee of commerce Nov. 28 and referred to the board of treasury, "to devise ways and means" of paying it.

⁵ This must refer to Dr. Samuel Holten; if so, however, the date of this letter must be wrong. Holten records in his Diary under Aug. 2: "I set out from Philadelphia to Boston and am now at Mr. Thompkins 17 miles from the city" (*Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LVI. 95). The substitution of a member of the committee on post-office in his room, Aug. 1, indicates that he had already withdrawn from Congress or was on the point of doing so.

[359]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 211 (signed by Schuyler and Mathews), f. 210 (draft), no. 11, p. 43.

yet appointed to muster them, for want of whom great abuses are likely to arise, as it is impossible to know whether the quotas required of the several States are completed, or not, or what numbers have actually joined the Army, particularly of the Militia.²

360. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADA. August 4, 1780.

Sir,

I have just Time to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 20th Ultio. with the Despatches therein referred to, this Moment received per Express.

Congress some Days since appointed a Committee to take into Consideration the State of the Southern Department, to whom your Despatches are referred.

You may be assured Congress will take every Measure in their Power to aid that Department, and place the Army under your Command in better Circumstances as fast as the deranged State of our Finances and the Circumstances of the Country will admit.²

361. JOHN MATHEWS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL Augt. 6, 1780.

Sir,

By a private letter I this day received from a Member of Congress, I am informed that a report of a Committee then lay before Congress, in which it is recommended to accept the Quarter Master Generals resignation.² Convinced from long experience that the decisions of Congress are not very rapid, tho on matters of the last importance, I am induced to address myself to you on this subject, hoping it may reach you before the final decision of this business.

Although alone (necessarily so by Mr. Peabody's indisposition and absence at Morris Town, and General Schuylers call to Albany on his

² A plan for the inspector-general's department, transmitted by Washington to Congress July 14, insisting that it was "indispensable that the department be put into full activity without loss of time" (see no. 316, *ante*), was read in Congress July 17, and consideration assigned for the following Thursday (July 20). Although this letter of the committee was received Aug. 7, it was not until the 14th, when a letter of Aug. 3 from Baron Steuben was read, that the plan for the inspector-general's department was put in way of consideration by being referred to the board of war. The board brought in a report Aug. 24, which was further considered Sept. 23, and, after modifications, was adopted Sept. 25. Steuben wrote Washington Oct. 23 that the plan had been so much altered since it left his hands that "it does not at all resemble itself" (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, IV. 126). Some amendments were adopted Dec. 4.

[360]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 63.

² See the *Journals*, July 28, Aug. 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, and nos. 368, 370, 377, 408, *post*. Governor John Rutledge wrote to Gates the same day, saying that he had arrived in Philadelphia the night before and was happy to find that Gates had been chosen to command the Southern army (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVII.). See also Rutledge to Washington, Aug. 27, in *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 64.

[361]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 213, f. 215 (draft), no. 11, p. 43 (letter-book copy).

² See the *Journals*, July 29, 31, Aug. 1, 3, 4, 5, and nos. 346, 349-351, 354, 355, 357, *ante*. Mathews' letter was read in Congress Aug. 11, and later the same day the committee was recalled. See nos. 365, 373, 376, 383, 385, 394, 400, 434, *post*.

private business) yet I conceive it my duty to give every information to Congress where, in my opinion, the interest of the United States is intimately concerned. That it is so in the present case, must be evident to every unprejudiced man, who will take the trouble to think a little. The late movement of the Enemy towards Rhode-Island rendered it necessary for our army to move. How could this have been effected, without the immediate and particular superintendence of the Officers of the Quarter Master Generals department? Circumstances have rendered it necessary for this Army again to take post in the Jerseys. The same question again arises—But allowing that on the resignation of the head of this Department another officer was ready to step into his place, is it reasonable, is it consistant with Common-sense, to suppose, that in a Department so complex, so diffuse as this is, a man can be found capable of acquiring a competent knowledge of the business in a days time (for there is not a day in the present situation of affairs, but it is indispensibly necessary,) so as to be enabled to discharge this great trust, either with honor to himself, or to the interest of these States. I believe human genius is incapable of such an exertion. It may be said, it is not the whole Department that is meant to be displaced, but only the head of it, and there are other officers now in it, well acquainted with the business, some one of whom, may be induced to take it up, and go on with it. But I think I can with some degree of confidence assert, that for the same reasons the present Quarter Master General offers to quit it, no other officer now in it, capable of the trust, will accept it; on the contrary, no other reasons induce such to continue in it, but a continuance of the head of the Department; add to this, the apparent suspencion of the system of the 15th Ult: (let it be remembered that in this department, is included the forage, the Waggon, and the artificers) annihilate it, and I would be glad to know, how your Army is to march one mile? Without a head a body is an useless trunk. That this whole department must be thrown into the most irreclaimable confusion (I mean for this Campaign) and rendered totally useless for the remainder of it, should Congress either accept the resignation of the present head of it, or persist in its being conducted under the system of the 15th Ult: I will undertake to pronounce with the most decisive confidence. It may be asked, whether Congress are to be dictated to, by their Officers? I answer without hesitation, that on the present occasion they must: necessity compels them to it, and it is a duty they owe their constituents, not to suffer punctilio, to militate against their essential interests. If there are men in the great council of this nation, capable of such a conduct, I will not say what I think are their deserts. I have mentioned that displacing the officers in the Quarter Masters Department at this time, must militate against the welfare and interests of these states, as thus, The Eyes, not only of our Country, but of all Europe are turned on America, and impatiently wait the Issue of the present Campaign. The consequence resulting from it being a successfull one, on the contrary, every member fit to hold a seat in Congress may easily enough determine.

From the flattering expectations held up to this country, of rendering the present—With the divine support—a decisive Campaign. The states have been called on to make very extraordinary exertions. Almost all of them have gone great lengths, and are still pursuing the most vigorous measures to attain this very desirable end—Some of them under considerable disadvantages, so much so, as will greatly debilitate them, and render their future exertions extremely difficult. Under these circumstances, suppose our army was to be arrested, at the place of their next encampment, and not be in a capacity to move from thence, during the remainder of the Campaign, for the want of proper Officers to put it in Motion? (That this will be the case appears to me beyond a doubt, if it is to depend on a new sett of Officers) How then, are the people of this country, to be recompensed for the extraordinary burthens they have subjected themselves to? Who will undertake to satisfy their discontents, the natural result of so greivous a disappointment, and caused by so impolitic a measure? Thus it evidently appears to me, Sir, that an adoption of the report I have alluded to will produce a total derangement of this Department, consequently put an end to the Campaign—render us in the Eyes of all the world more contemptable than any people that ever existed—And we shall be branded with the epithet of mere pretenders to the blessings of liberty: But, Mr. President, permit me to call the attention of Congress to another consideration—Remember the Gentleman at the head of your Army—Much is due to him—Remember the sacrifices he has made of his domestic ease and felicity, and is daily making of his private interest in the service of his Country, in one of the most laborious stations that almost any man ever encountered with the fortitude and success that he has hitherto done, whose extraordinary merits require not my pen to enumerate. For Gods Sake! have some regard to his feelings: and do not reduce him to the sad dilemma, which this step must inevitably do, and oblige him at once to relinquish every hope of rendering the least service to his country. This would be cruelty to him, and injustice to America.

I have Sir, with freedom written my Sentiments, on this Subject, such as becomes one as a member of Congress, and a man who feels the welfare of his Country far dearer to him than every other consideration in life. My present situation enables me to take a more comprehensive view of this business, than it is possible for other Members of Congress to do, confined as they are to a single Spot, removed at the distance of One hundred and fifty miles from the Army; therefore more competent to give proper information on the Subject.

I have done my duty to my country—Congress will judge for themselves, and let future events determine the fitness or unfitness of their decision.

I have the honor to be With the highest respect

Your Excellency's Most Obt. Humble Servant

JNO. MATHEWS

362. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO JOSIAH BARTLETT.¹

MORRISTOWN, Aug. 6th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have been lately favoured with your letter of the 13th May last, (it went to Philada. and I found it on its Journey back to the Eastward) acknowledging my letters of the 8th of Feby. and 17th of March, last. Since which I have wrote you two very long letters, respecting various subjects; in one I inform'd you of my being unexpectedly appointed one of a Committee to a most disagreeable, Arduous service, And requested you to Continue to write me as often as possible, And promised in return, to give a line as frequent as my Circumstances would by any means permit.²

And you will readily Judge, that the business assigned the Committee has been more than sufficient to occupy the Greatest mind, And engross the whole Attention. It has not been for want of true and real regard, to you, and many others, that I have not wrote much oftener. For some time past, I have Scarce wrote once a month to my family. . . .

I have been in Camp from the latter end of April last, till since Mr. Emery³ return'd home, during which time the Army underwent several Changes. They know what it is to want, but not to abound.

I have seen them inviron'd in almost every species of distress, Though things begin to look a little more favourable. The Army increases fast and a tolerable prospect, all Circumstances Considered, of Supplies. But I am not without Great Anxiety for the *Event* of this Campaign. There are many contingencies on which the fate depends.

Beside which there are generally found men in the Councils of every Nation and People, who find means under some plausible pretext or other, to render the best Concerted plans abortive. Can we suppose the councils of America more virtuous, or, her *plans* less vulnerable than those of other Nations?

Whenever anything decisive and important is set on foot, designing men will always find out a Diana, or some other favourite Goddess, in danger, and under her banners, with Great Zeal, Alarm *even* the honest and well meaning among the Citizens, and excite them violently to oppose the measure. Such envious Zeal, and malevolent practices, ensure to the authors great Confidence and applause, not only from the devotees to the invaded Goddess, but many well meaning Citizens who Suffer themselves to be led blindfold by their Machinations! This my friend is a Lamentation and shall be had for a Lamentation! . . .

Johnsons Golden shrines may have made proselites to his Master. Who knows the power of Gold? You, and I, my friend, have not had the Chance of knowing by Diabolical experience, if we had, I will venture to assert,

[362]¹ Dartmouth College Lib., Bartlett Correspondence, vol. II., 1779-1790.

² The letter of Feb. 8 is no. 40, *ante*; that of Mar. 17 (Bartlett Corr.) is nearly identical with the letter of the same date to Weare, no. 96, *ante*; the other letters have not been found.

³ In a letter to President Weare, July 25, Peabody mentions that Mr. Emery had been appointed by the quartermaster-general and the commissary-general to receive all the supplies from that state. Library of Congress, Force Trans., Weare, p. 180.

it would not have influenced us in the manner, I have but too much reason to believe it has some others, in whose power it is to do us much harm.

America has it in her power speedily to put an end to this Cruel, and bloody War. If it is not done, ought there not to be an enquiry who has been the means of procrastinating the happy hour of peace and Independence?

I once read of a people who were at times led by a Cloud; And I have known a people whose *Grand Multiform'd Sanhedrim* were often times in the midst of a Fog. You will Judge how dissimilar their situations. I see a Fog, or Cloud, rising with a *fire* in the midst, which, if not soon dispell'd, and extinguished, Will in all probability greatly distress the Army, if not totally mar the proposed operations of this Campaign! The only object we can now have in view, must be to raise and Establish an *Army*, for the *War*, Which must be done upon a permanent basis. The terms must be both honourable, and profitable. Can we expect men any longer to encounter every species of hardship, and danger, to fight our battles, without a prospect of some other reward, than Cold, hunger, poverty, and disgrace? The raising of men by draft, or otherwise, for short terms has been found burthensome to the Citizen, And ruinous to the Army. We have always two Armies to feed, and pay. Vast numbers Continually *Comming* and *Going*; which sad experience has taught us, Serves only to take off the honest husbandman from improving his farm, Lessen the produce of the Earth; Exhaust your Treasury; Destroy your *Arms*; waste your ammunition; Expend the magazines of provision; Greatly *increase* the *Necessity*, but *diminish* the means, of *Transportation*. In short it deranges every System, and renders Calculation altogether uncertain. Upon this mode of proceeding, You Can Never have an Army in the field, by any means, proportionable to the Expence, or adequate to the indispensable demand of the Service.

For all this enormous Toil and expence, What have we in return? A few raw undisciplin'd troops raised for a short period; by the time they are inured to a Camp life, And with great fatigue to the officers, and expence to the United States, a little disciplin'd, and become in a degree martialists, Capable of rendering Service, the terms for which they enlisted expire! The Army derives but very little additional Strength from such merits. Such aid must nevertheless be Sometimes Call'd forth, in Cases of urgent Necessity, but as auxiliaries only. They must not be too much depended on. The cause deserves other means for Support. America has it in her power to furnish those means. The exigencies of the time renders it indispensable. For was it possible, in the nature of things, that our Cause could be a little longer Supported in this way, without hazarding the loss of our Allies, The increase of our Enemies, and missing the Golden opportunity for *Establishing* our Independence. The resources of the Country would be incompetent for the purpose. The mines of peru would scarce Supply your Treasury. The Community Could not long indure it.

Can we, upon rational Grounds, expect to pursue the war with vigor, and success, or to Negotiate a peace to advantage, while in our present

Labyrinth? Our enemies, foreign and *domestic*, fully Comprehend our situation. They know where we are vulnerable, and where Not. Can we expect New friends will rise up to our Support? Let us but have an army in the field upon a proper establishment, Such as the nature and importance of the Service Absolutely demand, And America fully capable to furnish, and my life on the issue, such decisive measures being pursued on our part, other Nations Convinced we are determined to be free, will step forth to our aid, and Check the Careers of our Enemies, which will Compel them *within*, and without, *at home*, and abroad, instantly to relinquish all pretentions of Conquest, And to sue for *peace*, almost on *our own Terms*.

The whole dependence of our Enemy, for Success, has not for a long time been on the real weakness of America, but upon ruining our finances, which is well nigh Completed, and on our not having an Army, properly established, in the field.

It might not be improper to observe in this place, that the usual Calculations in all Armies, are, that a much Greater proportion of men die by sickness within the first four months of their entering a Camp life, than for four Years after that term is expired. It might also be observed, that the usual disparity in pay, given to persons who turn out for short time, and to the regular Troops, Cannot fail to impress the most disagreeable Ideas among those who are engaged during the War. . . .

But why should I trouble you thus much, with my thoughts upon a matter with which you are so fully acquainted, especially, as I am sure your knowledge of public affairs and daily observation must suggest to your mind Ideas more adequate to the subject in question. If I have been unguarded in expressing my sentiments, your Candour will impute it to Zeal, and not to want of rectitude of intention.

I cannot Conclude, without mentioning the high sense I entertain of the honor and merit due to that state, for its decisive and spirited exertions, at this Critical, and Alarming Juncture: it is Confess'd by many that not another State in the Union, has a Claim to higher, if there is one, to equal merit, with the State of New Hamp'e upon this occasion.⁴ . . .

363. JOSEPH JONES TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

Dear S'r,

[PHILADELPHIA, August 6(?) 1780.]²

Your Letter to Col. Harrison turns out as I expected before I received your full information. If the whole had been read and attended to it was

⁴ In a concluding passage Peabody mentions that he has been in Morristown about a week, in an effort to recover his health. See no. 361, *ante*, and nos. 379, 424, 446, *post*.

[363]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 51; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 21; Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, II. 327 (extract).

² The conjectural date given to this letter by Sparks is Aug. 7, by Ford Aug. 6. The reference to Pickering's appointment (Aug. 5) and the undetermined question of his acceptance (which was given in Aug. 7) suggest Aug. 6 as the proper date. On the other hand, the reference to the Martinique letter, which President Huntington says on Aug. 7 (no. 364, *post*) had just been received, points to Aug. 7. However, Jones may have seen this letter on the evening of Aug. 6. In his reply, Aug. 13 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 378, ed. Sparks, VII. 149), Washington says the letter "came to hand yesterday".

impossible to put any other construction on your manner of treating the subject than to convince your correspondent of the absolute necessity of great exertions this Campaign, while we had a promising prospect before us, lest by remissness and delay we should find our ally as well as ourselves embarrassed with greater difficulties than at present, and I very sincerely wish, should this summer pass away without some signal advantage gained on our part we may not find your conjectures verified in the event.³

I have my hopes we shall yet be able to do something important upon the arrival of the French reinforcement as I presume their Fleet will then command the water without which I confess, I have no sanguine expectations. With the command of the water the enterprise may be successful. Mr. Bingham has recd. a Letter from Martinique informing him the combined Fleets fell to Leeward on the 5th July supposed for Jamaica thirteen or thirty six ships of the line and 12000 Troops. They expected a reinforcement of a few thousand Troops more. If this account be true it is probable Jamaica will fall and that we may have them along our coast.

You are desired by some late resolutions to turn your thoughts towards the recovery of S. Carolina and Georgia as soon as the operations of the Campaign in this quarter have been executed. Gates's and De Kalbs Letters represent the distresses of the Southern Department in a very gloomy light as to provisions and equipments. The Virga. Recruits when raised are ordered to join that army. if this interfere with your plans you should let us know it as they will not be ready to march until the beginning of next month.⁴

We have been greatly perplexed the last week with General Greenes refusal to act in the office of Quarter Master General unless the New System was totally repealed and he was allowed to conduct it under your direction in such manner as he thought most conducive to the Public Service besides Congress were to *request* Pettit and Cox to resume their offices. If Genl. Greene thought the new System wanted amendment and had pointed out the defect Congress wo'd have considered the matter and I doubt not wo'd have made the necessary alteration. But the manner of these demands made in such peremptory terms, at the moment of action when the Campaign was opened the Enemy in the Field and our ally waiting for Cooperation has lessened Genl. Greene not only in the opinion of Congress but I think of the Public, and I question whether it will terminate with the Acceptance of his Refusal only. On Saturday Colo. Pickering was appointed to the office of Quarter Master General with the rank of Colonel and the pay and Rations of a Brigadier General and to hold his place at the Board of war without pay or right to act while in the office of Quarter Master General. This Gentlemans Integrity Ability and attention to Business will I hope not only prevent the evils to be apprehended

³ In his letter to Washington July 18 (no. 321, *ante*, passage omitted there) Jones asked about a letter which he had heard Washington had written to Benjamin Harrison, speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, respecting French finances, etc. Harrison, Jones had heard, was making such a use of the letter as "was like to prejudice rather than promote the service", and added, "Between ourselves, I fear that worthy man is no zealous friend of the alliance".

⁴ See the *Journals*, Aug. 5.

from a change in so important a Department at this time but will I hope be able to reform some of the abuses crept into that Business and lessen the amazing expenditures of the Department. He must if he accepts have a disagreeable office in the present state of our Finances but we must support him all we can.⁵ The promotion I lately mentioned has not taken place though if we take up the Business I suppose it will be done as M. is the oldest Colonel and Gates is the only Major General belonging to Virga. and the State has a right to two but I see no occasion of stirring in it at present as if taken up it must be upon the general principle of promotion and then not only Virga. but Maryland and other States will expect to partake of the same privilege of bringing forward their officers, when I believe there are few States whose lines are so full as to justify the promotions.⁶

364. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT
HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA August 7, 1780.

Gentlemen,

I have the Honor to transmit you the enclosed Intelligence just come to Hand.²

My Informant who brought me this Intelligence adds, that the whole number of Troops which saild from Martinique for Jamaica were 16,000. That Monsr. de Bougainville mentioned as about to sail for America, must be understood from France, the Account having reached Martinique.

⁵ See the *Journals*, July 29 to Aug. 5; also nos. 264, 350, 355, *ante*, and nos. 366, 376, 383, *post*; see also Greene to Washington Aug. 5, in *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 48. Washington's reply to this letter of Jones was confined to Jones's remark concerning the affair of General Greene, "I question whether it will terminate with the Acceptance of his Refusal only". "If by this", said Washington, "it is in contemplation to suspend him from his command in the line, of which he made an express reservation at the time of entering on the other duty, and it is not already enacted, let me beseech you to consider well what you are about before you resolve." He then pointed out in very plain language what the consequences of such a step would be. See Jones's reply, Sept. 6, no. 422, *post*. See also Washington to Greene Aug. 15 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 153, ed. Ford, VIII. 381 n.).

⁶ The allusion is to the case of Col. Daniel Morgan. See no. 321, *ante*. Morgan was made brigadier-general Oct. 13. See no. 486, *post*.

[364]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 122.

² Cf. nos. 340, 363, *ante*, and nos. 367, 379, 387, *post*. The intelligence was an "Extract of a Letter dated Martinique the 7th July 1780", stating that twelve ships of the line (Spanish) and thirteen thousand troops commanded by Monsr. de Solano had arrived there and had set sail for Jamaica "yesterday", accompanied by the fleet, under the command of Count de Guichen, reinforced by sundry regiments and detachments, the land forces being under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon. It was reported there that these were to be joined by a considerable body of forces detached from Havana, commanded by "Don Bonnet" (Juan Bautista Bonet), and also that Monsr. de Bougainville, with four ships of the line and four thousand troops, would sail immediately for America to join the forces under the command of Monsr. de Ternay (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 123). President Huntington transmitted the intelligence to Washington the same day, and Washington in replying (Aug. 20, *Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 386, ed. Sparks, VII. 156) took occasion to set forth at length the difficulties of his situation and to press upon Congress suggestions for remedying them.

365. JOHN MATHEWS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

CAMP NEAR CLARKS TOWN Aug. 8, 1780.

Sir,

I inclose you copy of a letter I received late the last evening from the commissary general.²

As the State of Pennsylvania must be depended on for the article of flour, and as all communications to that State must now come from Congress, I conceive it indispensibly necessary to give the earliest information, that measures may be taken to prevent another fasting in the Army. Its increase by men unaccustomed to hardships, promise little hopes, that in its present state, the distresses they lately experienced will be now borne with the same fortitude and resignation which they then were.

Congress will observe, by Mr. Blaine's letter, that the magazine at Trenton is empty. This was the only one the Army had to rely on, and I was in hopes it would have been regularly and amply supplied, from that source which Congress have been frequently told was our great dependence. I could not however give up my hopes that the flour had been forwarded, and if not at Trenton, it must be at Easton: But on enquiry of Mr. Blaine, he informs me he is certain there is none at that place, if there was he must have known it immediately. Therefore the small quantity in Sussex county, being all the flour the commissary General can at this time command, is a circumstance truly alarming.

I shall immediately write to the other States to hasten forward the Cattle.³

366. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA August 8th, 1780.

Sir,

I had the honour to receive your Excellencys letter, of the 22nd Ult., by yesterdays post. I immediately, communicated the contents, to Congress. It was referred to the Board of Treasury, for them to consider, and report what could be done, As they are supposed to be masters of

[365]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 217 (L. S.), f. 216 (draft), no. 11, p. 46 (letter-book copy).

² Blaine's letter, dated Aug. 7, speaks of the increasing size of the army and the consequent increase in the consumption of provisions, the exhaustion of the magazine at Trenton, with not more than eight days' supply within the neighborhood of the army, the unsatisfactory condition of the beef supply—not a bullock from Connecticut in four weeks—and asks the committee to use every means to press the states to comply with their requisitions (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 254, copy). Cf. no. 383, *post*.

³ Such a letter does not appear to have been written. This letter from Mathews was read in Congress Aug. 14 and committed, and the committee reported Aug. 15 (see the *Journals*). Cf. Blaine to Reed Aug. 3 (two letters), and Reed's reply (undated), *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 479, 480, 494. A letter from Blaine to the governor of Maryland Aug. 3, corresponding in purport and largely identical in language with the second of the letters to Reed mentioned above, is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 39. See also Blaine to Governor Clinton Aug. 9, in *Clinton Papers*, VI. 92. Clinton's reply, Aug. 18, is *ibid.*, p. 121.

[366]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 32; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 303.

our Finances. I shall do everything in my power to obtain a spe[e]dy determination, And as soon as obtained I shall loose no time, in transmitting the same to you. It is with concern I inform you, I have it not in my power to give you any encouragement that you will receive any releif from Congress. I can only add they have it not in their power, to grant releif on any one application for money, let the sum be ever so small.²

I mentioned to you sometime since, that General Greene had declined serving as Q. M'r General, which was accepted after near a weeks alteration. And Colo. Pickering was appointed to that place, with the rank of Colo. and pay of Brigdr. General.³

P. S. Since writing the above, an express hath arrived from General Gates, in North Carolina. The accounts from that quarter are not so favorable as I could wish. The want of money is equally the same there as here, the want of provisions is extremely great in the southern Army, even to that degree that they are without either Flesh or Bread, living on Vegetables we are endeavoring to fix on ways and means to make more Ample provisions for their support. I fear you will think I delight in informing you of only the gloomy side of our public affairs. I assure you I should be exceeding happy, if truth would justify a different language. The Enemy by best accounts are in full possession of South-Carolina, and Georgia, with a small part of No. Carolina, beyond Pedee River. Congress is endeavoring to put the Army under General Gates in a situation to be able to confine them to the limits the Genl. shall fix.

E CORNELL.

367. THE BOARD OF WAR TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

WAR OFFICE Augt. 8, 1780.

Sir,

. . . . We shall lay before Congress our Opinion of the Necessity of purchasing the Powder at Boston and when enabled to pay for it will cheerfully direct the Purchase. We asked some time ago for a Sum of Money to purchase Powder, but Congress did not comply with our Request.² We will however make a second Application on the Subject.³ Great Expectations are formed on the Stores said to be on their Way from Europe and we hope there may not be proportionate Dissappointments.

² See the *Journals*, Aug. 8, 14, 15, and no. 383, *post*. Governor Greene's letter of July 22 is in Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 296. Cf. no. 262, *ante*.

³ See no. 363, note 5, *ante*, and nos. 376, 383, *post*.

[367]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² The application of the board, dated July 22, is in the *Journals*, July 24; see also *ibid.*, July 25. On the same day that the application was made to Congress the board sent out a circular letter to some at least of the states, in an effort to borrow powder. A text of the letter to Governor Trumbull is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 82, and an identical letter is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 21. See also the board to Governor Lee July 28 (*ibid.*, p. 34), the Maryland council to the board July 29 (*ibid.*, XLIII. 242), and the board's reply, Aug. 9 (*ibid.*, XLV. 45).

³ The board made its application to Congress Aug. 10, in a letter dated Aug. 9, accompanied by a letter from Washington to the board Aug. 3. The matter was referred to the board of treasury, and, in accordance with the recommendation of that board Aug. 14, warrants were ordered issued for the purchase of powder.

We are extremely uneasy on the Score of Cloathing for the Troops. In Consequence of your Excellency's Letter of the 20th of June last complaining of the Want of Linnen we reported to Congress that twenty thousand Pounds Sterl in Bills of Exchange should be put in our Hands for the purpose of buying Linnen for shirts and Overalls. We obtained the Bills and immediately sent to our Agents to make the Purchases but have heard Nothing from them on the Subject.⁴ . . .

368. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADA. August 10, 1780.

Sir,

By the Act of Congress of the 7th Instant herewith enclosed you will be informed, that General Washington is authorized to effectuate an Exchange of Officers, Prisoners of War; and also of the Measures Congress are taking for the Subsistence and Comfort of Officers and Prisoners that may remain Prisoners with the Enemy in the United States.

Also that you are authorized to take the necessary Steps for establishing a resident Commissary of Prisoners in South Carolina or Georgia to have the Care of Prisoners in those Places.

You will further observe the Encouragements offered by Congress in this Act to Volunteer Horse Men in the States from Virginia to Georgia inclusive under your Command, and submitting to your Determination the Number to be raised in each of those States. From the representation we have received it is hoped a Sufficient Number equal to your Wishes may be engaged as Volunteers agreeable to the Terms mentioned in the Act.

As a further aid to your military Chest, you will observe the Ballance of the Quota of ten Millions of Dollars required of Virginia by the Act of Congress of the 19 of May last is appropriated to the southern Department, and ordered when collected to be sent to you for that Purpose.²

369. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND (THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADA. August 10, 1780.

Sir,

I am sorry to inform your Excellency that it is not in the Power of Congress to comply with your request by sending any Ships of Force in to the Cheasapeake for the Protection of the Navigation there at this critical Juncture.

I have no Doubt your request would have been complied with most chearfully had it been in the Power of Congress

⁴ See the *Journals*, June 23, July 1.[368]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 71; N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVII.² See no. 360, *ante*, and nos. 370, 377, 381, 408, *post*.[369]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 72; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 45.

By the Act enclosed you will see that all the Continental Vessels of Force were preengaged in a most important Service before your Letter was received.²

370. RICHARD HOWLY TO HORATIO GATES.¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA August the 10th, 1780.

It was with a degree of deep concern, I heard yr. letter of the 20th ultimo, read in congress.² however Sanguine the general Expectation might have been, and the assurances of success promising, there still remained the operation of circumstances to work the desired effect. The direction of these depended, not on the General, but on fortune, which in utter contempt of all human opinion, Ever was, and ever will be the great arbiter of human things. . . .

We are now engaged in the matter of the Southern Supplies and falling very fast from the project of the Siege of New york for this Season. I believe we shall turn a respectable force to the Southern operations the Ensuing winter. . . .

371. JOHN MATHEWS TO THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE.¹

Gentlemen,

HEAD QUARTERS ORANGE TOWN Augt. 10, 1780.

Doctor Cochran has applied to me, as one of the Committee, for some assistance with regard to surgeons with the Army. There are no more than four surgeons and one mate now with the flying hospital, which are barely sufficient to attend the Army. The men are daily growing more sickly and Hospitals must necessarily be established for their reception, so that either the sick in the hospitals or in the Army (in case of action) must suffer, if not speedily attended to. There are now in Philadelphia Doctors Binney, Smith, Glintworth, Duffield, and Jackson, who have no visable employment there, And ought consequently to be ordered by you to attend their duty in the Army, otherwise their Offices must be deemed mere sinecures. Doctor Cutting, who is the Apothecary Genl., is also resident in Philadelphia, therefore a difficulty must arise in procuring the necessary supplies at such a distance from the Army. I would therefore submit to you, whether there would not be a propriety, in his establishing a magazine in some proper place in the State of New Jersey from whence supplies may be drawn with the greater facility, and whether there would not be also a propriety in his attendance at such place. There are likewise in the Northern Department Doctors Treat, Tilletson, Bartlet, Townsend,

² See the *Journals*, July 31, Aug. 7. Governor Lee's letter of July 28, which was addressed to the delegates of Maryland, is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 238. The letter states that the request had been preferred as long ago as June 12, but that no response had been received. The letter of June 12 was read in Congress June 19 and referred to the board of admiralty.

[370]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 49, vol. III., p. 180 (original).

² Gates's letter was read in Congress Aug. 4. Cf. nos. 357, 360, *ante*.

[371]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 263 (letter-book copy), no. 39, vol. I., f. 218 (draft). The copy (made by a clerk) differs from the draft chiefly in the expansion of abbreviations, such as "apothecary" for "ap'y", and "department" for "deprnt", etc.

Young, and McCrea; they can have little to do there at present. I am inform'd one is sufficient, then I would submit to you whether the rest ought not to be ordered to attend the Army.

The delay in the determination of Doctor Shippens Tryale, causes great confusion in this department, as no one that I can learn, seems to take any directions about it, consequently every one does as he pleases. Had that matter been determined, you would have been saved the trouble of the present application. As the Army at present contains a great many recruits, and from the Marches they have lately made in such very severe weather, it must naturally be expected the sick will [be greatly]² increased. Therefore a considerable quantity of Stores will be indispensibly necessary, and ought to be forwarded without loss of time.

I am Gentlemen With much respect and esteem

Yr Most Obed. Servt.

JNO. MATHEWS.

To the Medical Committee in Congress³

372. JAMES DUANE TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 11 Aug. 1780.

. . . . If I can procure the establishment of our remaining Limits by express bounds and under especial Guarantee of the United States my labour will not be in vain and I shall return home with great satisfaction. The Doctrine that our jurisdiction over Vermont is to be sacrificed for the publick Tranquility is pretty fully established. What happened in the Legislature at Albany last winter preceeded us and it was ever expected that we came prepared to execute or surrender. We were not however deterred from doing our duty agreeably to our express Instructions. We are endeavoring to avail ourselves of the advantages which may arise by the impressions which this Determination only Justified by the plea of necessity must create²

² The words "be greatly" are in the draft, but were left out in the copy.

³ See no. 287, *ante*. The medical committee had brought in a report July 21 concerning the needs of the hospital department (see no. 334, *ante*), and Aug. 7 Congress had ordered the committee to report specifically upon the state of the military hospitals in Pennsylvania, essentially anticipating the object which Mathews had in view. Sept. 13 a report proposing a general system of regulations for the hospital department was brought in, further considered Sept. 22, 23, and 30, and finally framed and adopted on the latter date. Meanwhile, Sept. 24, Dr. Shippen, the director general, was ordered to make a return of the personnel of the department, which he did in a letter of the same date, presented to Congress Sept. 25. A report on this return was brought in Oct. 2, and the officers of the department were elected Oct. 6 and 7. Of interest in this connection is a letter from Washington to Mathews Sept. 9 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 428, ed. Sparks, VII. 192), in which he recommends a number of physicians for appointment, for the reason, he remarks, that a hint had been given him "that the new arrangement might possibly be influenced by a spirit of party out of doors, which would not operate in their favor". See no. 434, *post*.

The doctors mentioned in Mathews' letter are: Daniel (?) Bartlett, Barnabas Binney, John Cochran, John Brown Cutting, Samuel Duffield, George Glintworth, David Jackson, Stephen McCrea, Isaac Smith, Thomas Tillotson, David Townshend, Malachi Treat, Joseph Young. The Dr. Bartlett referred to may have been John Bartlett of Rhode Island, but according to a report of the medical committee Mar. 19, 1781, he was not at this time actually in the service.

[372]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Bancroft Coll.. Livingston Papers, II. 249 (extract).

² There are some evident errors in this copy.

373. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS.¹

PHILADELPHIA August 12, 1780.

Gentlemen,

I have been honored with a Letter from the Honorable Mr. Mathews of the 7th Instant in which he mentions two of the Committee were necessarily absent.

Congress have judged it unnecessary under present Circumstances that the Committee should continue longer at Head Quarters, and by their Act enclosed of the 11th Instant have discharged them from further Attendance there and ordered that they report their Proceedings to Congress.²

374. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE (THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE).¹

PHILADA. August 12, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of this Day, together with the Copy of an Act of the 5. Instant respecting a Plan of Operation to be concerted for expelling the Enemy from South Carolina and Georgia

You Sir will observe your Influence is desired in Aid of the Measure which may be adopted by the Commander in Chief to carry the same into Effect

375. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO ALEXANDER McDOUGAL.¹

PHILADA. August 13, 1780.

Sir,

I have the Honor to lay before you the enclosed Act of Congress of the 12. Instant, by which you will be informed of their Proceedings on the Memorial from the General Officers

[373]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. II., f. 127 (addressed to "The Hon'ble John Mathews and Nathl. Peabody Esqrs."), no. 11, p. 18 (letter-book copy); *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 73.

² Mathews's letter is dated Aug. 6 (no. 361, *ante*). See the *Journals*, Aug. 11, and nos. 376, 383, 385, 394, 400, 434, *post*. The copy of the resolution transmitted to the committee is endorsed, "Recd. the 21st Inst." This letter is endorsed, "Recd. the 21st Inst. No. 14 exam'd and ent'd". Nov. 16 the committee presented to Congress, as a record of its proceedings, the committee's letter-book (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11), embodying copies of the majority of the letters received and sent, the final document in the volume being a statement in defense of its course in those matters which had been the object of criticism on the part of Congress. The draft is in Schuyler's hand, but the letter-book copy, which is dated Nov. 1, is signed only by Mathews and Peabody, as Schuyler was absent at the time the report was presented. See no. 424, *post*.

The record of yeas and nays on this order of recall shows ten states in the affirmative, two (New York and South Carolina) in the negative, and one (Virginia) divided. New York was represented by John Morin Scott alone. Of the South Carolina delegates, Bee and Kinloch voted "no", Motte "aye". Of the Virginians, Madison voted "no", Walker "aye". Two of the votes are somewhat surprising. Peabody's colleague, Folsom, voted for the recall, and James Lovell, who seldom failed to manifest suspicion of "camp" or "camp doctrine", voted "no".

[374]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 73.

[375]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 74.

Some further Matters were under Consideration for the Benefit of the General Officers their Widows and Children, which are recommitted and I trust will be speedily determined.²

376. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

[August 13, 1780.]

Dear Sir,

I had the honour, to receive your favour yesterday, of the 5th Instant, In my last, I mentioned that your letter was recommit'd, they reported the next day, In these words, "That General Greens refusal be accepted. That General Washington be informed, and directed, to appoint a Q. M. G. That General Greene be acquainted that Congress have no farther service for him." That report² was taken up every day for a week, but nothing determined. At length it was agreed to postpone the report for the present. Congress then agreed to make choice of a Quartermaster-general. Colonel Pickering was chosen, with the rank of Colonel and pay of Brigadier-general. There the matter rests at present, and I think will, unless some other evil spirit should get among us.

I can assure you Mr. Sherman hath been your fast friend in the whole of this affair, as well as every member from that State. And among your friends you may reckon New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and some members from some other States. Your enemies are, or pretend to be, exceeding sanguine in their expectations of Colonel Pickering's conducting the department with economy. I confess I more fear his want of ability than the want of economy. At the same time I wish him success.

Before this will reach you it is more than probable you will hear that Congress have recalled their committee from head-quarters. The measure was become necessary for several reasons. Some States were dissatisfied, many members of Congress were displeased with the letters they wrote.³

The situation of our finances is such as to make every thinking man shudder. The new money ordered into circulation by the resolution of the 18th March meets with so many obstructions I almost despair of the credit it will have in the States that comply with the resolution. If that should fail, good God, what will be our fate, without money or credit at home or abroad? We have not one farthing of money in the treasury, and I know of no quarter from which we have a right to expect any. Yet we go on contented, pleasing ourselves with the sanguine hopes of reducing New York. I have seen many new scenes before I came to this place.

² See the *Journals*, Aug. 3, 12, 24, Sept. 9, and nos. 336, 355, 357, *ante*, nos. 387, 421, *post*.

[376]¹ Library of Congress, Nathanael Greene, Ac. 2827; Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, II. 323 (extract).

² That is, the report on Greene's resignation. See *ibid.*, p. 322; *cf.* nos. 350, 366, *ante*, and no. 383, *post*. Aug. 11 Greene wrote a circular letter to his deputies, explaining the reasons for his resignation and his declining to act longer, and closed the letter with this paragraph:

"Notwithstanding you cannot act officially any longer, I hope you will continue to give every aid in your power to my successor 'till he shall have made his arrangements upon the new plan; that the business of the Department may be kept in motion, and the operations of the Campaign go on." Library of Congress, Papers of John Davis.

³ See no. 373, *ante*.

But what I have experienced since, exceeds anything I have ever seen before. I never before saw a set of men that could quietly submit to every kind of difficulty that tended to the ruin of their country, without endeavoring to make one effort to remove the obstruction. I believe they wish their country well, but suffer their time almost wholly to be taken up in business of no consequence.⁴

377. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA August 14, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 12. Instant, ordering General Moultrie to make Return of the Commissary of Prisoners that he shall appoint in Charles Town to you for your Approbation.

You have also enclosed a Letter to General Moultrie with several Acts of Congress under a flying Seal. These Papers you will please to peruse, and forward to him as soon as may be.

It is proper to inform you, that the Reason for directing General Moultrie to appoint a Commissary of Prisoners in Charlestown, was because of a Stipulation at the Time of the Capitulation that the eldest Officer among the Prisoners should have that Priveledge granted by the Enemy. Of this we have received full Information.²

378. ROGER SHERMAN (?) TO OLIVER WOLCOTT (?).¹

[August 14, 1780.]

A Comm'tee of five is appointed to make Estimates of the further Supplies that will be necessary for the present Year ending the first of next March, and for the ensuing Year, and the means of furnishing them²—and another to report the Salaries of the several Boards—Court of Appeals etc.

Congress has resolved to pay the Army their wages and Subsistence in the new bills from and after the first Day of the present Month—to give each Major Genl. 1100 Acres of Land, and each Brigadier 850 Acres at the Close of the War³ Col. Pickering is appointed Q. M. Genl.—The Com'tee at Head Quarters are discharged from further Attendance there and ordered to report their proceedings to Congress.⁴

⁴ Cf. no. 398, *post*.

[377]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVII.; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 76.

² See the *Journals*, July 26, Aug. 3, 5, 7, 12; also nos. 360, 368, 370, *ante*, and no. 408, *post*.

[378]¹ Conn. Hist. Soc., Oliver Wolcott Papers, III, 118 (extract), endorsed at the top, "Extract of a letter dated Phila. Augst. 14th 1780".

² A committee on estimates and ways and means (Cornell, Sherman, Matlack, Houston, and Scott) was appointed Aug. 11. See nos. 402, 469, *post*. The committee on salaries was also appointed Aug. 11. See, further, the *Journals*, Aug. 22, 31, Sept. 12, 13, 25, Oct. 14 (pp. 924, 930), Nov. 15.

³ See the *Journals*, Aug. 12, and no. 375, *ante*.

⁴ See no. 373, *ante*.

Mr. Lawrence has embarked for Holland—no very particular Accts. from the Southward—I shall be willing to return home as soon as any Gentleman will come to relieve me.⁵

379. NATHANIEL FOLSOM TO JOSIAH BARTLETT.¹

S'r, PHILADELPHIA agust 14th, 1780.

I Recd. your letter of the 13th of may the 10th of June and should have answered it before now but I have several Reasons to offer by way of Excuse.

one is I have bin alone ever since abought the 20th of april and have not bin absent one hour when Congress were setting since my arrival at this Place.

the other is the wather hase bin so hot that when out of Congress we have full imploymant to find air enough to breathe in. the last is you seemed to be angery at the Resolution of the 18th march relative to finance, that I thought I wood let you Cool a little before I Rote again. when I left newhampshire the Exchange was abought twenty for one and on my arrival at this Place I found it Sixty and before the 18th of march it was almost an hundered for one on an average, and had it not bin for that Resolution of Congress which seemed to make you so uneasy by the middle of may it wood not have Purchest any one thing in the market. this is not my opinion only but allmost evry member of Congress, and as you Did not go so far as to say you thought the exchange as fixt was too high or too low, or that it aught or aught not to be fixt at all, Puts it out of my Power to give you Satisfaction on this Subject.²

I suppose you will expect I should say something about our Public affairs in general, as they appear to us who are on the spot where information of every kind is most likely to be had. Much, very much my good friend, is Depending, in my opinion on this Camppaine. As the exertions of the several states are very grate, unless some important Blow is struck, or something Decissive is done, I am affraid of the effect it may have on the People at large, if Cal'd upon for the like exertions another year, and the disadvantages we may be laid under, if a negotiation for a Peace should take Place, is obvious.

I can informe you, our General's spirits and expectations are Riseing, and allso that we expect every day to hear of the arrival of the 2d Division of Ships of War from France,³ on which Depends, in my opinion, all our offensive operations.

Yesterday I heard Coll. Peabody was unwell at Morristown. I shall set out for home on the 20th of September at the farthest, if I shoold live so long, and am able, and shall expect somebody to Relieve me by that time, or the State will be unrepresented.⁴ . . .

⁵ This statement suggests that the writer of the letter must have been Sherman. See no. 333, *ante*. The other Connecticut delegates were Samuel Huntington and Benjamin Huntington.

[379]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., Continental Congress, 1774, no. 340; *Hist. Mag.*, VII. 52.

² Cf. no. 376, *ante*.

³ Cf. nos. 340, 363, 364, 367, *ante*, and no. 387, *post*.

⁴ See no. 362, *ante*.

380. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO JAMES LOVELL.¹

MARBLEHEAD Aug 14 1780.

Dear Sir,

The Resolutions of Congress respecting the Payment of the Principal and Interest of Loan Office Certificates, appear to be founded in Justice, and to give general Satisfaction; but the Mode adopted for the Payment of other publick Debts, having no Regard to the Depreciation of the Currency, is the Cause of great Complaints and much Uneasiness. Since the year 1776 Congress have not been able to Supply the *Officers* of the Staff with the Sums required by them for making their purchases, and in Consequence thereof *they* have procured upon the publick Credit, Articles to a Considerable Amount, and issued what they Call due Bills, which are Certificates specifying the Dates, Amounts, and other particulars of the Debts so Contracted. some of these Certificates were issued for Articles supplied previous to the first of Sep 1777, and are order'd to be paid in Currency agree'e to the *nominal Sum*, which you must be sensible, subjects the Holders to a Loss of thirty nine fortieths of their property, and of the Improvement thereof from the Dates of the Purchases. this Loss is aggravated in the Minds of the Creditors, by Considering that they Entrusted the Publick at a Time when others, who were either attached to their own Interest or disaffected to the Cause, refused to part with their Property without prompt Payment, and that these have avoided the Losses which the first are Exposed to by their Zeal in the Cause of their Country. they further Complain that many Officers of the Staff instead of making their Purchases at the Time of their receiving the Publick Mony, have employed their Friends to invest it in Articles of Merchandize and produce and have stored these Untill the Prices have been so Enhanced, as that by the Sale of one Quarter part thereof they have replaced the nominal Sum taken from the publick to purchase the same; that the Highest Injustice has thus been done to the Publick, by the Depreciation of the Money, in the Hands of such Officers; and that they are allowed to discharge themselves from the Sums which they have from Time to Time, received of Congress, without any Regard to the Dates of the Advances, and are thus permitted to make enormous Fortunes by fraudulent Measures that merit the severest Censures. I must leave it with Congress and their Boards to determine, how far these Complaints are founded in Facts, but think no Time ought to be lost in doing Justice to the Individuals who generously confiding in Congress have intrusted them with Supplies.² I wish that this Measure may be adopted forth with, because it may serve to regain the Confidence of the Persons mentioned, many of whom being exceedingly hard [hit?] by the Proposals of Payment are determined never to accept them. Indeed they know that some of the States have Enacted: and presume that the others will soon enact Laws for the recovery of Debts agreeable to the Value of the Currency at the Time of their being

[380]¹ Furnished by courtesy of Professor S. E. Morison, of Harvard University (endorsed, "Extracts of a letter to Mr. Lovell Augt. 14 1780").

² Gerry's complaint is similar to that of Governor Trumbull in his letter of June 8. See no. 333, *ante*.

Contracted, in which Case the Continental Officers will be subject to Suits as well as other Members of the Community. I wish that you would Communicate this to our Colle[a]gues, and likewise to the Gentlemen from Connecticut whose Inhabitants have great Demands on the Publick; and submit it to your Consideration whether it will not also be proper to pass a Resolution that all Officers that are or may be Entrusted with publick Money, shall be allowed a proper Time for the Expenditure thereof, after which they shall be Credited for the Sums expended accord'g to the Depreciation thereof.

pray Inform me in your next of the Rate of Exchange at Philadelphia, and receive the Interest of the Certificates issued previous to the 1st Mar 1778 in Bills of Exchange As you will perceive by the Resolutions of June last, that, the Payment of the Interest in Bills of Credit is less beneficial

381. JAMES LOVELL TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

PHILADELPHIA, August 15, 1780.

Sir:

Tho I can not procure the Signatures of the Com'tee of for'gn affairs at this moment nor the Resolves of Congress respecting Bills to be drawn on you for 100,000 Dollars passed 2 or 3 days ago, the Bills payable at 90 days Sight, yet I should be blamable if I did not thus far notify you. The Breach upon our Taxes at the Southward by the possession which the Enemy have there, made this disagreeable Step necessary for the express purpose of supporting Genl. Gates in that department.²

Notwithstanding the mention made in our journals long ago of giving you a secretary, no vote has lately been taken for the purpose.

Mr. Laurens will be able, on any questions from you in corresponding, to give you whatever the Gazettes do not convey.³

[381]¹ Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers, XIX. 68 ("Duplicate"); Papers Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I., p. 271; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 32.

² The resolve that these bills be drawn was on Aug. 9. On Sept. 7 Lovell again wrote to Franklin, sending duplicates and triplicates of previous letters and acknowledging the receipt of Franklin's letter of May 31 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 742), in which he recurs to the trouble former bills have given him, and speaks of the complaints of people in Europe holding Continental money against the act of Congress fixing the value of forty for one. Franklin had not learned of that resolve. Lovell replies: "I think I can venture now to assure you that not a single draft more will be made upon you, let the occasion be ever so pressing. . . . You can not conceive of the whole train of necessities which led to such decisions after what you had written. . . . Nothing but the weight of taxes will put an end to the levity with which our currency is treated." *Ibid.*, IV. 47.

³ The duplicate in the Franklin Papers does not contain these last two paragraphs ("Notwithstanding . . . convey"); but the P. S. (dated Aug. 22, not 27, as in Wharton) and the letter of Sept. 7 (no. 423, *post*) are appended.

John Laurens was elected secretary to Franklin Sept. 29, 1779, but declined the office (see the *Journals*, Dec. 10, 1779). Dec. 17 other nominations were made, and Dec. 22 a date (Monday, Dec. 27) was set for the election; but if anything was done in the matter the *Journals* fail to record it. See vol. IV. of these Letters, *passim*, especially Lovell to Henry Laurens, Dec. 15, 17, and Peabody to Laurens, Dec. 17 (nos. 684-686).

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

P. S. Aug. 22, 1780. I now add the resolves.

382. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA August 15th 1780.

Sir,

I had the honour to receive your Excellencys letter of the 25th ult. by yesterday's post. It gave me great pleasure as it in a great measure, enabled me to give Congress, the information they have often called on me for, and that from good Authority, and in such a manner as was perfectly agreeable to them, and you may rest assured the State, (tho small,) stand high in the opinion of Congress, which tend to make their delegate as happy as our distressed Situation will admit. He hath the vanity to think he has both the Confidence and respect of Congress as much as tho he represented a state much larger. . . . In my last I mentioned communicating your letter of the 22 ulto. to Congress and that it was refered to the Treasury Board upon receiving your letter of the 25th I pressed the Matter. Congress have this day come to a Resolution, directing the President to send a letter to the States agreeable to the form fixed by them. It is very polite and expressive of the highest satisfaction, in the Exertions the State hath at all times made in this Contest, promising payment for any sums the State may advance to the staff department It is but a cold way of advanceing money, but you may rest asured it was all Congress could do, and much more than they would do for som[e] states. All circumstances Considered I hope the state will make themselves as easy as possible.² . . .

Apr. 19, 1780, Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina was nominated (by Francis Kinloch) for the post, but no further steps appear to have been taken until Oct. 25, when the appointment of a secretary to the embassy, who was also to be consul to France, was proposed in a committee report (see the *Journals*, p. 977 n.). See, further, nos. 405, 539 (note 5), 547 (note 2), *post*.

[382]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 39; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 305.

² See no. 366, *ante*, and the *Journals*, Aug. 8, 14 (pp. 730, 731), and 15 (p. 735). The report of the board of treasury (Aug. 14) on the letter of July 22 appears to have been too blunt for the sensibilities of the Rhode Island delegate, and the "very polite" letter was substituted. Governor Greene's letter of July 25 (see the *Journals*, Aug. 14) was addressed to Cornell.

In a further paragraph Cornell speaks of the "exceedingly polite" letter which Congress had received from the Comte de Rochambeau (see the *Journals*, Aug. 12, 17), and of the "polite, unaffected easy manner of address, the kindness and abundance of good nature" of the French minister (Luzerne), and of "the ease and comfort every one enjoys, that has the honor to dine at his table, free from every kind of ceremony or formality, every one left to eat and drink as he pleaseth, stay as long as he pleaseth, and go away when he pleaseth".

383. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA, August 15th, 1780.

Dear S'r,

I had the pleasure to receive your favour, of the 9th Instant yesterday. I am sensible of the difficultys the Army labour under, for want of proper supplys, in the Q. M. Genl. department. But I fear a greater difficulty, if possible is near at hand, I mean a general fast through the Army, and that for want of a Supply of provision. That matter is now under consideration of a Committee of which I am one, we meet this morning at eight o'clock, I fear the difficultys are of so stubborn a nature as to baffle all our efforts. They arise from a complication of Blunders, as well as unforeseen accidents.

I think you have now nearly adopted the opinion, I was of, when at Moristown, concerning publick life. And the more I see of publick life the more I despise it. The Zeal I shew against adopting the New Plan for regulateng the Q. M. G. department, caused the Majority of Congress to treat me with great coolness for a considerable time. It hath now intirely subsided. I am now treated with the greatest politeness, and enjoy as great a share of their confidence, as I can expect; which leads me to believe they are sorry they have carryed the matter so far, but their pride will not permit them to retract. I can say no more than that it hath appeared to me from the first, that some thought it necessary to sacrifice one for the Salvation of the whole. But upon the whole it is my opinion some particular piques and prejudices excepted, Congress that is, every member, wish well to their Country. But there being so many members and so many different sentiments and to that may be added want of ability or general knowledge and inattention to business, that it cannot be wondered at if difficulties arise in carrying on our publick affairs.² By the inclosed letter, you will be informed the Committee are recalled. It is there mentioned as a necessary measure. I believe it to be so, to keep harmony among ourselves. some members were against their appointment, they have never failed to blow the Coals on all Occasions. The Committee

[383]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers; Greene, *Life of Greene*, II. 333 (part).

² Cf. nos. 349, note 2, 350, 354, 355, 363, 366, *ante*, and nos. 384, 394, 400, 434, *post*. Pettit wrote to Greene Aug. 20: "The fever in a certain house is much abated, and I believe the rash step proposed in the beginning and revived with redoubled fury on the letters from the committee shortly after your letter of refusal came, is laid aside", adding that probably in time "some of them will see their own folly", but that "certain notions of dignity will prevent any direct acknowledgment of conviction" (*Life of Greene*, II. 334). Reed wrote Greene. Aug. 19 (to which Greene was replying in the letter quoted above), assuring him that the design of superseding him in command had never been seriously entertained by a great majority of Congress. "One hot member", he remarks, "dropped it in a speech, another afterward moved it with some more formality; but it was scouted, and respect paid to your military character at the time that your freedom as a Quartermaster gave umbrage." *Ibid*.

have at some times wrote plainly to us, and pressed our difficultyes close upon us, which is another matter many of us cannot bear, altho founded on the greatest truths. for my own part I see nothing to charge the Committe[e] with in point of Conduct, some of their letters were in a stile rather warm but that I imputed to Schuylers Zeal and the warm Climate of Matthews Nativity.³ Congress were not so angry at the Memorial of the General officers as you imagined. We are not apt to be angry at any thing we can evade. The memorial wass Committed to five members of Congress to consider and report upon, which hath been done, but in such a manner, If I may be allowed to judge from the little knowledge I have of the sentiments of the Army As to give little or no satisfaction. These letters are wrote intirely in confidence. My Compliments if you please to Harry Knox and tell him there is a report that his Honour and yourself posses the Most uneasy disposition of any two general officers in the Army. Much hath been lately said about some letters that certain gentlemen wrote to Congress when they sett at York Town.⁴

384. JOHN WALKER TO GEORGE WEEDON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, August 15, 1780.

Dear General:

. . . . The derangement of our finances, the resignation of the Quarter Master General, Shippen's trial etc. etc. perplex us beyond measure, yet I hope all will be well with us. Pickering is appointed Quarter Master General and much is expected from his diligence and fidelity. . . .

When do you set out for the Southern Army? I hope things will soon begin to wear a better face there. Our scheme is to take New York with the fleet and army there before winter sets in, and then to send you sufficient succor to the south. . . .

³ Greene wrote to Joseph Reed August 29: "This gentleman came to camp with all the prejudices imaginable about him respecting the Quartermaster's department, and he appeared to be afraid to make inquiry for fear of meeting conviction; but I be[lie]ve none of the committee leave the army with more favorable sentiments respecting my conduct and the order and management of the business than he does. I believe him to be a well-meaning man, but a person of violent passions, great pride, and sudden prejudices. Under the influence of such a temper he may take a wrong bias with very honest intentions. However, this much may be said with certainty, you are not to number him among your particular friends." Greene makes other remarks respecting Mathews' attitude toward Reed. *Life of Greene*, II. 337; *Life of Reed*, II. 241. See Reed's letter to Greene Aug. 19 (*ibid.*, p. 240), to which Greene is replying.

⁴ The allusion may be to certain letters from general officers which, in December, 1777, Washington placed in the hands of the committee of conference for their information, and which the committee was ordered to lay on the table for the perusal of the members. See the *Journals*, Dec. 19, 1777, Jan. 16, 1778, and vol. III., no. 43.

[384]¹ Seventy-Six Society, *Publications: Maryland Papers*, p. 115 (addressed to Weedon at Fredericksburg).

385. JOHN MATHEWS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,
CAMP, TAPAN, August 16th, 1780.

Sir,

I inclose copy of a circular letter to the states, also copy of a letter from the commissary general to the committee, for the information of Congress.²

With all deference, I beg leave to approach that august body over which you preside, and if the subject should not be thought "too important" and one of those that in the opinion of Congress "ought not to employ the time and attention" of this committee, and our interference in which, will not have a tendency to retrench too much from the high prerogatives of that body,³ I would humbly submit to their consideration, a letter from Coll. Stewart, copy of which is inclosed. In consequence of a resolve of Congress, Coll. Stewart is intitled to the value of the horse, on an appraisalment, but being a favorite horse of his, he would prefer having him returned, rather than the money.⁴

I must beg the favour of your Excellency, to have the dispatches Southward of Pennsylvania forwarded to the respective States.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect

Your Excellency's Most obedient servant,

in behalf of the committee,

JNO. MATHEWS

[385]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 220, f. 219 (draft), no. 11, p. 47 (letter-book copy).

² This letter and its enclosures were read in Congress Aug. 21. The circular letter is no. 386, *post*. Blaine's letter to the committee Aug. 15 (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 325, copy) was similar in tone to that of Aug. 7 (see no. 365, note 2, *ante*, and no. 386, note 2, *post*).

³ Mathews evidently had his eye on certain expressions in the resolutions of Congress Aug. 2 (*Journals*, pp. 686, 687) reprimanding the committee for its action in two matters in particular. If Congress had not already dismissed the committee it would probably have done so on the receipt of this letter (*cf.* nos. 361, 373, 376, 383, *ante*, and nos. 394, 400, 434, *post*). In the summer and autumn of 1778 Mathews had spoken in severe terms of this same august body of which he was a member (see vol. III., nos. 394, 534, 572), but then it was confidentially, in private ears. Such open sarcasm was unusual.

⁴ Col. Walter Stewart wrote to General Schuyler from Camp Totaway, July 17, enclosing a claim to a "grey horse" then in the corps commanded by Major Lee, and asking that the claim be laid before the committee, referring the committee to Colonels Harrison and Meade for information. The claim is set forth in a letter of the same date addressed to the committee. During the action at Monmouth he had given his horse to a servant to hold, and both were captured. The horse was sold on Long Island and was purchased by General Thompson, from whom the public procured him and put him into the corps commanded by Major Lee. Stewart insists that he has a right to the horse and hopes the committee will agree with him in opinion. The letter was merely read in Congress and no action taken upon it.

386. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹
(Circular)

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

CAMP TAPAN Augt. 16, 1780.

Sir,

Inclosed you will receive copy of a letter of the 15th instant, from the commissary General.²

Circumstanced as our Army at present is, the information contained in this letter becomes truly alarming. It requires the utmost attention of the Officers together with all the necessaries, and even comforts of life, to render the service acceptable to recruits, and as the greatest part of the army, at present, consists of that class of men, If the time should unhappily arrive, when we will be reduced to the necessity of putting them on half allowance of provisions, or probably have none to give them, the consequence must be, that these men, unaccustomed to endure this species of distress, and not brought to that state of discipline, which can give their officers that control over them, they have acquired over the old soldiers, must revolt at the idea of tamely submitting to a service, when, divested as they are of every other privilege, the soldiers of all Armies are entitled to and are furnished with, they cannot receive even the means of subsistence. If reduced to the extremity I have just mentioned, and an irreconcilable disgust should once take place among these men, and desertions (or perhaps something worse) begun, the contagion will, beyond a doubt, pervade the whole army. For it is not to be expected that the few old Soldiers, now remaining, will be disposed to go on, enduring the calamities they have so often experienced, when they find others equally bound with themselves, and who have as yet had none of those difficulties to encounter, manifesting so refractory a spirit, at what they will conceive to be trifles, compared with their own sufferings—should such an event take place, the train of ruinous consequences that will inevitably ensue, must at once strike you so obviously, as to render unnecessary my entering into a detail of them. We do, therefore earnestly request of you, Sir, that the officers of your state, appointed to procure and forward the supplies, may be called on, in the most urgent manner, to give their utmost attention to the important business of keeping the Army regularly supplied with your quota of the articles that has been assigned to your state, as you must

[386]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia (addressed to Caesar Rodney; see Henkels, *Catalogue*, no. 1078, item 629; *ibid.*, no. 1323, item 381, with erroneous date, Aug. 4); Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 222 (copy to Congress), no. 39, vol. III., f. 57 (draft by Mathews), no. 11, p. 70 (letter-book copy); *ibid.*, Force Trans., Weare; Mass. Arch., CCIII. 33; Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 A 188 (to New Hampshire); Md. Hist. Soc., LXXXVII. 190; N. J. State Lib.; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 244; *Clinton Papers*, VI, 108.

² Blaine's letter to the committee Aug. 15 is in *Clinton Papers*, VI. 110 (see no. 385, *ante*). A similar letter, dated Aug. 14, was sent to the states (*R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 303; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 100; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 47). It was transmitted (to Maryland at least) by the board of war, who close their letter with this observation, "The very existence of the Army depends upon the supplies by the States, all Continental purchases having long since ceased". *Ibid.*, p. 49.

plainly perceive what embarrassments the least remission on the part of the States, or any of them, must throw us into: for it must be remembered that the monthly supplies are no more, than what is barely necessary for the consumption of the Army, in that time.

It is true, that the Army does not at present amount to the numbers on which the estimate was made, but as the men are daily coming in, we are to suppose that the complement of men will be made up by the end of this month. But at all events it is incumbent on us to be provided to answer the largest demands that can be made upon us.

It is not only the immediate supply of the Army, that the committee would wish to call your attention to, but likewise the necessity there is of the greatest punctuality in furnishing the Supplies agreeable to the requisitions that have been heretofore made to prevent in future alarms of this nature, and our giving you further trouble on the subject.³

387. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO WILLIAM IRVINE.¹

PHILADA., 17th August, 1780.

Dear General,

. . . My Health has been in jeopardy of late by excessive heat, business and confinement, in this city where many of late have made a sudden exit from the present world—but if my health is spared until the memorial of the General Officers is carried through,² Mr. McClane being now come, I intend to retire, before which you will hear from me in a future letter. I begin to doubt whether the 2d Division of the F. Fleet will arrive in time,³ but still hope that this Campaign will not pass over without some happy event to these States and laurels to the arms of America.

388. A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, PROPOSED LETTER TO THE
COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.¹

[August 17, 1780.]

The Committee to whom was referred the letter of the 3d inst: from le Compte de Rochambeau report the following answer to be given by the President:

Sir,

Congress have recd. with Satisfaction² your letter of the 3d inst: which, besides exhibiting the zeal of the troops under your command for

³ This circular, as indicated by the letter-book copy, was signed by Mathews "in behalf of the Committee" and was addressed "To the States from New Hampshire to Virginia—(Pensylvania excepted)". The reply from Governor Greene of Rhode Island is in Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 308. Governor Jefferson's reply, Sept. 2 (also to the letter of Aug. 19, no. 392, *post*), is in *Official Letters*, II. 181.

[387]¹ *Hist. Mag.*, VIII. 17.

² See nos. 355, 357, 375, *ante*.

³ *Cf.* no. 379, *ante*.

[388]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. 18, f. 319.

² The draft shows several verbal alterations, as here indicated. See note 8. The word "sincere", originally written before "Satisfaction", is erased.

the service of their allies, and the vigilance of their chief in providing agst. the enterprises of the Enemy, conveys fresh assurances from your illustrious sovereign of his benevolent views towards the United States; assurances which can not fail to make the deepest impression, because they are attended with the most solid proofs of their sincerity.

If any difficulties have retarded a part of the succour generously destined to Co-operate in³ the expulsion of the Enemy from these States, or have rendered the preparations on our⁴ part less complete than was Intended.⁵ We persuade ourselves⁶ that sufficient amends will be made by the vigor of the combined operations and by the mutual emulation that must be felt by the allied troops fighting side by side, in a cause so honorable and with an object of such magnitude immediately before them. Under circumstances like these, any impediments that may arise from the strength or position of the enemy can have no other effect than to increase the Ardor⁷ to overcome them.

Should Genl. Clinton resume his projected attack on your armament Congress have the highest confidence that the adjacent militia will again evince their zealous attachment to their friends and brethren as well as that the latter will give equal proof that their intrepid valour which has so often displayed itself against the British arms in Europe is no less formidable when opposed to her ambitious designs against this Country; And that the result will be a happy presage of a successful issue to the campaign: as this must be of a successful issue to the war.

The Citizens of the United States and the French nation, already bound together by the ties of interest, of honor and the most solemn engagements, want nothing to perfect their coalition, but the endearing circumstance of having mutually contributed to acquire for each other the glory of triumphing over a ruthless and powerful enemy to the rights of Mankind.

With sentiments of the most perfect consideration and respect I have the honor to be your most obedient and very humble Servant,

S. H. P^rT^s⁸

³ The words "to Co-operate in" were substituted for "for".

⁴ The first-personal possessive "our" was substituted for "their own".

⁵ "Intended" was substituted for "wished".

⁶ Again the third-personal possessive "themselves" gave place to the first.

⁷ The original draft had, "inspire the inflexibility", which was amended to read, "increase the Ardor".

⁸ The committee to whom Rochambeau's letter of Aug. 3 was referred, Aug. 12, consisted of James Madison, Samuel Adams, and James Lovell. This report, which the committee offered Aug. 17, was written by Madison, the few emendations being made by Adams. The proposed letter evidently did not meet the approval of Congress, and instead was adopted a simple resolution, which President Huntington transmitted to Rochambeau, with a letter which did little more than paraphrase the resolution. See nos. 390, 399, *post*.

389. THOMAS BEE TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN.¹

PHILADELPHIA 18 August 1780.

D'r General,

I wrote you last Week since which two Flaggs have arrived from Charles Town. . . . our Prisoners suffer very much and Congress have done nothing for them as yet. I hope by tomorrow to Effect something.²

. . . .

390. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.¹

PHILADA. August 19, 1780.

Sir,

I have the Honour to send you herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 17. Instant by which you will be informed, that they entertain a just Sense of the Vigilance and Prudence you have exercised, as also the Commander of the french Squadron Monsr. de Ternay, in taking the Precautions mentioned in your Letter of the 3. Instant, as well as your particular Attention to the Ease and Convenience of the Militia of these States.

The Spirit, good Order and Discipline of the Troops under your Command meets with the warmest Approbation of Congress.²

391. THOMAS MCKEAN, COMMITTEE REPORT.¹

[August 19 ? 1780.]

The Committee, to whom was referred the letter of the 19th instant from Richard Peters Esquire, humbly propose the following Resolves, *vis.*

That the legislature of Pennsylvania be requested to exempt from all militia duty, and penalties incurred for neglect thereof, the Commissioners of the boards of war, treasury and admiralty, and their respective Secretaries, the Commissioners of the navy and of the chambers of accounts, the Secretary of Congress, Treasurer of the United States, Treasurer of loans, Post-Master General, Post-Masters and Post-riders; their personal attendance on the business of their several employments being indispensibly necessary to the public service.

[389]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

² See the *Journals*, Aug. 15 (letter of Rutledge), 17, 18, 19, 21 (pp. 752, 753), 23, 24, 25, Sept. 23; also a letter from Rutledge to Washington Aug. 27, in *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 64. Bee's letter, some three pages in length, is principally occupied with an account of news from Charleston, of prisoners and refugees, and of the campaign in the South. Lincoln was at this time in Massachusetts. Of two letters from him to Washington Aug. 11, one appears to have been written from Hingham, the other from Boston.

[390]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 80.

² See no. 388, *ante*, and no. 399, *post*. Concerning the arrival of the French force under Rochambeau see, besides Washington's correspondence with Rochambeau, Lafayette, and Heath, Lafayette's letters to Luzerne in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 364 *et seq.* A general account of Rochambeau's arrival is in Perkins, *France in the American Revolution*, pp. 300 *et seq.* See also Rochambeau to Vergennes July 16, in the appendix to Washington's *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII. 306. His letter to Congress Aug. 3 is printed in Doniol, *Participation de la France*, V. 352.

[391]¹ Haverford College, Roberts Coll., 722.

That in the mean time the President of Congress do give Furloughs to such of the officers and persons enumerated for two months, as are now called upon to serve in the militia of the said State, but that they be nevertheless allowed by the United States as part of the quota of the militia of said State called into actual service.²

Your very humble Servant

THO. M: KEAN.

392. THE COMMITTEE AT HEADQUARTERS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS,

CAMP TAPAN, Aug. 19th, 1780.

Circular.²

Sir,

When America stood alone against one of the most powerful nations of the earth, the spirit of liberty seemed to annimate her sons to the noblest exertions, and each man cheerfully contributed his aid in support of her dearest rights. When the hand of tyranny seemed to bear its greatest weight on this devoted country, their virtue and perseverance appeared most conspicuous, and rose superior to every difficulty. If then, such patriotism manifested itself throughout all ranks, and orders of men among us, shall it be said at this day, this early day of our enfranchisement and independence, that America has grown tired of being free? Let us, Sir, for a moment take a retrospective view of our then situation, and compare it with the present, and draw such deductions from the premises, as every reasonable man, or set of men, ought to do. In the early stage of this glorious revolution, we stood alone. We had neither Army, military Stores, money, or in short any of those means which were requisite to authorize a resistance. The undertaking was physically against us. But Americans abhorred the very Idea of slavery! Therefore, reposing the righteousness of their cause in the hands of the supreme disposer of all human events, they boldly ventured to defy the vengeance of a tyrant, and either preserve their freedom, inviolate to themselves and posterity, or perish in the attempt. This was the situation and temper of the people of this country, in the beginning of this controversy. At this day America

² The letter of Richard Peters was referred, Aug. 10, to McKean, Livingston, and Scott, but there is no record in the *Journals* of a report being made. See however the motion of Clark and Henry, Aug. 19.

[392]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 11, p. 71, no. 39, vol. I., f. 288 (copy sent to Congress), no. 39, vol. III., f. 61 (copy); Mass. Arch., CCIII. 37; Md. Hist. Soc., LXXXVII. 192; N. J. State Lib.; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 248; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 111; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 115.

² This circular, signed by Mathews "In behalf of the Committee", was addressed "To The States from New Hampshire to Virginia—(Pennsylvania excepted)". A copy was transmitted to Congress with a brief letter of the same date (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 227, f. 226, draft, no. 11, p. 47, letter-book copy), with which was also transmitted a copy of Washington's letter to the committee Aug. 17 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 383; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 194; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 112; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 246). They were read in Congress Aug. 23. See also Washington to the President of Congress Aug. 20 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 386, ed. Sparks, VII. 156), and no. 404, *post*.

is in strict alliance with one of the first nations of the earth, for mag-[na]nimity, power, and wealth, and whose affairs are conducted by the ablest statesmen, with a prince at their head, who hath justly acquired the title of the protector of the rights of mankind. A respectable fleet and Army of our ally, are already arrived among us, and a considerable reinforcement is hourly expected, which, when arrived, will give us a decided superiority in these seas; the whole to co-operate with the force of this Country, against the common enemy. Another powerful nation (Spain) though not immediately allied with us, yet in fighting her own, she is daily fighting the battles of America, from whence almost every advantage is derived to us, that could be produced in a state of alliance. An Army we now have in the field, part of whom are veterans, equal to any the oldest established nations can boast. Our Militia from a five years War, are become enured to Arms. You have at the head of your army a General, whose abilities as a soldier, and worth as a citizen, stand confessed even by the enemies of his country. Our officers of all ranks are fully equal to the duties of their respective stations. Military stores are within our reach. Our money though not so reputable as that of other nations, with proper attention, we have reason to expect, will shortly emerge from its present embarrassed state, and become as useful as ever.

Now, Sir, from a comparative view of our circumstances at the beginning, and at this day, how much more eligible, how much more pleasing and important must the latter appear, than the former, to every dispassionate man? Then, shall we leave to future generations to say, shall we at present commit ourselves to the world to exclaim that, when Providence had benignly put into our hands the most essential means of obtaining by one decisive blow, the inestimable prize we had been contending for, it was lost, disgracefully lost; for want of proper exertions on our part? That avarice, luxury, and dissipation, had so enervated the boasted sons of American freedom, that rather than forego their present ease and wanton pleasures, they would tamely, cowardly submit to the loss of their Country and their liberty, and become those abject slaves, which their generous natures, but a few, very few years before, would have revolted at the bare Idea of?

These reflections arise, Sir, from the extraordinary backwardness of some States, and great deficiencies of others, in sending the men into the field, that was required of them, near three months ago, and ought to have joined the Army fifty days past; and an apprehension that, from this torpitude, America has forgot she is contending for liberty, and independence, and the good intentions of our generous ally will be totally frustrated by our unpardonable remissness. Our former letters to the states have been full on this very important subject, and we are concerned to be driven to the necessity of reiteration; but our duty to our country, our respect for the reputation of the Commander in Chief of our Army, impel us to it: For a knowledge of the force that has been required of the states for the Campaign, and which was allowed to be adequate to an important enterprise, will induce a belief in our Countrymen, in the world, that it has been furnished, and they must stand amazed to see our Army inactive, and

things not in that train for operation which ought, in such a case, to be expected especially at this advanced season of the year.

Again—The force of our ally, now with us, and the shortly expected arrival of its second division, must clearly evince the utility of our Army's being put in a condition to undertake an enterprize which if successful, must give a deadly wound to our unrelenting and ambitious foe. But what apology can be made, if, when the Commander in Chief of our Army should be called on by the Commander of the forces of our generous ally, and informed, he is ready to undertake with him, whatever measures he shall think proper to point out, he shall be reduced to the cruel necessity of acknowledging his inability to engage in any enterprise that can possibly redound to the honor, or reputation of the arms of either nation? Sir, the reflection is too humiliating to be dwelt on, without the extremest pain—nay horror!

You must pardon us, worthy Sir, for the freedom with which we have now delivered our sentiments on this truly interesting subject. We flatter ourselves, great allowances will be made for our situation, when we daily have before our eyes specimens of that want of energy in conducting our affairs, which must shortly so far embarrass us as to render all future exertions inadequate to the attainment of those great purposes, at which we aim. America wants not resources; we have men (independent of those necessary for domestic purposes) more than sufficient to compose an Army capable of answering our most sanguine expectations: and our Country teems with provisions of every kind necessary to support them. It requires nothing more than a proper degree of energy to bring them forth, to make us a happy people. This we trust, Sir, the state over which you preside will show no reluctance in contributing her aid to, by taking such decisive measures as will, without loss of time, bring into the field the remainder of your quota of men, that have been required for the campaign.

The articles of provisions, forage, and teams, are no less important than men; but as the Committee had the honor of addressing you but a few days ago, on the subject of provisions, and the other articles, being so nearly allied with that, we will not intrude it on you, at this time.

Inclosed is copy of a letter from the Commander in Chief of the 17th Instant to the Committee: It will fully show you the state of the Army, at this time, and how great a deficiency of men there is, to what there ought to have been before this day. However we hope, Sir, it will be no discouragement to your state, to using their utmost exertions for furnishing the remainder of their troops, to join the Army as soon as possible; and that the idea of its being probably too late, before a sufficient force can be collected to promise a successful Campaign, will be totally banished; for policy, as well as interest, dictate to us, to be always prepared to take advantage of every favourable conjuncture, and it is impossible to say how soon such a one will present itself.

The Generals letter treats this subject in every other respect so fully, as renders it unnecessary to add more.

393. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA 11 Aug. 1780.

Dear General,

. . . . Great preparations, both in raising men and furnishing supplies have been made, for the Reduction of N York. All further operations against that object, at present depend on the Arival of the Reinforcement, that is hourly expected from france. should a superiour Navel force arrive in season, every circumstance will be as much in our favour, as we can expect if we take into Idea, the strength of a garrison strongly fortified and defended by a garrison of 15,000 Regular Troops, exclusive of 3 or 4000 Irregulars. General Washington will not in my opinion, want for men or supplies, in case the operations, are onc[e] begun in earnest, Notwithstanding the great want of money, which hath much embarased our publick measures, and that difficulty is by no means removed. But by the smiles of Providence we enjoy the Blessing of a plentiful Harvest, and all kinds of Provision necessary for the Army.

Notwithstanding the aforegoing preparations, Congress have not been unmindfull of you and the Army under your Command, and many Resolutions have passed for supplying, and making the department as formidable as possible, and among the rest, Bills for 100,000 dollars in Specie have been drawn on our Minister, at the Court of Varsalis, and ordered to be forwarded to Mr. Clay D P M G. to be by him sold to furnish the military chest under your directions. I will not take up your time, as it is more then probable, the Resolution will reach you before this letter.²

I cannot close this letter without observing that it would be much more agreeable to me to be in the same station I had the Honour to hold [the] last Campaign, then the One I am now honoured [wi]th. Not only that I think I could do my cou[ntry] more real service, and have the honour of participateing with you in those difficultys that must inevitably fall to your share, in the execution of your present important and critical Command, But that I might be instrumental in rendering the completion of those Honours the more speedy, that will sooner or later fall to the share of those possessed of abilities Integrity and Military knowledge like yours and that gained by long experience.

394. WHITMILL HILL TO THOMAS BURKE.¹

PHILADELPHIA August 20th 1780.

D'r Mr. Burke, Sir:

. . . . I observe what you say relative to the Supplies being called from Virginia, and the cause you suppose to be the occasion of such a Blunder (*vis*) the Committee at Camp; this Committee is at length dissolved, as experience convinced Congress that they daily engaged them in Quarrels with the Army, instead of correcting any of the Abuses they were intended to inspect; they brought about the Resignation of Genl. Green as

[393]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, box 14.² See the *Journals*, Aug. 9, 15.[394]¹ N. C. Hist. Comm.; *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 56.

Q. M. Genl. which Resignation was accompanied with a disrespectful Letter to Congress, and was very near bringing about his total Dismission. T. Pickering is appointed to fill his place. how the Department will be conducted in future we cannot say, but have been told by the Committee at Camp that if Genl. Green was dismissed, our Army must immediately disband. Congress have for once had firmness enough to persist. what Evils may ensue we cannot tell; as yet we have experienced no uncommon one.²

395. ARTEMAS WARD TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL(?).¹

PHILADELPHIA August 21, 1780.

Sir,

. . . . I understand the Council are desirous to know whether Forrage supplied the French Troops will be considered and carried to the credit of Massachusetts State. This matter has not been determined by Congress, but my private opinion is, that it will not, for that Quota of Forrage was laid on the State, for the use of the main army, without any regard to our Allies, by the Committee at Head Quarters. That Committee is recalled and ordered to make a report to Congress.

I am Sir with Respect and Esteem

Your Obedient Humble Servant

In haste

ARTEMAS WARD.

396. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT (JOSEPH REED) AND THE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.¹

PHILADA. August 22, 1780.

Sir,

In your Letter of the 5th which was this Day read in Congress you are pleased to inform Congress, that, "On the first Day of June last an Act of Assembly passed adopting the Resolutions for calling in the Bills of Circulation and emitting new Bills on certain Funds, but with a suspending Clause of its Operation until a Majority of the States should pass Laws of a similar Nature:" that "an official Declaration from his Excellency the President of Congress or the Delegates of the State to the Supreme Executive Council, that a Majority of the States had passed Laws to the above Effect would immediately give Efficacy to the Law of this State" I am therefore now to inform you that a majority of the United States have passed Laws adopting the resolution of the 18. of March 1780 for calling in the Continental Bills in Circulation and emitting new Bills on certain Funds.²

² See nos. 361, 373, 376, 383, 385, *ante*, 400, 434, *post*. Burke's letters (June 18 and July 1) to which Hill is replying have not been found.

[395]¹ Pierpont Morgan Library, *Generals of the American Revolution*, p. 110.

[396]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 86; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 517.

² According to the *Journals*, Reed's letter of Aug. 5 was read Aug. 21. The letter, bearing the date July 30, is in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 458. See nos. 270, 314, *ante*.

397. THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, August 22d, 1780.

Sir,

The inclosed papers contain the most recent intelligence we have of a publick nature from abroad. The armed neutrality of so many powerful nations in Europe, together with the commotions in England, are by no means discouraging to these States. A letter from Mr. Jay, at the Spanish Court, dated at Madrid the 27th of May last, mentions that in conference with a Spanish Minister he recd. encouragement that the bills of Congress drawn on him to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds sterling would (with some difficulty) be honored, that they had also conferred on the subject of a treaty but come to no conclusion.² Congress have recalled their Committee from Head Quarters, which will prevent any further correspondence with those gentlemen in that capacity. Majr. Genll. Green has resigned his office of Quarter Master General, and Col. Pickeran is appointed and in the execution of that trust.³

All the States (excepting Delaware) as far southward as Virginia inclusively have adopted the Resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March,⁴ and will be furnished as fast as possible with their several quotas of the new bills, which are exceedingly wanted in every department. If every State would tax themselves to the extent of their abilities, relieving the poor as far as possible, we should find it the best resource in our power to obtain supplies and save the continent from that enthrallment of debt which may be expected from loans. This doctrine (tho' trite) is no less important than true, and deserves the most serious attention.

The current expences of the war are chiefly of our own services, provisions and manufactures, which do not much exceed our annual exports in time of peace. This alone is demonstration that our internal resources are nearly equal to our necessities and might, with proper management, be so applied as to prevent an innormous national debt to foreigners, who may hereafter claim the honor and merit of our whole salvation as due to them and surprize us with unexpected demands.

At present we have but a small prospect of loans from Spain, and as Mr. Lawrens has lately sailed for Holland the success of his negotiations will not soon be known.

[397]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 117 (signed by Roger Sherman and Benjamin Huntington); Boutell, *Life of Sherman*, p. 113 (extract).

² A brief letter from Jay to the committee of foreign affairs May 27 was read in Congress Aug. 16 (a briefer one to Lovell is of the same date), but the matter here referred to is in the letter of May 26, read in Congress Aug. 14. Two letters of May 28 were also read Aug. 16, and one of May 30, Aug. 21. All these letters are in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 707-742. See nos. 398, 406, note 3, *post*.

³ See nos. 363, 366, 373, 376, 383, *ante*.

⁴ See nos. 314, 331, 333, 396, *ante*, and no. 564, *post*.

398. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA August 22nd 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . On the — day of July last I obtained a warrant ² on the Treasury, for 5,000 dollars, for which the state was to be accountable. As will appear by the Journals of Congress for that month, I have not been able to obtain one shilling of the grant, nor do I see the most distant prospect. I am intirely destitute of Cash, even sufficient to pay for one weeks washing. Notwithstanding I have borrowed 2500 dollars of Colo. Pettit, which is now wanted. I am also in arear for my Board, and that is expected to be paid every week, and really wanted.³

By letter this day read in Congress from Head Quarters, there is neither Bread or Flesh on hand, sufficient to serve the Army two Days, to which let me add the state of the Treasury. . . .

Since my last, Congress have receivd a letter from Mr. Jay, dated Madrid the 30th of May, by which it appears a difficulty is likely to arise in settling a Treaty with the Spanish Court. The King of Spain by his minister demands as one Article in the Treaty, the free, Intire and absolute Navigation of the River Mississippi which measure Congress will not willingly agree to.⁴

399. SAMUEL ADAMS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
COUNCIL (JAMES BOWDOIN).¹

PHIL. Aug. 22, 1780.

My Dear Sir,

. . . . The Count de Rochambeau, in a letter to Congress,² speaks very highly of the attention of the Government of Massachusetts, and of the appearance of the numerous Militia so seasonably forwarded when an attack was expected at Rhode Island. And the Minister of France, who on every occasion expresses his great regards for that state, mentioned the same thing to its Delegates in the most flattering terms. It is a pity that a Militia always ready to turn out with a view of doing essential service, should be disappointed. They were so full of ardor that the Count was under a necessity of urging their return to their necessary affairs at home, with the promise of their being again called for, when Genl. Wash-

[398]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 37; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 307.

² The warrant was ordered July 29.

³ Expatriating further upon his situation as regards his board bill Cornell earnestly entreats the interposition of the governor and the assembly. He had mentioned in former letters the exhausted state of the Continental treasury, but never "on an occasion in which I was so immediately interested as in the present".

⁴ See no. 397, note 2, *ante*, and no. 406, note 3, *post*.

[399]¹ *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 201; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, first ser., XII. 229.

² See nos. 388, 390, *ante*.

ington should judge that the circumstances of affairs should require it. We are impatient for the arrival of the 2d division of the French Squadron, which we are informed by letters from Boston was spoke with near a month ago by a vessel bound to Salem. The season is advancing fast, and our troops must daily consume provision the bare transportation of which is an immense cost.³ I perceive that the General Assembly stands further prorogued to the 31st of this month. I am sorry that a state of our claim of territory in the New Hampshire Grant has not yet been forwarded to Congress; for although it is my wish as an individual that this uncomfortable dispute may subside till a more convenient season, yet I would not willingly be under the necessity of saying, when called upon after so long notice, that our state is not ready. It might have the appearance of a consciousness in ourselves, that our claim is not well founded.⁴

. . . .

400. JOHN MATHEWS TO PHILIP SCHUYLER.¹

CAMP TAPPEN Augt. 23, 1780.

My Dear Sir,

I last evening received an Order of Congress for dissolving our Committee, and that we should immediately make a *report* of our proceedings to Congress.² What they mean by making a *report*, I don't understand. In consequence of this mandate we quit Camp to day, and purpose halting at Morris Town for you untill the first of next month, in order, that we may settle some plan for our future conduct. I think from what I can understand of the complexion of things in C—— we stand on delicate ground, and that prudence dictates to us to be prepared to meet them, on whatever ground they please to take. I hope you will seriously think of returning to C—— for it is not in my power to stand bluff to the whole Phalanx.³ I have a great deal to say to you, therefore hope I shall see you before I go for Philadelphia.

I am My D'r Sir with sincere Esteem

Y'r most Obedt. Servt.

JNO. MATHEWS

³ See Washington to James Bowdoin, to General Heath, and to Congress, Aug. 28 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 412, 414, 416, ed. Sparks, VII. 174, 176, 178). Bowdoin's letter, Aug. 17, to which Washington was replying is in *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 60.

⁴ See no. 253, note 2, *ante*, and no. 435, note 2, *post*.

[400]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Schuyler Papers, no. 1462; *ibid.*, Bancroft Coll., Schuyler Papers, no. 809 (copy).

² The letter of recall (no. 373, *ante*) is endorsed as received on the 21st. See also nos. 376, 383, 385, 394, 397, *ante*. A statement of the committee dated Nov. 1 is in the *Journals*, Nov. 16. In a letter to Congress Aug. 28 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 416, ed. Sparks, VII. 178) Washington gave high commendation to the committee. In this connection see a letter from Mrs. Reed to Joseph Reed, Aug. 22, and Reed's reply, Aug. 26. *Life of Reed*, II. 267, 246, respectively.

³ See nos. 421, 434, 464, *post*.

401. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO JOHN JAY.¹

PHILADELPHIA, August 26, 1780.

Dear John:

I have received yours of the 23d May from Madrid, with duplicates thereof, and the letters you wrote from Cadiz and Martinique. . . .

I have not been able to procure at this place the key to the cipher that you directed me to, though I believe I have it at home; besides that, it is very intricate and troublesome; I shall therefore be obliged to confine what I have to say to mere common occurrences. I enclose you a cipher which is very simple, and not to be deciphered while the key is concealed, as the same figure represents a variety of letters. In order that you may know whether it comes safely to hand, I have in this letter used the precaution mentioned in yours.

Nothing astonishes me more than the confidence with which the British ministry and their dependants assert, that America sighs to return to their government, since the fact is that we never were more determined in opposition, nor if we except the derangement of our finances (which the loan of half a million would re-establish, if remitted in specie or merchandise), were we ever so capable of resistance. Our crops are uncommonly fine, and the militia of every State north and east of Delaware, is armed, disciplined, and inured to the duties of a camp. The southern militia are now at school, and I have no doubt will improve by the lessons they receive from the enemy. . . .

402. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA August 28th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I do myself the honour to inclose to your Excellency, Several late Acts of Congress, which I have been the more careful in doing, as I expect the Honourable the General Assembly will meet about the time this will reach you. I cannot help making some remarks on them; especially the one which is for raising 3,000,000 of dollars by Tax;² it is of great importance to these states. If it can be raised by the time limited, it will give such relief as to enable Congress in some measure to fulfil their promises, and keep up some kind of credit, provided the New money, goes into circulation, pursuant to the resolution of the 18th of March, and Congress are immediately supplied with the four tenths. But the whole taken together, will be short of a sufficiency to discharge the public debts of the Current year. But when I consider the inhabitants groaning under the burden of the monthly Taxes already called for, and the other incidental charges that arise in the several states, to which may be added the reluctance with which the inhabitants, in some of the states pay their Taxes I almost

[401]¹ *Corr. and Pub. Papers of Jay* (ed. Johnston), I. 383; *Jay, Life of Jay*, II. 59; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 43.

[402]¹ *R. I. Arch.*, Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 64; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 309.

² The resolve of Aug. 26.

despair of the 3,000,000 of dollars *equal in value to silver and gold*, being collected. And without that sum being raised, And the four tenths being punctually paid, I see no practicable means of ever keeping the Army together for any Considerable time. And at present I see no other way of raising money then the aforementioned. At the same time my feelings are exceedingly hurt, when I reflect on the inability that I fear my constituents in general labor under in making payment of all the public moneys and stores demanded of them. It is a popular opinion here, that the whole expense arising on these states for public useses [*sic*] is practical and ought to be paid by public Taxes within the year, Which will amount to at least 15,000,000 of dollars of specie vallue upon the most economical plan. Borrowing money at present, is scarcely practicable, at home or abroad. A foreign loan cannot be expected unless a sufficient fund is raised, to pay the Annual Interest, at least, and appropriated to that use, by certain and fixed laws. The raising such a fund is now under the consideration of a Committee of Congress, appointed for that purpose, they have not reported, but have in contemplation to recommend to the several states to lay a duty of Two and a half pr. cent on all Exports, or one and a half on all Exports and imports. And a duty of two and a half on all prize goods to be appropriated towards the support of the Continental Navy.³ The resolution for liquidating the outstanding debts in the staff departments, I think must give some satisfaction to the Creditors, and is so just I apprehend it can give offence to none, especially where more than an equal proportion is due, as in the case in Rhode Island. But be that as it will; necessity and policy obliged us, if we were poor to do something that had the appearance of Honesty. The complaints of public creditors, were become exceeding loud, and it was intirely out of our power to make payment.⁴

The Resolution empowering the Q M G and C G of purchase, to give certificates, I hope will give some relief in this time of General distress for want of money. But there is yet remaining many demands for Money of the greatest importance to the Operations of the present Campaign, that no possible means can yet be found to supply.⁵ . . .

³ Resolutions of this character were moved by Livingston and Folsom Aug. 22 and referred to the committee on estimates and ways and means appointed Aug. 11. Livingston was then (Aug. 22) added to the committee. As stated in the P. S., Cornell was a member (chairman) of that committee. For a note concerning this measure, together with some account of the committee, see no. 469, note 6, *post*. Cf. the rejected motion of the North Carolina delegates (Burke and Jones) Mar. 18.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Aug. 26, and no. 333, note 2, *ante*.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Aug. 17, 23, 26. Respecting the settlement of these accounts under the act of August 26, Charles Pettit wrote to Col. Nehemiah Hubbard, late deputy quartermaster-general at Hartford, Nov. 18:

"General Greene having sometime since ceased to be Quarter Master General, the Authority of the Officers appointed under him has of course ceased as to every other purpose than settling and accounting for past transactions. It is therefore to be presumed that all your Contracts under General Greene are closed and that you will devote your whole time and attention, or as much as shall be necessary to effect a speedy settlement of your Accounts. To call for Cash to pay the debts you owe on public Account, would, at this Juncture of difficulty, be in vain: the present State of the public finances does not admit of a compliance with such a demand. At the same time it is necessary that

P. S. I should not be so positive in the anual expense, had I not the honour to be one of the com'e appointed to make an estimate of the Expense of the current year, which as soon as Completed I will endeavour to send you a Copy of.

403. THOMAS MCKEAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

Dear Sir,

Yesterday morning I received your favor of Saturday by Mr. Sterett. Congress have for a month past been so distressed for want of money, that nothing but hope could have supported them under it, and that hope, to wit, remittances from the States Eastward of Virginia, (the others being reserved for the Southern army) has now failed them; almost all the taxes are swallowed up in discharging debts contracted in the Quarter Master's and Commissary's departments, and what little surplus remained, we are told by all the States, is employed in equipping and marching the militia on the present expedition. Had the whole been paid into the Treasury of the United States, it would have amounted but to a third part in value of the sum expected, the depreciation having trebled since the requisition made of the several States. You now see our situation: all the resource we have is the new money; if that should not freely circulate, or should it speedily depreciate, we shall be at our wits' end: however recent steps have been taken to give it vigor.² I fear we shall at last be compelled to have recourse to the Tories, for one of Charles the 1st's Benevolences. In short, we seem to be all very grave, and the General's late letters are much more so than usual: however, *si male nunc, et olim non erit*.³ Let us but make prisoners of the British army at New-York, and all will be soon well. . . .

PHILADELPHIA, August 29th, 1780.⁴

Congress should be informed as minutely as possible of the debts due from the United States in order to make due provision for the payment of them." Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

[403]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., MSS. of Joseph Reed; *Life of Reed*, II. 249.

² See the *Journals*, Aug. 26. Cf. Reed's letter to McKean, Aug. 25 (*Life of Reed*, II. 245), to which this is a reply.

³ "Non si male nunc et olim sic erit." Horace, *Carm.* ii. 10. 17.

⁴ On this day was read the following letter, dated Aug. 25, from Joseph Hiltzheimer, keeper of the Continental stables, to the President of Congress:

"Sir, I Take the Liberty to inform your Excellency that I have had the care of Horses belonging to Members of Congress above two years for which have had no Compensation and only find by the Resolutions of Congress of the 13th Octo'r 1779 and 16 of Febr. 1780 that I shall have the Direction of the Forage for their Horses.

"I therefore Lay my case before your Excel'y that Congress may annex a Salary or Make such other allowances for my Services as they may Judge Adequate" (Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. XII., f. 97). See the *Journals*, Aug. 29, Sept. 1, and cf. nos. 64, note 2, 176, note 2, *ante*, and no. 468, note 2, *post*.

404. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, August 29th, 1780.

Dear Sir:

Since the inclosed letter of the 27th Instant,² several matters of Importance, have been laid before Congress, which I think it my duty to acquaint your Excellency of.

Firstly a long letter from General Washington, giving a summary account of the Complaints of the Army, truly great if not alarming stating to Congress the absolute necessity of giving relief. Also the ill policy of Bringing men into the Field for short periods; together with many more difficultys, too tedious to trouble your Excellency with.³ Also the proceedings of the Committee from the N. England States, which I make no doubt your Excellency hath received a Copy of, before this will reach you. All which hath been refered to a Committee, that was before Appointed to make an Estimate of the expence of the current and ensuing years, and to provide ways and means for furnishing the necessary supplies. It appears at present that Congress are determined to recommend spirited Measures to the several states which I hope they will adopt, that we may no longer lull ourselves to sleep by a false hope of a peace, or ruin our selves by frequent alterations [of] Our Systems in the great Departments which our army now feel the effects of in a severe manner I should have been exceedingly happy to know the Sentiments of the Hon'le General Assembly on the proceedings of the Committee of the New England states, the more so, as it appears Govr. Bradford was not present.⁴ Many and perplexing are the difficultys that attend the Measures undertaken by Congress. But this I can assure your Excellency, that I never had the honour to be acquainted with any sett of men whatever, in which party made so little appearance, as in the present Congress: and nothing appears at present to be their wish but the publick good.

[404]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 67; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 310.

² No doubt the letter of Aug. 28, no. 402, *ante*.

³ This was Washington's letter of Aug. 20 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 386), read in Congress Aug. 28. Cf. his letter to Governor Trumbull Aug. 22, his circular to the states Aug. 27, and his letter to Congress Aug. 28 (*ibid.*, pp. 405, 410, 416). The letters to Congress are also in *Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 156, 178; the letter to Trumbull is in *Mass. Hist. Soc., Collections*, fifth ser., X. 197. The circular letter is *ibid.*, p. 198; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 525; *N. H. State Papers*, VIII. 870; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 256; *R. I. States Recs.*, IX. 217. Washington's letter of Aug. 20 was referred to a committee of five (Samuel Adams, Joseph Jones, McKean, Scott, and Cornell). To the same committee were referred (Aug. 29, Sept. 4, 11, 12, respectively) a letter of Governor Trumbull of Aug. 21 (see note 4, below), Washington's letter of Aug. 28, one of Sept. 6 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 421, ed. Sparks, VII. 184), and another of Sept. 8 (*ibid.*, VIII. 425, and VII. 189, respectively). Sept. 12 Willie Jones and Sullivan were added to the committee. Sept. 14 the committee brought in a report, and Sept. 15 some measures were adopted. Further references were made to the committee Sept. 16 and 18, and a further report was offered Sept. 19, considered the following day, and some resolutions adopted Sept. 21. The final result of more than five weeks of discussion was the adoption, Oct. 3, of a series of definite resolutions respecting the constitution of the army. See no. 392, *ante*, and nos. 422, 434, 435, 440, 479, *post*.

⁴ The proceedings of the New England committee were brought before Congress Aug. 29, through a letter of Governor Trumbull of Aug. 21.

Yesterday a Letter from Gov. Trumbull was read in Congress, accompanied with letters and petitions to him from the Inhabitants of New London Groton and Stonington, complaining of the proceedings of Dr. Howell, in bringing Goods from Long Island to Pawcatuck river supposing the Protection signed by the President of Congress was illegal, or a forgery. But for the present, let it suffice for me to say, the Protection was legally obtained in Congress upon a representation that he was a Friend to these States, and that it was the interest and ought to be the policy of these States to introduce all such people and their property into them as Power and Dominion consists in the number and wealth of the inhabitants.⁵

405. THE BOARD OF WAR TO HORATIO GATES.¹

WAR OFFICE Augt. 29th, 1780.

Sir,

Congress having been pleased to direct that Lt. Colo. Laurens should be exchanged as soon as possible, the Board request, if you should be so fortunate as to take any officers prisoners in your department, that you will propose to the Enemy his exchange, agreeable to the resolution of Congress which is herewith inclosed:²

I have the honor to be

Yr. Most Obedt. Servt.
by ord. WILL'M GRAYSON.

406. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

PHILADA. 30th August 1780.

Dear Sir,

Having been two or three days in the Country, I cou'd not sooner acknowledge the receipt of your favour from Trentown, but hope Mr. Henry has sent you the Resolution of Congress on the Subject of which you wrote, which if not done shall be inclosed. Mr. Henry and myself first formed and agree'd in the Resolution, the utility whereof at this crisis so easily gained the attention of Congress that it passed with little debate, and will we hope on all hands be acceptable. I need not enter into the principles whether of policy or of justice, wherein it is founded, as these must naturally occur to every dispassionate reader acquainted with our situation.² There is a Capital Question respecting our Western extent and free Navigation on the Mississippi suddenly to come on, in answer

⁵ See nos. 409-412, *post*.[405]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 49, vol. III., p. 182 (original).² The order to the board respecting the exchange of Col. John Laurens was adopted July 10. See no. 381, note 3, *ante*.[406]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., MSS. of Joseph Reed, VI.² The resolution alluded to is probably that of Aug. 25 respecting the relative rank of governors in the field. See no. 414, *post*.

to a late letter from Mr. Jay.³ if this were discussed, I hope to be at full liberty to retire, especially as Mr. McClane now attends. three good members at once in the House is sufficient. . . .

407. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE
(THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE).¹

PHILADA. August 31, 1780.

Sir,

I have the Honor to acquaint you that in Order to furnish a sufficient Army to take the Field this Campaign Congress have been under the disagreeable Necessity to draw Bills of Exchange upon Doctor Franklin to the Amount of [blank] Dollars, and in order that you may become fully acquainted with their Proceedings on that Subject I am directed to lay before you the Copies of the Resolves of Congress herewith enclosed. A Committee of Congress will also have the Honor to wait upon you with a more particular and full Explanation on the same Subject.²

408. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA August 31, 1780.

Sir,

I have this Day received from General Gates Despatches, containing the disagreeable Intelligence of the total Defeat of the Army under his Command; Copies of which are enclosed. A most unhappy Event, and unexpected immediately after the Intelligence we had just received of the several Advantages gained by our Troops in that quarter. We have no particular Account of the Numbers killed or taken. Report saith that Generals Smallwood and Gist and Colonel Armand are among the slain, and that Baron de Kalb is wounded and a Prisoner. We wish for more particular Intelligence than General Gates's Letter before it is published by Authority.²

³ This was Jay's letter of May 26, read in Congress Aug. 14 and referred to the committee of foreign affairs, an extract of which was laid before Congress by that committee Aug. 21 (see nos. 397, 398, *ante*). This extract, evidently that pertaining to the navigation of the Mississippi (see Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 724-726), was referred to a committee (Joseph Jones, Walton, and McKean), and on the following day two instructions from Virginia were laid before Congress by the delegates of that state and referred to the same committee. The Virginia instructions were dated Nov. 5, 1779, and July 13, 1780. The first is in the Library of Congress, U. S. R., the second in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 71, vol. I., f. 391. The committee brought in a report Sept. 2, which was adopted Oct. 4, and a committee (Madison, Sullivan, and Duane) was appointed Oct. 6, to draft a letter to Jay to accompany the resolutions. The latter committee brought in a letter, drawn by Madison, Oct. 16, which was adopted Oct. 17. See, further, the *Journals*, Nov. 18 (propositions of the Georgia delegates), Dec. 5, 8; also nos. 469, 480, 494, 519, *post*. For earlier proceedings respecting the navigation of the Mississippi see the *Journals*, 1779: Feb. 23, Mar. 17, 24, Aug. 5, Sept. 10, 11, 17, Oct. 13; 1780: Jan. 31; also vol. IV. of these *Letters* (index, Mississippi River).

[407]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 88.

² See Luzerne to Congress, Sept. 1 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 44).

[408]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; President's Letter-Book, p. 88.

² See also Gates to Washington Aug. 30, Sept. 3 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, III. 66, 74); and Jefferson to Washington Sept. 3 (*ibid.*, p. 73; *Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 331), to the President of Congress Sept. 3, 6 (*ibid.*, pp. 334, 336), to Gen. Edward Stevens Sept. 3 (*ibid.*, p. 333), to General Gates Sept. 3 (*Official Letters*, II. 186). The three letters of Jefferson first mentioned are *ibid.*, pp. 182-191.

409. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADA. September 1, 178[o.]

Sir,

I am honored with your Excellency's Letter of the 21. Ulto with the several Despatches to which it refers respecting George Howell and am ordered to explain the Circumstances of his Application and the Passport granted to him in Consequence thereof ²

Enclosed you have a Copy of his Memorial to Congress, upon which he produced satisfactory Evidence that he had never in any Instance acted an inimical Part against the United States, that he but lately came of Age to act for himself being not 22 Years old and had in Confidence revealed to some of his Friends who had been *incog* on to the Island by Permission that he was determined to remove from thence (now he was of Age to act for himself) and risk his Life and Fortune with the Independance of these United States. By a fortunate Ticket in a Lottery in England he had drawn about three thousand Pounds Sterling and as he could not obtain the Money had determined to invest it in Goods and leave the Island if he could obtain Permission. This Representation being made by Persons of undoubted Character who had personal Knowledge of the Facts Congress were satisfied of the sincerity of his Profession and supposed his Case to come within the Rule which had been uniformly adopted and ordered the President to grant him a Passport and Protection which was accordingly given.

The Form of the Passport is the same as had been uniformly adopted, and it did not occur to Congress that it would ever be construed as mandatory, *Commanding* all Governors etc. but merely as a Protection on the Seas, pledging the Faith of the United States against Captures at Sea, and giving Notice thereof to all proper Officers—BE IT KNOWN etc. The same Form hath been repeatedly used in giving Passport to Vessels and Effects coming from the British Dominions in Europe and the West Indies, and in those Cases the same Diction extended to all Officers, Governors, Generals, Admirals etc. acting under the Crown of France or Spain etc.³

Wherever Mr. Howell landed his Effects, he must obtain the Approbation and Protection of the State, and be subject to the Laws of such State. If he be an Enemy to his Country and has abused his Passport to cover Effects which were not his own Property he ought to forfeit the Whole, but if he hath been sincere in his Representation and upright in his Conduct, and means to risk his Life and Fortune with the Indepen-

[409]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 90; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 124.

² Howell's memorial was read and his prayer granted July 7. Governor Trumbull's letter of protest was read Aug. 28 and referred to a committee, who reported Aug. 31. In Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III., are numerous letters pertaining to the case. Howell's memorial is *ibid.*, p. 126. See no. 404, *ante*, and nos. 410-412, *post*.

³ It was doubtless the trouble that arose in this case that induced Congress to make shortly afterward an alteration in the phraseology of passports. See the report on the petition of Cumberland Dugan, Sept. 23 and 29.

dance of these United States he will probably be approved and accepted in the State where he shall reside. The Propriety of a full Examination into the Circumstances of this Case is obvious and will doubtless be made by the proper Authority

The Practice of admitting proper Characters to remove from under the British Government with their Effects and unite with us was adopted upon mature Deliberation, as founded not only in Principles of Justice and Humanity but Policy. The Instances have been frequent and tho' Congress are very jealous and cautious not to admit an Enemy or be deceived by an Impostor, and if Howell on Examination be found such it will be the first Instance I have known or heard of.

Your Excellency will recollect the Resolution of Congress in Favour of Persons with their Effects coming from Ireland to settle in these United States exempting them from Capture which hath ever been in Force from the Commencement of Captures by Sea, and the Case of an Inhabitant of these United States who hath the Misfortune to fall under the Power of the Enemy within their Lines is a much stronger Case in Favour of the Subject if he be a Friend to his Country and hath Opportunity to escape with his Effects ⁴

The Case of Mr. Howell will depend upon the Character and Conduct of the Man, but the Principles upon which Congress acted are the same by which they have been uniformly governed in repeated Instances ever since the Declaration of Independance

410. THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Sepr. 1, 1780.

Sir,

We were honored with your Excellency's letter of the 21 August. The enclosed papers contain the best intelligence we have from the southward; our affairs there appeared prosperous, our army gaining strength, and in several instances considerable advantages against the enemy, until the battle near Camden on the 20th day of last month; they were overpowered by a superior force and met with a total defeat. This loss will not be easily retrieved; the Southern States seem disposed to make as vigorous exertions as their circumstances will admit.

The fluctuating state of our money, and the want of sufficient supplies of it, have been the principal causes of the wants of the army. When the States were called on for their monthly quotas of 15 millions of dollars the estimates were made at the rate of twenty for one; but before the taxes were collected the prices of supplies were at 60 for 1, which made a

⁴ The resolution as adopted Mar. 19, 1776 (in the *Journals*, Mar. 23, preceded by the declaration adopted that day) does not specifically mention inhabitants of Ireland as exempt from capture, but does exempt persons coming as settlers, together with their effects. It appears however from the Diary of Richard Smith, Mar. 18, that the committee of the whole did adopt such a specific exemption; cf. the Diary for Mar. 13 (vol. I., nos. 548, 562).

[410]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 119. The letter is signed by Roger Sherman and Benjamin Huntington.

deficiency of two thirds of the estimates. When the States were applied to to furnish their quotas of provisions it was expected that the legislatures would only appoint commissaries to purchase them, and that the Quarter Master's department would have been so regulated as to have received the provisions from the State commissaries into proper magazines, and have transported them to the army. This regulation was delayed about four months by referring it to the Committee sent to head-quarters, who, instead of completing it immediately, applied to the executive powers of the States to do the business proper for Quarter Masters, etc. Congress have appointed a Committee to make estimates for the current year up to the 1 March next, and also for the next year, who have made considerable progress in the business. Congress have also made provision for making good the depreciation to creditors who have furnished supplies, founded on your Excellency's letter of the 8th June last,² a tax is also recommended to raise money for the payment of the public debts to the amount of three millions of dollars; this tax is likewise intended as a means of introducing the new bills into circulation in full credit.

The proceedings of the Commissioners from the several States convened at Boston were read and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. We are pleased to find their sentiments correspond with the measures that have been lately adopted by Congress.

The affair of the protection granted to George Howel we apprehend is not rightly understood by those who complain of it. Dr. Howel was represented to Congress as a person who was a minor when the enemy came to Long Island, that he is now under twenty two years of age, lived with his father, and had taken no part in the present controversy, but was well affected to this country, and was determined if possible to get from under the power of the enemy, with all his effects, and settle in some one of the United States. These things were not only said by himself, but confirmed by Doctr. Wm. Smith, late of Long Island, who has been for some years a surgeon in the Continental hospital, and served with fidelity and reputation. Your Excellency, we believe, has some knowledge of him, both he and Dr. Howell are well known to Col. Floyd. It was well known to Congress that his effects were chiefly English goods which he had obtained by drawing a prize in the British State Lottery.

There was nothing mandatory in the protection granted by Congress, or that interfered with the laws or government of any State, but it was a notification that Congress approved of his coming off from Long Island with his effects, and a protection against capture by cruisers under commissions from the United States. There is a general resolution of Congress, that persons coming from Great Britain or Ireland with their effects to settle in these States shall be exempted from capture, and a protection was lately granted to Doctr. Shields and some other gentlemen from Ireland to bring their effects to this city. And does not justice, as well as policy, require that citizens of any of the United States, should be pro-

² See no. 333, *ante*.

tected in coming with their property from under the power of the enemy, who have not forfeited that right by any crime against their country?

If this person has been guilty of any fraud by covering illicit trade under his protection, we wish he may be detected and suffer; but we have no suspicions of that kind, but believe he has an honest *bona fide* intention to get and keep clear of the enemy.³

The several resolutions which concern the States, will be forwarded to your Excellency by the President.

411. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE HOWELL.¹

PHILADA. September 2, 1780.

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 23. Ulto, as also the Letter you mention from Genl Vernon [Varnum].

It was supposed you would have obtained Permission and Approbation from the Governor of the State where you intended to remove with your Effects previous to your removing them which would have prevented all Difficulty, as the Design and Effect of the Passport and Protection from Congress was to protect you from Capture at Sea, but not to force any State to receive you against her Will, and a previous Permission from the State would have prevented all unjust Suspicion and the Trouble you have met with

If you have been sincere and upright in your Profession and not abused the Protection received from Congress you will be justified, otherwise not. You can satisfy the proper Authority in the State of Rhode Island if true upon Examination, that the Representation in your Petition was just, and that you have not abused the Protection granted you, which is all that is necessary I should suppose

I have wrote fully upon this Subject to his Excellency Governor Trumbull explaining the Matter by Order of Congress.²

412. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA September 2nd, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I wrote your Excellency very fully and by the last Post, little expecting to write you again so soon, but the importance of the intelligence received in Congress the 31st Ulto. lays me under an obligation of giving you a most disagreeable narrative of Our situation in the Carolinas.

I will not say that General Gates hath had a general Action. But that he hath suffered a General and total defeat is certain by his letter dated Hillsborough North Carolina August the 20th 1780. It is imperfect and I have no liberty to take a copy of it. But I do my self the honour to

³ See nos. 404, 409, *ante*, and nos. 411, 412, *post*.

[411]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 92.

² See no. 409, *ante*.

[412]¹ From the collection of Mr. William D. Ely, of Providence.

inclose a copy of one from Mr. Burk a Member of Congress for N. Carolina who went home since I came, to which I beg liberty to refer you for particulars therein contained, And leave further particulars to be digested by time.²

I am this day informed that the Militia of this state are on their March home from Bucks County where they have been for some time As they could not be subsisted at their Quarters for want of provisions. I have not been informed of the particular reason for their returning.

Much time hath been taken up in an affair of Mr. Howel both before I wrote you last and since. A letter from General Varnum and one from Mr. Howel upon the same subjects hath been laid before Congress with Governor Trumbull's where upon it was ordered that the president Inform Governor Trumbull the circumstances of Mr. Howels application and Pasport grants in consequence thereof. Rhode Island is left with out advice in the Matter. I make no doubt he will be treated agreeable to the rules of Justice and good policy. I shall only add that Dr. Smith a gentleman of good Caractor in this place who is as he saith well acquainted with Mr. Howel, saith many clever things of him, such as will I suppose induce Congress to wish every such person possessed of a good fortune to remove with it into some of these states.³ . . .

I have been in daily expectation of receiving the Act of our general Assembly for funding the Money to be Emitted pursuant to the act of Congress of the 18th of March last. It is not yet come to hand. I wish it may arive soon. As I mentioned in my former letter that I feared it would be a long time before the Bills would be struck, these fears are by no means removed. I most zealously wish to see these New bills in Circulation in all these States in full faith and credit. I must confess I cannot be sanguine in my Expectations on this head at present. A few days since a gentleman from Massachusetts Bay came to this City with some of the New Bills emitted by that State. He could not pass them at any rate even to pay his Expences. Mr. Adams gave him Continental money in Exchange. If we cannot establish some sort of Currency among us upon a permanent footing in which the people at large have full faith, It appears to me not to need the Spirit of prophecy to foretell that our ruin is not far distant. I cannot help here mentioning one circumstance that I wish to remain a profound secret, at least to be Communicated no further than the good of the state may require. I had the honour to be one of the Committee that waited on the Minister of France yesterday to know if he thought it was probable if Congress should draw Bills on the Court of France for Forty Thousand pounds sterling that they would be Honoured. The minister was free and open and after fully stating the low state of their Finances and the purposes for which they had been drained[?] he frankly told us that in his opinion it was impossible they could be accepted if they were drawn, to which may be added that we have not the least shadow of promise that a Bill for £20 on any power in

² See no. 408, *ante*.

³ See nos. 404, 409-411, *ante*, and no. 577, *post*.

Europe would be paid. All publick business in the great departments of the Army are at a Total stand accept the Bank and the supplies from that Quarter fall much short of our expectations. Thus stands our affairs of Finance and Supplies for the Army.

Congress are endeavouring if possible to reconcile matters so as to bring about a complition or Ratification of the Confederation as every member is more and more convinced of the Necessity of the measure.

It appears to me our mode of doing publick business especially in time of war would ruin any Nation on Earth. Congress perhaps three Months in passing a recommendation to the states, three more in adopting it and then the sloath there is in some of the states in executing them it appears hath lately ruined one Army And Our main Army upon the Brink of starving.⁴

It is absolutely necessary to Collect another Army to the Southward to stop the Career of the Enemy or where will they stop. But what is to be done to procure Arms! Accoutrements, Cloathing, Provisions, Tents, waggons etc. Is harder for me to solve then a problem in Euclid. perhaps a query will arise where is the Arms in the hands of the Militia at home, to which I answer they never have had any.⁵ . . .

413. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular.

PHILADELPHIA, September 3, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith inclosed an Act of Congress of the 26 Uto. earnestly recommending to the several States to take the most speedy and effectual Means in their Power for drawing in their respective Quotas of the Continental Bills of Credit. . . .²

⁴ It happened that on the same day on which Cornell was writing to Governor Greene, Elbridge Gerry, who had returned to Massachusetts in the beginning of June (see nos. 235-237, *ante*), wrote to Robert Morris touching the matter of efficiency in Congress, and also concerning the question of finances: "I most heartily agree with you, in the Expediency of making Congress merely deliberative, and in the Necessity of attending minutely to our publick Expenditure, having ever considered the amazing waste of publick Monies, as the greatest source of our Misfortunes. The frequent interviews which you have with Members of Congress, afford you a favorable opportunity for promoting those measures. I am exceedingly doubtful of the Abilities of the united States to raise the Supplies by Taxes, or to make a seasonable collection thereof; and if both were practicable, would not the Burthens of the people make them impatient, and risk a dishonorable Peace? other Governments tax for the Interest of their supplies, and thus establishing their Funds, find little difficulty in obtaining their Loans; by which means every Provision for the Campaign is made previous to the Commencement, and not delayed till the *Middle or End thereof*. I wish the States would try the experiment, by levying a Tax in Specie, equal to double the Amount of the Interest of the Loan wanted for the supplies of the year, and Apply Part of the Tax to pay the Interest, and the residue as a sinking fund gradually to discharge the principal of a Loan for this Purpose, at the same Time providing that the Tax shall continue untill the Loan made thereon is fully discharged." Henkels, *Catalogue*, no. 1183, item 6.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Sept. 7, 8, 11.

[413]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 93; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 93 (dated Sept. 2); *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 73; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 258; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 535.

² The first two paragraphs of the resolve are here given almost in the language of the *Journals*. The remainder of the act is more briefly characterized in the paragraphs

You will also observe by this Act Provision is made for Payment of the public Debts due in any of the States in the Departments of the late Quartermaster Greene and Commissary Wadsworth, as also the present Commissary General of Purchases.

And in order to prevent the Possibility of a Depreciation in the new Bills it is earnestly recommended to the several States, not to issue Bills of Credit for a Currency on any Account whatever, in such Manner as to have in Circulation a greater Amount than their respective Quotas of the new Bills.

And in Order that Justice be done to the Creditors of these United States for Supplies furnished the Army or Transportation thereof, Provision is made by this Act that such Creditors be paid the just Value of their Debts, to be ascertained in the Manner expressed in the Act, and all Debts due to the United States are to be justly paid in like Manner.

414. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular

PHILADELPHIA Sept. 3, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed Act of Congress of the 25. Ultimo ascertaining the rank of the Governors or Presidents of the several States whenever they shall act in the Field together, or in Conjunction with the Continental Army. The same rule hath been heretofore adopted in particular Cases as just and necessary and hath given Satisfaction. It is now deemed expedient to adopt the same as a general Rule which it is supposed will meet with Approbation in the respective States.

415. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADA. 3d Sept. 1780.

Dear General,

The Arival of the Young Gentlemen with your Dispatches to Congress shewing the sudden and unexpected defeat of the Army under your command, must like every other event of that kind stand subjected to the various strictures of mankind forming Opinions on subjects in their local circumstances too remote for accurate and fair decision even to judges otherwise competant—being indisposed I was not in the House when yr. letter was read, but have not learned that Congress either then or afterward have shewn the least disposition to censure; a general concern as well without as within doors pervades the minds of the well disposed, and the more

which follow. The latter part of the act as adopted is an amendment of the original proposition, as offered by Roger Sherman. To the copy of the resolves transmitted to Maryland (Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 92) Secretary Thomson affixed a memorandum of explanation: "The resolution of the 7. Oct. 1779 referred to is for raising 15,000,000, so that 3 million being the one fifth the Apportionment will be as follows."

[414]¹ Copied from the original (to President Reed), then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia; Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 90; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 95; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 535; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 168.

[415]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, Box 15; N. C. State Recs., XIV. 587.

easily Obtains from a consideration of the deranged situation of our affairs in every quarter of the Country. Our expectations however are still lively and suggest the late misfortunes to the south as so many prompters to greater vigour and firmness in the future exertions of those States, wherein Virginia, for many reasons ought to be deeply interested. Your letter is committed, but the result uncertain.² Conjecture will probably pronounce that Congress having lately exerted every nerve that embarrassments almost indispensible would admit, little more is to be expected from hence, whilst our Objects rise no higher than that of defence, to which at a proper distance you may again become competent—but on the Arrival of Governor Rutledge you will be informed of a different design, which requires time and various preparatives in order to give it effect. . . . The Second division of the French fleet has in fact been blocked up at Brest by thirty odd British Ships of the line, so that we have now but little expectation of their arrival in time for an expedition agst. New York before next Spring.

11th Sepr.

We have some reason to believe, that by this time 12 Sail of the Line and Six Frigates from the West Indias, have arrived at one or other of our Eastern Ports—this if true may revive the design agst. New York, of which I hope Major Maguill may carry you farther notice.³ Some British Commoners are still amusing themselves with the Idle phantom, that a Change in their Ministry, wou'd regain the confidence of America. Burke and Conway has indeed drawn the present picture of G. Britain in frightful Colours, and the Armed Neutrality of Russia and various other European powers must have a humiliating influence on the arrogance of that Nation. The Emperour of Moroca has Ordered his Ports kindly to treat and receive every American trader. Money alone, or rather the want of it is like to distress us beyond measure. The Army are now often without the Article of Beef.

Your letter of the 29 ulto. is this day come to Town and the Result of a Committee will I doubt not furnish you with an agreeable answer.⁴ I have recd. Major Armstrongs letters, and have my apprehensions lest his late illness may terminate in a decay, of which should you discover any Symtoms this Fall, I am persuaded your cordial friendship for him will prompt you to advise and give him such leave of Absence, as you may think proper for the recovery of his health, intimating the same to Congress or the Board of War.

Please to present my Compliments to Mr. Thos. Burke, and inform him, that with perseverance I have procured a place in the Hospital De-

² See no. 408, *ante*, and nos. 415, 425, *post*.

³ See no. 430, *post*. Major Charles Magill was aide-de-camp to General Gates. He was doubtless one of the "young gentlemen" (if more than one) mentioned in the beginning of the letter as having brought Gates's despatches. See the *Journals*, Sept. 9.

⁴ The letter from Gates here referred to as of Aug. 29 was doubtless that from Gates to Washington, Aug. 29, mentioned in the *Journals*, Sept. 11. In both instances, however, the date given is probably an error, the letter referred to being that of Aug. 30 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, III. 66).

partment, for my unfortunate countryman of whom we spoke before he left Philada.

Adieu Dear General may that God whos mercies are over all his other Works guide and protect you, and be not Discouraged.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

[P. S.] I shall write my Son by Major Maguill—then intend to retire, my strength talents and constitutional time in Congress, being very near a period.⁵

416. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO EPHRAIM BLAINE.¹

MORRIS TOWN, Sepr. 3d, 1780.

Sir,

It is the earnest request of General Schuyler, and Mr. Mathews, the latter being gone to Philadelphia, and the former to the State of New York, as well as my own, that you will be pleased to furnish us with a monthly return of the supplies furnished by the State of Pensylvania, from the 1st of May, to the 11th of August last, and which you will send, as soon as possible, inclosed to me at this place.²

⁵ This letter is addressed: "Major General Gates Commanding the Southern Department Hillsburrow Favoured by Coll: Symph." This was no doubt Col. John Christian Senf. See the *Journals*, Sept. 8, 9. Cf. Jefferson to Gates, Oct. 4, *Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia*, III. 215, and *passim*. See also vol. III. of these *Letters*, pp. 250, 316, 370.

[416]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. I., f. 235 (copy, addressed to "Coll Eph'm Blaine C. G. P. Camp"), no. 11, p. 338 (letter-book copy).

² Peabody is writing as a member of the committee at headquarters, recently discharged. See nos. 373, 376, 400, *ante*, and nos. 434, 446, *post*. Schuyler had left Washington's headquarters for Albany about a month before (see no. 361, *ante*), and did not return again to Congress. His account for attendance from 1775 to 1780, the close of which he placed at September 4, does not appear to have been rendered until May 4, 1786. The account (copied from the original, then in possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia) follows:

"State of New York

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417. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, September 4, 1780.

Sir,

I have been honored with your Excellency's despatches of the 21 ulto. by Messenger Brown, one of them enclosing the proceedings of the late Convention at Boston, the other respecting the case of George Howell, both which have been laid before Congress.² . . .

The situation of our finances yet remains distressing, and seems the true cause to which every other difficulty and embarrassment may be traced up. It is from this source Congress has been driven thro' dire necessity to adopt measures which they would have gladly avoided, and which, I presume, are disagreeable to all, and perhaps unaccountable to some of the States.

It may be justly asked, Why are not magazines laid up before hand in season? Why are not the creditors to the public paid without delay? and why are not many other things done which it is so obvious ought to be done? The answer is obvious. I need not give it.

A stable medium introduced, it appears to me, would go a great way towards relieving the difficulty. Were our finances on such a foundation that ways and means could be timely obtained to defray the necessary expence of the war, our affairs would wear a better aspect than the most sanguine could have expected.³ . . .

I have lately received a letter from an officer, consul under the Emperor of Morocco, in behalf of the Emperor, inviting these United States to trade in his ports, and giving assurance that they may and shall enjoy all priviledges of any maritime powers, and that he is disposed to enter into a treaty of commerce with us.⁴ . . .

I do hereby declare upon honor that the above account of my Services as a delegate In Congress is Just and true

NEW YORK May 4th 1786
PH: SCHUYLER "

On the reverse page of the statement is the voucher and Schuyler's receipt. Besides the item of five thousand dollars drawn from the Continental treasury Apr. 17, 1780, the *Journals* record a warrant for fifteen thousand to Scott in behalf of himself, Schuyler, and Livingston, May 2, and one of ten thousand to Scott on the application of and for the use of Schuyler, June 29. Schuyler also obtained a warrant for two thousand November 30, 1779. All these items were charged to the state of New York, and while the language of the *Journals* in such cases usually indicates that the warrants are for the personal use of the delegates, that is not always conclusive.

[417]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 127.

² Concerning the case of George Howell, see no. 409, note 2, *ante*.

³ Oliver Wolcott, member-elect from Connecticut but not in attendance, in a letter to Samuel Lyman Sept. 4, discussed the financial problem and foreign affairs. Hist. Soc. of Pa., Gratz Collection, Members of the Old Congress; Conn. Hist. Soc., Wolcott Papers, copy.

⁴ The letter was from Stephen d'Audibert Caille, was written from Salé, Morocco, Sept. 6, 1779, and was transmitted by Franklin (probably with his letter of May 31, although he does not mention it; see the *Journals*, Sept. 1, Nov. 28, 1780, May 28, 1781). A copy was nevertheless transmitted to Franklin with the instructions of Nov. 28, with the suggestion that Franklin correspond with d'Audibert Caille, who represented himself as having been named by the emperor of Morocco as "consul for

The period that confines me to my present painful situation is almost expired,⁵ and as I have been long absent from my private affairs, and my health somewhat impaired with the burthen and fatigue of business, I hope to obtain leave of absence in about one month, and wish a gentleman from Connecticut better qualified may come forward to relieve me.

I have the honor to be,

with every sentiment of esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

SAM. HUNTINGTON.

418. THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES, CERTIFICATE.¹

We, Delegates from the Commonwealth of Virginia do certify that Congress have received authenticated Copies of Acts of the Legislatures of the following States, complying with their resolutions of the 18th of March last relative to the public finances, *viz.*

1. An Act of the Legislature of Maryland passed the 12th day of June 1780, entitled "An Act for sinking the Quota required by Congress of this State of the bills of credit emitted by Congress".

2. An Act of the Legislature of New Jersey passed the 9th day of June 1780 entitled "An Act for establishing a fund for sinking and redeeming the proportion of the bills of credit of the United States assigned as the quota of this State["].

3. An Act of the Legislature of New York passed the 15th of June 1780 entitled "An Act approving of the Act of Congress of the 18th day of March 1780, relative to the finances of the United States, and making provision for redeeming the proportion of this State of the bills of credit to be emitted in pursuance of the said Act of Congress["].

4. An Act of the Legislature of Massachussets bay passed the 5th day of May 1780, entitled "An Act making provision for calling in to be destroyed this State's Quota according to the present apportionment of all the public bills of credit, which have been emitted by Congress, and for making and emitting on the credit of this State other bills of credit not to exceed the sum of four hundred and sixty thousand pounds, and for establishing funds sufficient to secure the redemption of the bills so emitted by the last day of december 1786, as recommended by a resolution of Congress of the 18th day of March of the present year and in conformity thereto; also for paying annually in Specie the interest arising on notes which have been issued upon the credit of the province Colony or now State of Massachussets bay promising to be paid in gold or silver["].

those foreign nations who have none in his dominions". At almost the same time (Nov. 30) Jay transmitted to Congress some correspondence between him and d'Audibert Caille in the preceding April, together with the text of the latter's appointment, etc., and the letter of Sept. 6, 1779 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 169-174; Huntington's reply, May 28, 1781, is *ibid.*, p. 451). Jay's letter to Franklin conveying the instructions of Nov. 28, 1780, is *ibid.*, p. 163. D'Audibert Caille had in fact written to Franklin as early as Apr. 14, 1778 (*Am. Phil. Soc.*, Franklin Papers), and he was writing to Carmichael as late as 1785 (*ibid.*).

⁵ The allusion is to the approaching end of a year of his occupancy of the presidency. See the *Journals*, Sept. 28; also no. 464, *post*.

[418]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers.

5. An Act of the Legislature of New Hampshire passed April 29th 1780 entitled "An Act for complying with and carrying into execution certain resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March 1780 for sinking the bills of public credit now current and for issuing other bills in their stead["].

6. A Conditional Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed the first day of June 1780 entitled "An Act for funding and redeeming the bills of credit of the United States of America and for providing means to bring the present war to a happy conclusion["].

JOS. JONES

JAMES MADISON JUN

JN. WALKER

PHILADELPHIA Sepr. 5th, 1780²

419. JOHN HENRY, JR., TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADEL'A Sepr. 5th 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . The Army has been for some Days without meat and has only depended upon the gleanings of the neighbouring Country which is now entirely exhausted. Flour is from day to Day scantily supplied, and after a small quantity is gone which the General has drawn from West point there is not a Nother Barrel nearer than Trenton. It is vain to veil our Situation, the Army must disband, unless other States will do as Maryland has done: If Laws taking the surplus of provisions were passed in some States relief might be given. The Generals Letter upon the present State of the Army is a circular one, and I presume you have it before now.² All the provisions that have been procured ought to be forwarded as soon as possible. This subject I flatter myself will engage your Excellency' and the Council' attention. . . .

Mr. Hanson has been very unwell for a week past and of course the State unrepresented. It is now a very critical Time, and I wish not to be alone. I have wrote to Majr. Jenifer and beg you will do the same, urging the Necessity of his attendance.

420. JAMES LOVELL TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.¹

Sept. 5th 1780.

Dear Sir,

Your Favor of the 14th of Augst. came to hand Yesterday. I will be particular on the several Points; but at present mean only to thank you

² This certificate is appended to a copy of a letter from Charles Lee, secretary to the board of treasury, dated Aug. 7 and addressed to the governor of Virginia, acknowledging the Virginia act in response to the resolution of Mar. 18, mentioning the like acts by other states, and indicating the preparation and transmission by the treasury board of new bills accordingly. Cf. no. 314, *ante*.

[419]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 61; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 80.

² Washington's circular letter to the states Aug. 27. See no. 422, note 3, *post*.

[420]¹ The original letter is in the private collection of Mrs. Annette Townsend Phillips, of Goshen, N. Y., a descendant of Elbridge Gerry, and it is by her courtesy that we are permitted to make use of it here.

for it at the Post office. Gates has been defeated. He writes in something *resembling* a Panic. I hope at worst he will only prove to have been mistaken. But if Smallwood is alive with any of his Corps the old Genl. will be sneered at in Spite of Saratoga.

Perhaps you will have Opportunity to write to Dana. I therefore say that the Talk here is that no Secretary of Embassies has more than £500. so that if the Establishm't remains as it is, more cannot be expected. J. J. has found himself mistaken in his fondness for C—rm—I's being with him. Govr. M is my Author.²

Congress has done the Justice you ask after to those who supply us.³

My Family was in a most horrid Situation the 3 first Weeks of Augst. Doctr. Holten had with him a Draught which gave Relief as to money. But Wife, only Daughter and eldest Son were in Bed. Pray let me know what Ground I am on besides my Expences. I shall seriously think of starving at Home as soon as Ar Lee has come to some Close of his Affairs here. I wish he may get through as quickly as Izard.⁴

I will give you a most scandalous Motion the product of Camp Education of some of our Members, the next Time I write.⁵ But if we have not a Supply of Money from the States, we must expect frequent Maggots about creating Omnipotencies

I begged this Paper of a Dutch man the Post Office not having a Sheet.

421. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL HOLTEN.¹

Sepr. 5th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . We have recalled the Com'tee from Camp, have aimed to do Justice to the officers without giving in to Whims. Their Widows and

² The abbreviations are for John Jay, William Carmichael, and Gouverneur Morris.

³ The reference is doubtless to the action of Congress Aug. 26, supplementing that of June 12.

⁴ For the adjustment of Izard's case see the *Journals*, Aug. 7, 9, 11; for that of Arthur Lee see *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 30, Dec. 2, 15; see also nos. 489, 506, *post*.

⁵ In a letter to Gerry Nov. 20 (no. 518, *post*) Lovell gives the substance of the motion, but there characterizing it as "curious". The motion was by John Mathews, late member of the committee at headquarters. See nos. 373, 376, 400, *ante*, and nos. 434, 446, *post*. Izard wrote to Richard Henry Lee from Philadelphia Oct. 15:

"I am perfectly of your opinion that the political salvation of America depends upon the recalling of Dr. Franklin. This opinion I have made publicly known; whether any good effect will be produced by it, a little time will discover. Soon after my arrival here I wrote to Congress, and informed them that I was ready to give them any information in my power respecting their affairs in Europe. Mr. McKean, Mr. Lovell, and Mr. Maddison were appointed a committee to confer with me. The Report contained simply an approbation of my conduct, without mentioning anything respecting Dr. Franklin. This was done on account of your Brother's arrival being daily expected, and therefore I did not press for any addition to the Report. He intends applying soon to Congress for a hearing, and I hope that the changes which have been made in that body within the last two years, will appear not to be for the worse" (Univ. of Va. Library, Lee Papers). See no. 489, note 4, *post*. Izard brought his own case before Congress in a letter of Aug. 6, read Aug. 7. The committee reported Aug. 9.

[421]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XIII. 214.

Children are to have the 7 years half pay; and the Clause which stopped the Pension upon an officer being elected to a civil office is repealed.²

3 millions Tax against the last of Decr. is called for and Justice is to be done to all who have supplied the public.³

We must have money at all adventures. Nothing else is wanting to raise us again into Reputation, and prevent stupid plans of creating absolute Dictators to get supplies without paying for them.

I write at the Post office having been forced to borrow a sheet of Paper from a Stranger in the neighborhood of it, such is its poverty.

422. JOSEPH JONES TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

Dear S'r,

I have received your favor of the 13th ult. upon the subject of a Report respecting a certain Gentleman and thank you for the freedom and candid manner of your communications.² The resentment discovered agst. the gentleman alluded to began to subside before your Letter came to hand and though for some time it was occasionally mentioned in conversation it has lately dyed away and will I expect not be revived. The Report of the Committee not only accepted his resignation but went further and I believe had it been then determined the Gentleman would have been informed his services in the line of the Army would have been dispensed with that he might have leisure to attend to the settlement of his accounts. Had this step been taken it is probable a resignation would have ensued and perhaps a public discussion in the papers w^{ch} would have produced no good, and upon the whole I am well pleased the matter was carryed no further than it has been. But unacquainted as I am with antecedent circumstances, and judging from what was before me, my Opinion was the Gentleman was justly reprehensible for the manner of his conduct as a Servant of the public employed in an important office or as a Citizen embarked in the common cause of America. The amasing Sums of money gone into that Departm't under his superintendence, abt. eighty millions and it is said about thirty millions unpaid, the whole of which is unaccounted for has excited uneasiness not only in this Body but the people at large who call out for a settlement of the public accounts, and although repeated endeavours have been used to bring the officers in the great department of the army to account none have been rendered nor any likelihood of bring'g them to a settlement. The embezelmt and waste of public property in these departments have greatly contributed to enhance our Debt and depreciate the currency, and these abuses demand inquiry and

² Concerning the committee at headquarters see the *Journals*, Aug. 11, and no. 373, note 2, *ante*. With regard to action in behalf of the officers see the *Journals*, Aug. 12, 24, no. 375, note 2, *ante*, and no. 428, *post*. Relative to the remonstrance of the general officers see a letter from General St. Clair to Joseph Reed Sept. 5 (*Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 537).

³ See the *Journals*, Aug. 26.

[422]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 78; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 27.

² Washington's letter of Aug. 13 to Jones, which relates to General Greene, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 378, (ed. Sparks), VII. 149. See also nos. 350, 363, *ante*.

punishment but I see no fair prospect of obtaining satisfaction for past transgressions and shall be happy to find we shall be able to avoid the like practices in future. a reform or any attempt to Reform seemed absolutely necessary for the satisfaction of the public and although the new System was pronounced a physical impossibility in execution others who have served long in the army and were of the Committee that made the alterations entertained a contrary opinion and they affirm the Gentleman now in office if he can be supported with money can fully carry the new system into execution.

In short I have seen some and been told of so many abuses in the Q. Master's Com'aries and medical departments in the course of the last two years that I candidly confess I feel a degree of resentment agst. the conduct of many in those departm'ts bordering on prejudice so nearly that I have resolved to condemn no person even in opinion witho't clear proof of delinquency least I should injure the character of some honest man in the general censure w'ch unhappily is but too prevalent.

What I feared for some time is at length but too evident, that our designs agt. new York must wait for more favourable circumstances to attempt carrying them into execution—perhaps something may in the course of the winter be done to the South should we be in a situation to recover our losses there and be in time provided with a well appointed Regular Army and magazine of provisions laid up. it is to be hoped we shall in the Spring, before the Enemy can be reinforced and obtain supplies, be in condition to act offensively agst. New York. Your letters of the 20th last month and of the 27th, circular to the States are before a Committee and will in a day or two be Reported upon as to Flour and meat. the great objects of drawing forth in time a competent regular Army and laying up Magazines will soon come in and I hope soon go through Congress that the several States may proceed to make the Necessary provisions.³ I shall leave this place on Thursday for Virginia and mean to attend our next session of Assembly in hopes of promoting a cession on the part of the State of their claim to the Lands to the N. W. of the Ohio to the united States which will be recommended to all the States having unappropriated western territory for the purpose of completing the Confederation.⁴ I shall be glad to hear from you while there

³ Washington's letter of Aug. 20 to which Jones refers is that to Congress, read Aug. 28 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII, 386). That of Aug. 27 was a circular to the states (*ibid.*, p. 410), read in Congress Sept. 4. Cf. his letters to Congress Sept. 6, 8, 15 (*ibid.*, pp. 421, 425, 440). The letter of Aug. 20 and the three last mentioned are also in *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII, 156, 184, 189, 205. It was in consequence of these letters, particularly the first, that a new arrangement of the army was proposed. See the *Journals*, Aug. 28, Sept. 4, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 28, Oct. 3, 21; also no. 404, *ante*, and nos. 428, 432-434, 451, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Sept. 6 (especially the motion of Jones and Madison) and Sept. 9; also nos. 29, 93, 288, *ante*, 426, 430, 442, 443, 458, 477, 486, 519, 521, 525, 563, 616, 622-629, *post*. Cf. the resolves offered by Witherspoon Sept. 6, 25, 1782.

In a letter to an unidentified correspondent, Aug. 2, Cyrus Griffin discusses, in connection with a project for the establishment of an institution of learning on the banks of the Ohio, some aspects of the Western land problem and alludes (apparently) to the resolution of Oct. 30, 1779, and the Virginia remonstrance of December following. "I am astonished", he says, "the memorial addressed to Congress in January last has

upon any matters that may occur and you shall think proper to communicate.

PHILA: 6th Sept. 1780

423. JAMES LOVELL TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

Sept. 7th 1780.

Hon. Sir,

With a letter of former dates² I have to inclose to you some further proceedings of Congress respecting Bills drawn upon you, and to acknowledge the Receipt of yr. Letter of May 31st. I think I can venture now to assure you that not a single Draught more will be made upon you let the occasion be ever so pressing. But you must be entreated to work with all Energy as to the past. You cannot conceive of the whole Train of Necessities which led to such Decissions after what you had written.

Congress have called for 3 millions more estimating in silver to be pd. by the last of December. Nothing but the Weight of Taxes will put an End to the Levity with which our Currency is treated.

New York has empowered her Delegates to cede part of her western Claims; it is recommended to others who have such like to relinquish also a Portion and Maryland is anew invited to close the Ratification of the confederating articles. We must as a whole show more Vigor than of late.

424. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

MORRISTOWN 8th Sept. 1780.

My Hon'd and Dear Sir,

. . . . The state of my health has been for some time exceedingly unfavourable tho I am now much better than at any time for a month past. I am now (with considerable assistance in the Copying way) making out the report of the Committee² which I hope to have compleated within 8 or ten days, upon which I shall set out immediately for N. Hampr. where I will finish the main part of this Letter.

Affairs at the Southward continue disagreeable. Accounts here are that Genl. Gates and his Army at South Carolina are mostly cut off by Cornwallis, particulars you will doubtless have sooner by other Conveyances.

I am not much elated with expectations from this Campaign! Time will undeceive the public—some future day they will be able to judge who has

not been acted upon. to my judgment it is a matter of real importance, and I hope the united states will view the affair in the same light that I do tho our finances are not a little pressing. I wish it was in my power to assist the memorial, but I have quitted Congress for two or three years probably." Haverford College, Roberts Coll., 722.

[423]¹ Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers, XIX. 68; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 52.
² See no. 381, *ante*.

[424]¹ Library of Congress, Force Trans., Weare, p. 180.

² The report, consisting of a record of the principal part of their correspondence and proceedings, and closing with a short statement, was presented to Congress Nov. 16. The statement, dated Nov. 1, is in the *Journals* under Nov. 16. This volume constitutes no. 11 of the Papers of the Continental Congress. Another copy, presumably one retained by Peabody, is in the New Hampshire Historical Society. See no. 446, *post*.

kept them in Ignorance—who has been the faulty Cause of prolonging this distressing War. but I add no more upon so *disagreeable*, so *delicate* a subject.

The Army under Genl. Washington from their increasing numbers and prospect of Supplies, when I left them,³ formed sanguine expectations. But alas the scene is chang'd. The golden opportunity will be lost.

425. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADA. September 9, 1780.

Sir,

Your letter of the 20. Ult. hath been received and laid before Congress, since which we have received Intelligence more favourable respecting the Action near Cambden the 16. Ult. "that a Part of the Continental Troops made good their retreat, and an Army are again collecting".²

Enclosed you will receive an Act of Congress of the 8. Instant, by which you will be informed, that it is intended to lay up Magazines of Provisions and Forage for an Army of fifteen thousand Men for six Months in the southern Department.

You will also observe what Measures Congress have recommended by the Act enclosed for reinforcing the southern Army under your Command.

Some further Measures are under Consideration, which, as soon as completed will be sent forward. The Board of War will inform you what they have done and are doing to supply Arms with other Articles and Camp Equipage necessary for the southern Army.

It is to [be] hoped that the Panick which it seems had seised the Militia will wear off, and that you may yet be able to check the Progress of the Enemy until more effectual Measures may be taken to expel them from South Carolina and Georgia.

426. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular

PHILADELPHIA September 10, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 6. Instant, adopting the Report of a Committee, together with Copies of the several Papers referred to in the Report.

³ See no. 346, note 3, *ante*.

[425]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 97; N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, II. 133.

² The statement is doubtless based on Jefferson's letter of Sept. 3 and Governor Nash's letter of Aug. 23, both read in Congress Sept. 7. A report on Gates's letter of Aug. 20 was brought in the same day, but recommitted. See Jefferson's several letters of Sept. 3 (*Official Letters*, II. 182-187). Those to President Huntington, to Washington, and to General Stevens are in *Writings*, II. 331-334.

[426]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 71; Mass. Arch., CCIII, 76; Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M.H.S.), XII. 287; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XII. 287; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 102; British Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 100 (old reference A. W. I. 138: 581; letter to the President of New Hampshire, intercepted); William L. Clements Library, Clinton Papers (to the President of the Massachusetts council); *Royal Gazette, Extraordinary*, Nov. 9, 1780 (letter to Rhode Island, intercepted); *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 92; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 189.

I am directed to transmit Copies of this Report, and the several Papers therein mentioned to the Legislatures of the several States, that they all may be informed of the Desires and Endeavours of Congress on so important a Subject, and those particular States which have Claims to the western Territory, and the State of Maryland may adopt the Measures recommended by Congress in Order to obtain a final Ratification of the Articles of Confederation

Congress impressed with a Sense of the vast Importance of the Subject have maturely considered the same, and the Result of their Deliberation is contained in the enclosed Report, which being full and expressive of their Sentiments upon the Subject; without any additional Observations it is to be hoped and most earnestly desired, that the Wisdom, Generosity and Candour of the Legislatures of the several States which have it in their Power on the one Hand to remove the Obstacles, and on the other to complete the Confederation, may direct them to such Measures, in Compliance with the earnest Recommendations of Congress, as shall speedily accomplish an Event so important and desirable as the final Ratification of the Confederation by all the States.²

427. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL HOLTEN.¹

Sepr. 10th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I send you by Capt. Barry an Index to the Journals of 1778. We have not yet the particulars of the Defeat of our army from Genl. Gates but we have an account from Genl. [Governor] Nash² to the Delegates of North Carolina much more favorable than we had reason to look for after the first Letter on the Subject. Mankind are so much governed in Judgment by Events that I fear Genl. Gates will lose much Reputation. He thought he should have as much Influence with the militia in that Quarter as in another and therefore made several attempts (to rally)³ there till he was drawn far from the Spot where the action began; and had a right to conclude on the ceasing of the fire that the small Remains of his army was cut intirely off or dissipated. Being also among very disaffected people he would have been momentarily exposed to be betrayed as he was without even a guard of Horse. He thought it his Business to endeavor to get from the general assembly at Hillsborough Something of a new Army.

Had he stayed luckily with the small Body of Continentals he would only have been blamed for not exerting himself to rally the militia, a trifling Slur to what he now meets with.

² See the *Journals*, Sept. 6; also no. 422, and note 4, *ante*. The enclosures, as found in *Clinton Papers*, VI. 190-205, are: the declaration of Maryland, Dec. 15, 1778; the instructions to the Maryland delegates, same date; the Virginia remonstrance, Dec. 14, 1779; and the New York act of Feb. 19, 1780.

[427]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XIII. 215.

² Governor Nash's letter, Aug. 23, is in *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 60.

³ An interpolation in *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*

I am persuaded there is a good Body of Men together by this time. I only fear about magazines and arms. We have recommended Provision to be made there for 15,000 as it is to be hoped that something may be done at the southward if *nothing* should be done in this Quarter. . . .

428. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADA. September 12, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 24. Ulto., making farther Provision for the Officers of the Army respecting their Rations, and extending the half Pay granted to Officers by the Resolution of the 15. of May 1778 to the Widows or Children (as the Case may be) of such Officers as have died or may die in the Service also repealing a restricting Clause in the last mentioned Resolution, and ascertaining the half Pay of General Officers in Proportion to their present Pay.

You have also enclosed an Act of Congress of the 11. Instant requesting the State of Virginia to furnish her quota of Supplies as speedily as may be agreeable to the Requisition of the 25. of February last, with an Addition of five thousand Barrels of Flour.

You will also observe by this Act of the 11. Instant the Expediency of sending forward to the Southern Army a Corps of Artillery and a Reinforcement of Cavalry is referred to the Commander in Chief.

I have also enclosed for your Information an Act of Congress of the 12. Ulto. in Consequence of a Memorial from the General Officers. This Act which makes Provision in Favour of the Officers and Soldiers was mislaid by Accident in the Secretarys Office or it would have been sooner transmitted.

P. S. Your Despatches of the 30. Ulto. have been duly received Those addressed to Genl. Washington were immediately forwarded and your Intelligence communicated to the Minister of France agreeable to your Request.

S. H.

429. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT .
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, September 12, 1780.

Sir,

. . . Congress are now engaged to devise ways and means if possible to have an army of twenty five thousand men at least, engaged during the war, with magazines of provision for six months before hand; could this be accomplished there is the greatest reason to believe a negotiation in earnest for peace would soon take place.²

[428]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 101.

[429]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III, 135.

² The new arrangement of the army, reported by the committee on sundry letters from General Washington, Aug. 20 and following, was adopted Oct. 3, with an amendment Oct. 21. See no. 422, note 3, *ante*.

From the best intelligence it appears beyond a doubt that the British administration flatter themselves that such is the state of our finances, and the circumstances of this country, we cannot any longer keep up an army; upon this they buoy up their hope and encourage their people that we shall soon submit to their terms.

They have every appearance in Europe against them. The late declaration of Russia to support the rights of neutrality operates powerfully against them, and is acceded to by most of the maritime neutral powers of Europe already, and will be, most likely, by all.

I hope no exertion will be wanting on the part of Congress, or any of the States, to establish an army without delay. It seems highly probable we cannot want them long in service, unless the British should obtain some very capital advantage by sea.

430. JAMES MADISON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.¹

PHILA. Sept. 12th 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . The delay of Ternay's 2d division and the report of its being shut up in Brest have brought our hopes from the present campaign very low. They have been a little revived within a few days by sundry concurring information that a large French fleet from the West Indies is on our coast.²

We have the comfort to find from every successive account from the Southward that the late unfortunate affair in that quarter, although truly distressing, is by no means so fatal as was at first held up to us. Our scattered troops are again embodying, and as a sense of shame is now joined to a sense of public danger in the Militia it is to be hoped they will endeavour to cancel their disgrace by extraordinary exertions. Congress have recommended it to Virga. and N Carolina to form Magazines for a large army, to the former to hasten the march of her new levies, and the latter to take immediate measures for filling her continental line.³

Congress have also at length entered seriously on a plan for finally ratifying the confederation. Convinced of the necessity of such a measure, to repress the hopes with which the probable issue of the campaign will inspire our enemy as well as to give greater authority and vigor to our public councils, they have recommended in the most pressing terms, to the States claiming unappropriated back lands, to cede a liberal portion of them for the general benefit. As these exclusive claims formed the only obstacle with Maryland there is no doubt that a compliance with this recommendation will bring her into the confederation. How far the States holding the back lands may be disposed to give them up cannot be so easily determined. From the sentiments of the most intelligent persons which

[430]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 50 (part); *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 67 (part).

² See no. 415, *ante*, and no. 443, *post*. He next refers to the news of the separation of the French and Spanish fleets.

³ See the *Journals*, Sept. 8, 11.

have come to my knowledge, I own I am pretty sanguine that they will see the necessity of closing the union in too strong a light to oppose the only expedient that can accomplish it.⁴

431. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL (JAMES BOWDOIN).¹

BOSTON 14th September 1780.

Sir,

Having lately returned to this State, I embrace the earliest Opportunity of attending the General Assembly, to make such Communications as they may judge expedient respecting the Proceedings of Congress during the Time of my being a Member thereof; and to lay before them an account of the annual expenditure of the united States, exclusive of foreign Supplies, since the Commencement of the War; the Sum borrowed by Congress on Loan Certificates; the Particulars of their amount against this State; and the Loans advanced by them to the Several States.

I must now beg leave to inform the assembly that in adjusting the Quotas of Massachusetts and Rates of Supplies required on February last of the respective states,² I thot it necessary to represent to Congress, that the state of Massachusetts and several other States were greatly overburdened; and to make proposition for their Relief. Opposition being

⁴ See no. 422, note 4, *ante*. Replying to Madison, Sept. 25, Pendleton wrote:

"I have thought long ago that 'twas high time the confederation was completed, and feared some foreign powers might entertain from its delay, suspicions of some secret disunion amongst the States, or a latent intention in Congress to keep it open for purposes unworthy of them; I am happy to hear it is resumed and think it becoming, and indeed an indispensable duty in this, as in all other social compacts, for the contracting members to yield points to each other, in order to meet as near the center of general good as the different jarring interests can be brought, and did it depend upon my opinion I would not hesitate to yield a very large portion of our back lands to accomplish this purpose, except for the reason which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of his Hotspur.* In reason and justice the title of Virginia to the western territory can no more be questioned than to any other spot in it. The point was fully and warmly agitated in Congress and determined in her favor, 12 States were satisfied and agreed to confederate, and yet one stops the whole business setting up her judgment in opposition to so many. Yield to her in this, may she not play the same game to gain any future point of interest? I am told that Maryland insists upon one of our delegates having in a manner promised when the point of declaring independence was in debate, that the back lands should be a fund for supporting the war. I have (heard) that a rhetorical expression to that purpose was used by a gentleman on that occasion. [I] can balance that account at least by a very serious question more in point, debated in Congress in 1775, when the delegates from Pennsylvania and Virginia proposed that a garrison of 400 men be raised and kept at common expense at Pittsburg to awe the Indians. It was warmly opposed from *Maryland* upon this ground that it was a [scheme] of those two States merely to guard their own frontiers in which the others were not concerned, and therefore the expense must be incurred by the former. Their objections prevailed, the motion was rejected, and the two States raised the 200 men [each for] that service soon afterwards." [There are further remarks upon the subject. The brackets used above are in the printed text.] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, second ser., XIX. 113.

* "I'll give thrice so much land
To any well deserving friend:
But in the way of bargain, mark ye me,
I'll cavil on the ninth part of a hair."

[431] Mass. Arch., CCIII. 100.

² With regard to the quotas of troops see the *Journals*, Jan. 24, Feb. 1 to 9; with regard to the quotas of supplies see the *Journals*, Feb. 9 to 25. Cf. no. 43, note 3, *ante*.

made thereto, I required the yeas and nays on each Proposition, that the legislatures of said states might be informed of the Matter, and be better enabled to obtain Redress, but being over ruled by Congress in a Manner which I conceived to be *inconsistent with order*, and thus reduced to the necessity of seeing the grievances of those states unredressed, and the cause thereof concealed, I thot it my Duty to withdraw from Congress, and to remonstrate against their proceedings. In consequence thereof, sundry Resolutions and letters passed, Copies of which are inclosed for the consideration of the Assembly. These relate to the privilege of requiring the yeas and nays on question of order, the use of which at this Time was rendered indispensably necessary by the proceedings of the House: for when any Motion was made to redress the Grievances mentioned, it was declared to be "out of order" altho' conformable to the Rules and usage of the House; and when the yeas and nays were required on the question of order, agreeable to the privilege of every Member, this was also over ruled; by which Means, the Sense of the House could not be obtained on the motions for Redress, neither could any entry thereof, or of the Members of the Manner by which they were suppressed, be made on the *journals* of Congress.³

But as it may take up too much of the Time of the Hona. assembly, to enter into a Detail of the Matter, and to point out the unjust and heavy expences that will be brot on the State, unless the Resolution of Congress respecting the Quotas of Men and Rates or Supplies are revised. and great allowances are made to the state. I shall suspend for the present any further observations on the Subject and communicate my Sentiments to a Committee whenever the assembly shall think it expedient to appoint one for this purpose.⁴

432. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADA September 15, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of this Day, requesting the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut to furnish weekly one thousand Head of Cattle for the Army in the Proportion mentioned in the Act; and in Order to obtain an immediate Supply until Beeves can be brought from the States above mentioned, the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware are called upon to furnish with all possible Despatch two thousand and fifty six Head of Cattle.

The Army have at different Times been without Meat for several Days, a Situation too distressing, and alarming in its Consequences, to be again suffered to take Place in Future, if possible to be prevented.

Congress upon mature Deliberation under present Circumstances could not devise any other Measures than those adopted by the Act enclosed to

³ See nos. 55, 59, 124, 137, *ante*.

⁴ See no. 445, *post*.

[432]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., no. 51, vol. XIII., p. 8; Mass. Arch., CCIII. 105; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 103.

supply the Army for the present Campaign; and should either of the States fail substantially to comply with this Requisition it is more than probable the Army must disband, or supply themselves at the Point of the Bayonet, and the most fatal Consequences must ensue.

We have no other Resource left, or Expectation of supplying the [army in] such Manner as shall enable them to keep the Field the remainder of this Campaign, but from the vigorous Exertions of the several States above mentioned in Compliance with the enclosed Resolutions of Congress.²

433. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY (WILLIAM LIVINGSTON).¹

PHILADA. September 15, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of this Date, requesting the several States therein mentioned to furnish fat Cattle to supply the Army in Proportion therein expressed.

Congress found themselves under the Necessity of requesting the State of New Jersey to furnish for an immediate Supply, until Cattle may arrive from the eastern States, 275 Head. If the Measures adopted by the Act enclosed should be complied with, as we trust they will be; there will be no Want in future of Supplies for the Army this Campaign. The Necessity of the Measure is absolutely indispensable; and we believe the State of New Jersey which hath so frequently exerted itself on pressing Emergencies, will not be wanting in her Endeavours to comply with the present Requisition

Congress would have exempted that State from the present Request could they have devised any other Means to feed the Army, but as that was not in their Power, it is requested in the most urgent Terms that the Number of Beeves mentioned may be furnished with all possible Despatch, as well to prevent the impending Distresses of the Army, as the consequent Distress that must fall upon the Inhabitants in the Vicinity of the Army.²

434. JOHN MATHEWS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 15th 1780.

My Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 9th inst. by Dr. Craig, two days ago.

There is a new arrangement for the Medical Department now before Congress, and nearly compleated, by which there will be a very great reduction of officers. By the new System there will be fifteen principal

² See the *Journals*, Sept. 14, 15. Cf. no. 422, *ante*, and no. 433, *post*.

[433]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 105; N. J. State Lib.; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 266 (dated Sept. 14).

² See the *Journals*, Sept. 14, 15, and no. 432, *ante*.

[434]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 87.

officers to be elected by Congress, which I apprehend will be but too much influenced by that spirit which has given a well grounded alarm to the Gentlemen concerned.² Evidently to evince how far such a disposition has already operated, the new Q. M. G. is allowed to hold his commission at the Board of War, in direct violation of a law of Congress, and which has been uniformly practised upon, (except in a few instances of no importance.) But to suffer a man to hold two Commissions of the first consequence under the United States, savors so strongly of an outrageous partiality, that I shall be surprised at nothing, that may hereafter happen.

I have the pleasure of being acquainted with most of the Gentlemen mentioned by Yr. Excellency, and know their worth, and no endeavours shall be wanting on my part, to promote their reestablishment, but I fear it will not be in my power to do them much service, for I find there is a decided party formed against the Committee that were at camp, which I have reason seriously to dread will be productive of no good to our public affairs. I owe much to the public but still I owe something to myself, and can never tamely suffer a set of miscreants to triumph over me with impunity. Regardless of our Characters, as members of their own body, I find we are to be considered as Qr. Masters etc., and lyable to equal insults without the least pretensions to call such conduct in question, but I can assure them they will find me of a temper by no means calculated to answer their newfangled Dogmas.³

Although I had heard a good deal, and seen something, of the rancour of these demagogues yet I never imagined it had risen to that height, I was made to *feel* it had done, on my resuming my seat in Congress. I took the first opportunity, of going very largely into the state of our affairs, in order to found some propositions, which I made, but without allowing them to be worthy of a commitment, much less, of their consideration. they were in the lump rejected.⁴ However I have this consolation, to reflect they were approved by those, whose disinterestedness, and judgment, I have the best opinion of. Such an insult I never saw offered to any member of Congress before. It shews such a determined, and premeditated prejudice, as must inevitably lay me under the necessity of doing what I would wish most earnestly to avoid.⁵ I beg your pardon, Sir, for detaining you so long on a subject relative to myself, but as my plan (above mentioned) was for the establishment of a permanent army, and the means of supporting the war, I thought it a subject you were so much

² Washington's letter to Mathews Sept. 9 is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 428, (ed. Sparks), VII. 192. See also Mathews to the medical committee Aug. 10 (no. 371, *ante*). The initiation of the hospital measure appears to have been through a letter of Dr. Shippen Aug. 22, referred the same day to a committee who made a report on part of the letter Aug. 28 and a further report Sept. 9. Sept. 11 consideration of the report was assigned for Wednesday, Sept. 13. See, further, the *Journals*, Sept. 13, 22, 23, 30, Oct. 2, 6; cf. nos. 440, 460, *post*.

³ See nos. 373, 376, 383, 394, 400, *ante*.

⁴ The propositions were doubtless the motion of which Lovell speaks in his letters to Gerry Sept. 5 and Nov. 20 (no. 420, *ante*, and no. 518, *post*). For the removal of a geographical restriction on Washington's powers see nos. 232, 248, 287, 322, note 17, *ante*, and the *Journals*, Aug. 2.

⁵ Cf. no. 400, *ante*, and no. 451, *post*.

interested in that it would not be unacceptable to you to know the result of my endeavours, and how little prospect I have of being farther useful to this end, for I suppose any future propositions of mine will be immediately exploded, "as too strongly tinctured with those *Army principles*, which I had imbibed, whilst with them". I cannot but think it hard, that a man who wishes to be useful, should be thus unjustly precluded from being so. however, I know the rectitude of my intentions, and can at all times retire to my own bosom for my justification, and whilst that Monitor supports me, I shall continue to act my part regardless of every contentious spirit.

Your Excellency's letter of the 20 Ulto. has now been twenty four days in the hands of a Committee. I have repeatedly called for a report from them, but by what I can find, little or nothing has been yet done upon it. this does not at all surprise me, and I dare say by the time the Committee, and Congress have done with it, the time will arrive, when the army ought to be in the field. This ruinous delay I wanted to prevent, by Congress taking up my propositions in the first instance, but by their not doing it, I may readily conclude, it militated too much against the plan they have in contemplation, and therefore further conclude, it will not be such a one, as will in its operation, be effectual. This may look like arrogating too much to myself, but the event will prove whether I am right, or not.⁶

I have the honor to be with the highest respect and Esteem

Yr. Exc'sy most Obedt. Servt.

JOHN MATHEWS.

435. SAMUEL ADAMS TO JOHN LOWELL.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 15, 1780.

On Tuesday last, Congress took up the disputes relating to the New Hampshire grants, agreeably to an order, which passed the 9th of June, and for want of nine states, exclusive of the three interested ones, the matter was put off till yesterday. The delegates of New Hampshire and New York, were prepared with instructions from their respective states. A letter from Mr. Chittenden and others styling themselves "The Executive Council of Vermont", was sent in by their agents now in this city, claiming the rights of sovereignty of an independent state, and refusing to submit the question of their independence to Congress, as being incompetent to judge and determine thereon. As there was no question proposed, a conversation, rather than a debate, ensued, which ended with a call for adjournment at the usual hour. This day, a letter was sent in to the president from agents in Vermont, praying that in case any question should be agitated concerning the rights and independence of their state, they might be admitted to be present and hear the debates. Another conversation was begun, which was very soon interrupted by a call of the attention of the house to the present state and circumstances of the army. I am of opinion that Congress will not easily agree in the question proper

⁶ See nos. 404, 422, 432, 433, *ante*, and nos. 435, 440, 451, 479, *post*.

[435]¹ *Writings of Samuel Adams* (ed. Cushing), IV. 203; N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers (draft, dated Sept. 17); *Hist. Mag.*, I. 260.

to be first put, however obvious it may seem to be. This is among a thousand other affairs with which it is the fate of Congress to be plagued to the exclusion of considerations of infinitely greater consequence, and which require immediate attention. As an individual, I wish most heartily that it could subside, as things of much greater moment generally do, till "a more convenient season". But New York presses hard for a decision, and I submit to *your judgment* whether it would not be *prudent* that the claims of Massachusetts to the lands in question should be here in *readiness*, lest a *construction* should be put on a *further delay* that a consciousness in the Assembly, of the state having no right in them is the *real occasion* of it. I mention this *to you in particular*, because I recollect how far you had gone in investigating the *title*. If you can be spared from the *Assembly*, I hope you will be appointed to *vindicate the claim*.²

I just now told you that the attention of Congress was called to the army. General Washington has written several letters acquainting Congress of the distressed circumstances of the army for want of provisions and particularly meat. They have several times lately, been without provisions for three or four days. They have even plundered the neighboring villages, and what will be the consequence of such a spirit in our army if it should prevail, may be easily conceived. You are sensible that the dependence is chiefly on the Eastern States for that kind of supply. Massachusetts has indeed been more punctual than the rest. The Commissary General has told me that the very existence of the army has been in a great measure owing to the industry and care of our Committee at Springfield. Yet even *our* supplies have not been equal to expectation. 597 head of cattle have been sent from Massachusetts to the army from the first of July to the seventh of September. About 200 to the posts at the Northward and about 200 to the French army, which last are not included in the supply required as our quota. Congress have pressing called upon New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut for 1000 head weekly, less than which will not be more than sufficient for the immediate demands of the army. Our quota is 285 as you will see by a resolution forwarded by this express. Besides which, magazines must be laid up this winter for the army next year. Indeed, my friend, we must make the utmost exertion in the great cause. It is now 12 o'clock, and the express will set off very early in the morning. . . .

436. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF
PENNSYLVANIA (JOSEPH REED).¹

PHILADA. September 16, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 15. Instant, requesting the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut to furnish for the Army one thousand Head of Cattle

² See the *Journals*, Sept. 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 26, 27, 30, Oct. 6; also no. 253, note 2, 399, *ante*, and no. 452, note 2, *post*.

[436]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 106; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 560.

weekly, which will supply the Army from the Time they begin to arrive, through the Campaign.

But in the mean Time to supply the immediate Wants of the Army, Congress find themselves compelled to request the State of Pennsylvania to furnish with all possible Despatch twelve hundred and fifty one Beeves.

Should the several States fully comply with these Requisitions, the Army will be well supplied with Meat, but should they fail, the most fatal Consequences may ensue.

The Commander in Chief hath been exceedingly distressed at the Prospect before him respecting the Supplies of Meat, and Congress have determined to do every thing in their Power to give the needful Relief. I am sensible your Excellency is too well acquainted with the Distresses, and dangerous Consequences that must attend a starving Army, to require any Motives in my Power to express, for calling forth every necessary Exertion to prevent a Scene so calamitous.

437. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF DELAWARE
(CAESAR RODNEY).¹

PHILADA. September 16, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 15. Instant, requesting the several States therein mentioned to furnish Beef for supplying the Army in Proportion as expressed in the Act.

You will observe that three of the eastern States are requested to furnish one thousand Head of Cattle weekly. This will supply the Army through the present Campaign, after those Cattle shall begin to arrive at Camp; but in the mean Time for an immediate Supply, the State of Delaware is requested with all possible Despatch to furnish five Hundred and thirty Head of Cattle

The Army have been without Meat for several Days at different Times, a Situation too distressing and alarming in its Consequences to be again suffered to take Place

If the Requisitions contained in this Act be complied with by the several States, there will be no future Want of Meat for the Army this Campaign; but should they fail of a Compliance the most fatal Consequences must ensue

I am therefore to request in the strongest Terms that the Number of Beeves required from the Delaware State may be forwarded with as little Delay as possible, and flatter myself that from the pressing Necessity of the Case, that State will without Loss of Time comply with the present Requisition.

[437]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 107.

438. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Septem'r 16, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Congress have not yet come to a Single resolution Respecting vermont, Though it has been five Days on the Tapis.² New york Seems Disposed to have a Determination against its being an Independant State, and then to have Commiss appointed to Say whether it falls to new-york or New Hamps'e. General Foulson and myself have opposed this and urged the appointment of Commissioners in the first Instance, both upon principles of policy and upon a Conviction of the want of power in Congress To take any other Step agreeable to the Articles of Confederation.

I Last Evening received Letters from Several Persons of note in that Quarter and the adjacent parts of New Hamps're Expressive of the Sentiments of the people assuring me that a Division of the Grants will be Disagreeable to all; That if Congress are Determined they shall not be Independant Seven Eights of them will Petition Congress to Reunite them to New Hamps're. Colo alcott of vermont waited on me and assured me that this was the General Sentiment of the People. I shall therefore be Less violent in my opposition to that Question in future. I am Exceeding happy to find that new york have appointed three Gentlemen of high Spirits and all Deeply Interested in the Event To appear as agents for that State breathing out nothing but Death and Slaughter against those people who have So Long Set their authority at Defiance and painting the Bitter Enmity which they have Ever Discovered against the Yorkers. To this I have Endeavoured to oppose the moderate Spirit of New-Hampshire; her readiness to Acquiesce in the Determination of Congress and Even though the Land is Clearly within her Limits to Submit to its being a Separate State if Congress Should find it for The good of the whole. I have assisted the Yorkers in Establishing the Fact, of an utter aversion of those people to Live under their Jurisdiction; and at the Same time have taken Care to mention [maintain] the Harmony which has Ever Subsisted between them and new Hampshire This I find is likely to have the Effect Intended the members begin to see that If the Lands are adjudged to new york the Continent must be Involved in a war to Inforce the Determination of Congress which can only be avoided by adjudging it to New Hamps're and I am Convinced this will finally Turn the Scale in favor of new Hampshire. . . .

We have nothing new Since Genl. Gates' Defeat I have seen a private Letter from Genl. Smallwood giving a particular Account of the Action the Loss on our Side was about two hundred the Enemy's five hundred the Brave Marylanders after being Deserted by the militia and the Commander in Chief performed wonders, and Retired with Regularity. General Smallwood had not heard of General Gates when he wrote as

[438]¹ *Hist. Magazine*, XXIII. 108; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XXXV. 93; *N. H. State Papers*, X. 375.

² See no. 435, note 2, *ante*.

he had retired 200 miles from the place of Action before he wrote the Letter which So much frightened those who believed it of which I never was in the number. we have this day recd. Intelligence from new york that the Second Division of the French Fleet is on the Coast. I rejoice that Genl. Washington Gives New Hampshire Credit for Complying with the requisitions of Congress better than any other State I wish her to Continue her Exertions as the Army is Literally Starving—I fear will Disband we are using Every Exertion to Remedy the Evils which Surround us, but it is a very Late Hour for the Business though I hope not too Late.

439. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

[September 18, 1780.]

The whole of the late conduct of Congress relative to you, sir, and to the committee, had it appeared in any other age than the present, or in any other body of men than those who resort together in Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, it would have been a phenomenon astonishing to all who beheld it.²

440. JAMES DUANE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 19 Septem'r 1780.

My dear General,

I am to acknowledge the honour of your Excellency's favour of the 9th Instant on the Subject of the Hospital Department. your Solicitude that Gentlemen of distinguished Merit should be employed is a continued proof of your Attention to the Publick good; and those you particularize will not fail of being supported.²

We are deeply engaged on the Subjects of your Excellency's several Letters; considerable Progress is made in that which is the principal the raising a permanent Army Congress unite in Sentiment that it is essential, that it is the surest and the only means of producing an honorable Peace: to render it practicable and certain is the Difficulty. There is in my Mind no Question but that it will be submitted for your Opinion before it becomes conclusive.³

[439]¹ Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, II. 339 (extract).

² Greene had written to Peabody Sept. 6: "You have had your day of difficulty as well as I. Congress seems to have got more out of temper with the committee than with me; and I am told, charge great part of the difficulties on the committee, that have taken place between the committee and me. . . . The committee stand fair with the army, and I believe with the public at large; and bad as our condition is, I believe we are altogether indebted to the committee for the tolerable state we are in" (*Life of Greene*, II., 333; Farmer and Moore, *Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous*, III. 9); see also Col. Alexander Scammell to Peabody Sept. 5 (*ibid.*, III. 286). A sketch of Peabody is *ibid.*, pp. 1-16.

[440]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 92.

² There is a letter to Mathews, Sept. 9, respecting the medical department (see no. 434, *ante*), but such a letter to Duane has not been found.

³ Cf. no. 422, note 3, *ante*, and no. 451, note 3, *post*. Washington's reply to this letter, Oct. 4, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 464, (ed. Sparks), VII. 226.

I find with great Satisfaction that the Legislature of New York have fallen in with the Views of the Eastern Convention and particularly to strengthen the Hands of Congress, and enable them to enforce their Decisions: We can never manage the publick Interests with Success till this Disposition becomes general: Nor can any thing else, under the Divine Blessing, be necessary to give us a decided Superiority over our Enemies: We have now obtained military Knowledge in an eminent Degree we have internal Resources and Reputation abroad: we have a great and respectable Ally: Of what then are we destitute but Vigour and Confidence in Government, and publick Spirit in Individuals?⁴

441. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Septem'r 19th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I do my self the honour to write your Excellency by this post, And am sorry to acquaint you that notwithstanding publick business of the most pressing nature is now suffering before Congress we have spent three days to no purpose in the affair of Vermont and are still engaged in the same business and when we shall get clear of it I know not or what we shall do in the affair. The Yorkers push the matter almost beyond the bounds of Modesty. I can only say I am sorry from my heart that Congress has taken up the Matter by their former Resolution in the manner they have And let us do what we will I fear the most fatal consequences will follow I cannot give you particulars at this time.²

Congress have in contemplation to raise an Army of 32,000 Non Commissioned officers and privates to be in the field by the first day of January next at furthest, to serve one year at least, To consist of four Regts. of Cavalry four of Artillery forty-Nine of Infantry and one of Artificers the whole to be proportioned to the several states and all the rest and residue of the Regts. and Corps to be reduced on the first day of January next. the above is the report of a Committee which is not yet considered and probably [*sic*] will under go some alterations but I think the substance will pass.³

⁴ Respecting the efforts at this time to obtain an increase of the powers of Congress see no. 469, note 6, *post*. Cf. no. 402, *ante*. In his reply to Duane, Washington remarked: "I share with you the pleasure you feel from the measures taking to strengthen the hands of Congress. I am convinced it is essential to our safety, that Congress should have an efficient power. The want of it must ruin us."

[441]¹ R. I. Arch., Letter to the Governors, 1780; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 313.

² See no. 435, note 2, *ante*.

³ See the *Journals*, Oct. 3; also no. 422, note 3, 440, *ante*, and nos. 451, 479, *post*. Cf. Cornell to Greene Sept. 10, in Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 312.

442. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL HOLTEN.¹

Sepr. 19th 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . We are in the Labyrinths of Vermont and are also driven to be [sic] contriving how to *buy* some Portion of that western World which the *Big Knife* pretends to *give* us.²

443. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

Sepr. 19th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Instead of a confirmation of the good news respecting the french fleet mentioned in my last, I have the mortification to inform you that it is pretty certain that Rodney has arrived at the Hook with 12 sail of the line and 4 frigates.² The report however still continues that a french fleet is somewhere on the coast.

Yesterday was employed by Congress in discussing the resolutions you left with them. The first and second were passed after undergoing sundry alterations. The clause in the second for allowing the expence of maintaining civil Govt. within the ceded territory was struck out by the committee, and an attempt to get it reinserted in the House was negatived. It was surmised that so indefinite an expression might subject Congress to very exorbitant claims. With respect to Virga. I believe that expence has not been so considerable as to be much worth insisting on. The principal expences may properly be included under the military head. The consideration of the last resolution annulling Indian purchases was postponed; with an intention I believe of not resuming it. It is supposed by some to be unnecessary, by others to be improper as implying that without such previous assurance Congress would have a right to recognize private claims in a territory expressly given up to them for the common benefit. These motives prevailed I am persuaded with more than the real view of gratifying private interest at the public expence. The States may annex what conditions they please to their cessions, and by that means guard them agst. misapplication, or if they only annul all pretended purchases by their own laws before the cessions are made Congress are sufficiently precluded by their general assurance that they shall be applied to the common benefit from admitting any private claims which are opposed to it.³

[442]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 528.

² Big Knife (or Big Knives) is an Indian name for Virginia. Lovell's allusion is to the proposed cession of Western territory by Virginia. In connection with the consideration of the Virginia proposition some steps were taken relative to negotiations with Spain respecting the western boundary and the navigation of the Mississippi, the latter phase of the discussion taking rise from a letter of John Jay, May 6 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 707-734). See the *Journals*, Aug. 14, 21, 22, Sept. 2, 6, 9, 18, 29, Oct. 4, 6, 10, 16, 17. Cf. no. 443, *post*.

The Emmet *Calendar*, which quotes most of this paragraph, curiously interprets it as meaning that Lovell was in Vermont, "contriving how to buy", etc.

[443]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 51 (with omissions); *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 68 (text from Papers).

² See no. 430, *ante*, no. 463, *post*.

³ The resolutions referred to are those moved by Jones and seconded by Madison Sept. 6 and referred to a committee Sept. 9. See the *Journals*, Sept. 18, Oct. 10, and no. 486, *post*; see also no. 422, and note 4, *ante*, nos. 458, 460, 477, *post*.

The Vermont business has been two days under agitation and nothing done in it except rejecting a proposition for postponing the determination of Congress till Commissioners should enquire into the titles and boundaries of N. Hampshire and N York. Congress have bound themselves so strongly by their own act to bring it to an issue at this time and are pressed by N. York so closely with this engagement, that it is not possible any longer to try evasive expedients. For my own part if a final decision must take place I am clearly of opinion that it ought to be made on principles that will effectually discountenance the erection of new Governments without the sanction of proper Authority, and in a style marking a due firmness and decision in Congress.⁴

⁴ See no. 435, note 2, *ante*. Following is Madison's account for attendance, rendered Sept. 20:

"Dr.	James Madison Junr. in account with the Commo[n]wealth of Virginia.	
1779		Dollars
December 1780	To cash received from the Treasury of Virginia.....	6666 $\frac{2}{3}$
April 7.	To the moiety of a draught on the Auditors for 30,000 dollars in favor of S. C. Morris by C. Griffin and J. Madison Jr.	15000
June 23.	To cash received from the Continental Treasury on warrant from Congress dated April 12 for 15000 dollars in favor of C. Griffin and J. Madison Junr., the remainder of the moiety being received by Mr. J. Walker	2500
June	To one third of a draught on the Auditors for 23312 dollars by Jos: Jones Jas. Henry and J. Madison Junr. in favor of Col. Balard negotiated by Levi Hollingsworth	7770 $\frac{2}{3}$
Augst. 30.	To one fourth of a draught on the Auditors for £20,000 Virginia currency by Jos: Jones, J. Madison Junr. and John Walker, received from Theo. Bland Junr.	16666 $\frac{2}{3}$
		<hr/> 48604 $\frac{2}{3}$
Cr.		
1780		Dollars
March 20.	By ferriages in travelling to Philadelphia.....	122
	By allowance of 2 dollars per mile for do.....	520
	By expences in Philadelphia prior to fixed lodgings.....	320 $\frac{2}{3}$
	By expence of boarding from 20 of March to 20 of Septemr.....	21373 $\frac{2}{3}$
	By incidental expences for liquors sugar fruit—not included in board	2459
	By expence of 3 horses from 20 of March to 30 of June and of 2 to the 20 of September at the continental Stables	6034
	By extra expences for do. during a scarcity of forage there.....	577
	By expence for washing.....	1776
	By expence to Barber.....	1020
	By expence in wood.....	605
Sepr. 30.	By allowance of 20 d'rs per day for attendance at Congress from the 20 of March to the 20 of Sepr. being 183 days	3660
		<hr/> 38467 $\frac{1}{3}$
June 15.	By cash advanced to an Express returning to Virginia.....	175
		<hr/> 38642 $\frac{1}{3}$
	Ballance	9962 $\frac{1}{3}$
		<hr/> 48604 $\frac{2}{3}$
Philada. Sepr. 20, 1780		

E E
J. Madison Junr."

444. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADA September 20, 1780.

Sir,

By the Act of Congress of this Day herewith enclosed you will be informed of the Measures they have adopted for² the Removing of the Convention Troops to Fort Frederick in Maryland, in Case it shall be found necessary, and providing Magazines to supply them if removed.

Congress have thought proper to take this Precaution to prevent any Embarrassment or Surprise, though it is to be hoped there may be no Occasion to remove them; but should Circumstances render their Removal necessary, the Governor of Virginia to whom I have transmitted a Duplicate of this Act will give your Excellency seasonable Information thereof.³

445. ELDRIDGE GERRY TO A COMMITTEE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
ASSEMBLY.¹

BOSTON 21st S't 1780.

Gentlemen,

In my Letter to the General Assembly of the 14th Instant,² I proposed to make to the Committee who should be appointed to consider it, some communications (respecting the Requisitions of Congress of the present Year for Men and Supplies), and shall now submit them to your consideration.

By the *journals* of Congress of the 9th of Feby. last, it will appear, that they required of this state 6070 Men as the quota of 35,211 called for from the several States. When this Requisition was debated in Congress, they were informed, that by a late Return made to the General Assembly, there were 343,876 white Inhabitants in this state and that supposing the united States to contain but 2,400,000 free Inhabitants, the state of Massachusetts should be called on for 5045 instead of 6070 Men, as its quota of the 35,211 required for the present Campaign. It was also reported, that if the Inhabitants of the united States were supposed to exceed 2,400,000, the quota of Massachusetts would be proportionably less: and if the whole Number was stated as it was by Congress in the Year 1775, at 3,000,000 and Massachusetts was supposed to contain 431,000 Inhabitants, its quota of the requisition aforesaid would be but 5095,

[444]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 75; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 112; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 111.

² The words "the Measures they have adopted for" were omitted in recording the letter in the letter-book.

³ See the *Journals*, Sept. 20. The board of war wrote to Governor Lee Sept. 21, transmitting the resolution of directions to the board in the matter, and adding: "This Resolution is founded upon a letter from Genl. Green containing Intelligence he received from New York 'that the Enemy had it in Contemplation to invade Virginia, and attempt the Rescue of the Convention Prisoners'" (*Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 114). See also the letter from the board of war, the same day, to the officer commanding the "new raised" regiment of Maryland. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[445]¹ Mass. Arch., CCIII. 116.

² No. 431, *ante*.

so that the State was evidently called on for 775 men more than its proportion (if we rejected the estimate made by Congress in the Year 1775) and for 975 Men more than its proportion (if adjusted by the estimate made by Congress in the Year 1775) and for 2025 Men more than its quota, if computed on an authentic Return of its Inhabitants, and on the most unfavorable Estimate (for the State) that could be made of the whole Number of White Inhabitants in the united States. The apportionment in the Requisition mentioned was however urged because it corresponded with that of the 16th of September 1776, and this was never supposed to be equitable; but was formerly objected to, and only admitted on the presumption that the Men would enlist for the Bounty then offered by Congress, and be no expence to the state. indeed had those bounties been sufficient to have filled the Batalions, the State at that Time, raising more than its proportion of Men must have incurred an expence by increasing the Rate of Labour, and thus have paid a considerable Tax; but as the State also found it indispensibly necessary to give an additional Bounty for raising those Men, it is evident, that the amount thereof as far as it respects the Surplusage of the Men so raised, if not reimbursed, will be a heavy and unjust expence on the State. A Motion was therefore made on the 4th of Feby last to Strike out the quota assigned to Massachusetts Vizt 6070 in order to reduce the Same, and the Motion was negatived as will appear by the *journals* of that Date. Seeing then that this Number would be required of the State, an addition was moved to the resolution of the 9th of feby that no previous apportionment of Men required by Congress of the several States for common Defence, *be used as a precedent*, or considered "*as an adjustment of their respective quotas*", but this was declared to be "out of order", and a motion for the Yeas and Nays on the question of order was also over ruled in the Manner mentioned in my Letter to the Hon. Assembly. Congress on the 9th of Feby had Resolved "That the reasonable expences any State has incurred or may incur by raising and having in the continental army more than what shall hereafter appear to be their *just proportion* of the Troops actually serving in the said army from Time to Time, shall be allowed to such State, and equitably adjusted in a final settlement of their accounts with the united States" but notwithstanding this, the States which have been called on for less than their quotas of Men, may and undoubtedly will hereafter urge, that the Number of Batalions required by Congress from time to time of the several States, was originally intended and ought to be used as a Rule for determining their respective proportions of Troops actually serving in the Army; and should this be the Case, Massachusetts must pay the Expences of raising and having in the Army Troops for the Year 1780, in the proportion of 6070 to 35,211, which is evidently near $1/5$ more than its quota. The expences of each State in furnishing Troops previous to the Depretiation of the Currency, partly arose from the Increase of the Rates of Labour and Bounties, as was before observed; but in addition thereto, the States are now to make good to their respective officers and soldiers the Deficiency of the continental Pay, and are thus responsible for nearly *the whole amount* thereof. Under

such Circumstances is it not evident, that the State exclusive of Gratuities and other Encouragements to its quota of Troops is almost at the whole Expence of raising and paying them, and that every Recruit, including his Bounty, will infer an expence on the State of at least 150 Dollars in Specie, which on 1025 Men required more than its proportion amounts to 153,740 Dollars in Specie!

I shall only add on this Head, that the great extent of Sea Coast which the State has to defend; the Difficulty it meets with in raising or otherwise procuring Grain for the subsistence of its Inhabitants; the Number of Men which it furnishes for the Navy of the united States, and the present Invasion of the Enemy at penobscot, are so many arguments for reducing its quota still lower than 5045 Men; and that the State whilst advancing so large a sum for raising and paying more than its quota of Troops is at least entitled to an assurance that "No former apportionment of Men required of several States shall be considered as in adjustment of their respective quotas or hereafter as a precedent".³

When the Report for Specific Supplies was first debated in Congress, they referred it to a Committee consisting of a Member from each state,⁴ who having altered and adjusted the Quotas, agreed to ascertain the Specie prices by adding 50 per Cent to the former prices of the Articles respectively, nevertheless a Majority of the Committee rated the former prices of Flower at 3 Dollars per hund, 3 reported $4\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars to be the present specie price of that article. An objection was made in Congress to this part of the report and Letters were produced from some of the merchants in Philadelphia to prove that the former price of Flower had not been more than two dollars and an half per hund'd, on an average. A Member also from the state of Pennsylvania who was a merchant and then in Congress, delivered in the Current Prices for several Years previous to the War, and made the Average to be about 18/ Pennsylv. Currency per hundred, which is somewhat less than 272 Dollars. This being ascertained, It was urged that the price of Flower should be fixed at $3\frac{3}{4}$ Dollars according to the agreement of the Committee; for as New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island were to furnish beef and foreign articles the latter of which would cost at least as much as would be allowed by Congress, great Injustice would be done to those States by raising Flower above $3\frac{3}{4}$ Dollars even admitting beef to be raised in proportion, since they could furnish very little if any of the latter, more than their quota. if for Instance, Massachusetts be prepared to pay $\frac{2}{13}$ ths of the continental Tax, its just proportion of 103,302 barells of Flower and of 329,915 hundred of Beef, required by Congress, would be 15,892 barells of Flower and 50,756 hundred of Beef, and by putting Flower at $4\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars per hund'd, Massachusetts will pay $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Dollar extra p. hundred, which on 15,892 barells of two hundred each is 23,878 Dollars in Specie. On the other Hand, the former specie prices of grass-

³ See the *Journals*, Jan. 24 and Feb. 1 to 9.

⁴ A committee on estimates of supplies was appointed Dec. 17, 1779, and made a report Jan. 12, 1780. This report was considered in committee of the whole Jan. 17 and referred to a committee of one from each state. The latter committee brought in its report Feb. 9, and the measure was completed Feb. 25.

fed Beef was reported by the Committee to have been $3\frac{2}{3}$ Dollars per hundred; but supposing it ever as low as $3\frac{2}{3}$ Dollars and it will amount to 5 dollars if enhanced 50 per Cent and only to $6\frac{1}{2}$ dollars if increased in proportion to $4\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars for Flower: from whence it is evident, that as the Just proportion of Beef to be furnished by this State is 50,756 hund'd and it was called on for only 5,244 hundred more than that quantity, all the advantage to the State of increasing the price of Beef above 50 per Cent is $1\frac{1}{4}$ Dollars per hundred, which on the Surplus of 5,244 hund'd amounts to 6555 Dollars in specie: and that deducting this from the 23,838 Dollars which the State loses by raising Flower, there remains 17,283 dollars in specie, which the State will be unjustly taxed by this Manoeuvre of raising Flower above 5 per Ct., even admitting beef to have been raised in proportion. notwithstanding this, the proposition for reducing the price of flower to $3\frac{3}{4}$ dollars was disagreed to, and as the next best Measure it was moved that the price might be enhanced to $4\frac{1}{5}$ dollars, which is 75 pr. Ct. but this was also rejected and the price was fixed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars, as may be seen in the *journal* of the 17th feby last inclosed herewith. It is then moved that grass-fed Beef should be raised in proportion to flower, and fixed to $6\frac{1}{4}$ Dollars, which as was before observed, would be but a small Compensation for the Loss of raising the latter: but the Motion was rejected and the price fixed at $5\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars, as may likewise be seen by the journals, so that in Fact, supposing the former Specie price of flower to have been $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars and of beef $3\frac{1}{3}$ dollars per hund'd, the State is unjustly taxed by the resolution of the 25th of Feby last in the Single article of flower 21,216 dollars in Specie. but there being a greater objection to the Rates of the other Articles, a motion was made to re-commit the Report (for the purpose of adjusting the prices in the proportions agreed on by the Convention held at New Haven in Jany 1778) and was objected to in Point of order: in Consequence of which the Yeas and Nays were required on the question of order, and suppressed in the Manner stated in my Letter to Congress of the 19th of feby last.⁵ the real specie price of flower about that Time, may however appear by the inclosed Copy of a Report of the 9th of March last No. 11⁶ wherein Congress are informed by their Committee, that they were offered 1500 barells of flower at £60 per hund'd, which at the Exchange then current of 60 for 1 was 20/ penn. Currency or $2\frac{2}{3}$ dollars per hund'd, but to put the Matter beyond Doubt respecting the prices of this and other Articles I inclose for the perusal of the Committee, the Commissary General's certificate No. 12 of the prices current on the 11th of April last, together with an estimate conformable thereto, by which it will appear, that if the Rates stipulated by Congress in Feby last are admitted this state will be taxed for supplies then required 155,326 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars in Specie, more than it would, by adjusting the Articles according to the real prices given by the Commissary General.

I have thus Gentlemen reduced my Sentiments to writing that you may be better able to correct such of the principles, and calculations herewith

⁵ No. 55, *ante*. See also nos. 59, 124, 137, *ante*.

⁶ Apparently the report of Feb. 9 is meant (see note 4, above).

submitted, as may appear to be erroneous if they are right. You will perceive that by the Manner in which the Requisitions for Men and supplies, for the present Campaign have been conducted, this State will pay a Tax of 309,076 $\frac{2}{13}$ dollars in specie more than its just proportion, admitting the several states to furnish the Men and Supplies required in February last, and this state to pay $\frac{2}{13}$ of the public expence. That Tax may however be increased or diminished according to the Variation of those principles, but will under any Circumstances be great, unless a Remedy is provided.⁷

Whilst I am on the Subject, I think it my Duty to suggest to the Committee that no provision is yet made or security given by Congress, for the reimbursement of the Money expended on the penobscot Expedition; and that the Interest of the State requires a speedy adjustment thereof.⁸

I have the Honor to be Gentlemen with the highest Esteem and Respect
your very hum Sert.

E. GERRY

Hona. Committee of the General Assembly appointed to consider the Business herein stated.

446. NATHANIEL PEABODY TO JOSIAH BARTLETT.¹

MORRISTOWN 21. Sept. 1780.

Dear Sir,

In my last I inform'd you of my ill state of health, and other Circumstances, but then hop'd to recover my health, and finish the report of the Committee, in a fortnight, which time is now expired, and I am not in a Situation on any account to set off for home, tho, I recover my health daily, and hope in about two weeks from this to be able to ride so as to set out, by which time the report will be Completed.² Admiral Rodney with Ten ships of the line and a Number of Small Craft has arrived off the hook, but as Genl. Folsom who is now on his way home will be able to give you the Common News here it is needless for me to write.

As to those Cabinet matters I happen to be possess'd of I must defer mentioning till I see you which I hope will be in short time.³

[P. S.] Compliments to those that wish well to our Cause.

⁷ Three years after this episode Gerry made an effort to bring Congress to repentance, apologies, and amends, but he was only so far successful as to obtain that a protest from the Massachusetts legislature be presented to Congress. This was done June 6, 1783. Congress took no action upon the matter beyond giving a tacit consent that the protest from the assembly of his state should be filed with his own protesting letters. For this latter phase of the affair see the letter of the Massachusetts delegates July 3, 1783, in a succeeding volume. The whole affair is discussed at some length in Austin's *Life of Gerry*, I. 319 *et seq.* A fresher discussion, by Professor S. E. Morison, is found in his article on Gerry in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and also in an article by him entitled "Elbridge Gerry, Gentleman-Democrat", in the *New England Quarterly* of January, 1929.

[446]¹ Dartmouth College Lib., Bartlett Corr., vol. II., 1779-1790.

² The reference is to the report to Congress by the committee at headquarters, recently recalled. The report, dated Nov. 1, is in the *Journals*, Nov. 16. See nos. 361, 373, 376, 383, 394, 400, 434, 439, *ante*, 469, *post*.

³ In *N. H. State Papers*, XVIII. 713, is a memorial of Peabody, dated Mar. 26, 1782, wherein he sets forth his services in Congress and in the committee at camp, "where he was detained to compleat the business of his mission, and to make a report thereon to Congress, till the 12th of Novr. 1780".

447. THE MARYLAND DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Sep. 22d, 1780.

Gent.,

This will be handed to you by Colo Blane who will lay before your Excellency and Honors, a Resolve of Congress, recommending to the State of Maryland, to furnish five hundred head of Cattle, for the immediate use of the Army. The great distress the army have for some time past been under, and which Still Continues for want of meat, have induced us to approve of that resolution, and beg leave to recommend it to your Excellency and Honors, as a measure absolutely necessary to be complied with; and hope you will give Colo. Blane every assistance in your power in procuring them. if by Complying with the above resolution a Deficiency in the Quota of Meat heretofore required by Congress of the State of Maryland, should be Occasioned, we think the State will stand Justly excused.²

We have the honor to be with much esteem

Your Excellencys and Honors, most hble Sevts.

DAN OF ST THOS JENIFER

JOHN HANSON

JOHN HENRY

448. RICHARD HOWLY TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA Sept. the 22d 1780.

Sir,

. . . Congress will be desirous of hearing from you often. the accts. of the redemption of the 150 Marylanders was recd. with Satisfaction.²

[447]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 96; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 116.

² See the *Journals*, Sept. 21; cf. no. 449, *post*. The letter is addressed to the governor, yet the text clearly indicates that it was intended also for the council. It is indorsed "Referred to the Committee app'd to enquire what Provisions have been procured". See no. 536, *post*.

[448]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, XVIII.

² In his letter to the President of Congress Sept. 5 (read Sept. 22) Gates says: "I have also Information on which I can depend that 140 of our prisoners going from Camden to Orangeburgh, have been released by Colonel Marion; and that the Guard of Forty Regulars, escorting them, taken by our party." In his letter of Sept. 5 to Governor Lee of Maryland (*Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 79) he did not mention the release of the prisoners, but closed his letter thus: "You will receive under cover from the Governor of Virginia my letter of this Date to Congress, with the Inclosures, under a flying Seal, which you will be pleased to read, seal up, and forward on to Congress, as soon as possible. as soon as it can be done with accuracy a Return of the brave Maryland troops, remaining after the Action of the 16th Ulto. shall be forwarded." In his letter to Governor Jefferson Sept. 9 (*ibid.*, p. 88) he says: "Colonel Marian of South Carolina has surprized a Party of the Enemy, near Santee River, escorting 150 Prisoners of the Maryland Division; he took the Party, and released the Prisoners", etc. This letter of Sept. 9 to Jefferson reached Congress Sept. 19, three days earlier than that of Sept. 5 to Congress. On the same day Samuel Adams, in a letter to his wife, related the incident, as learned "by a letter of good Authority from Hillsborough in North Carolina".

We are Sensible of the many difficulties which attend you. Especially in a line of offensive operations, which it is the Wish of your friends you might be Enabled to undertake as Soon as possible.

[P. S.]

449. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA 23rd Sept. 1780.

Sir,

Your excellency will receive herewith inclosed an act of Congress of the 21st instant requesting the State of Maryland immediately to furnish five hundred head of neat cattle for the main army over and above the quantity required of them by the 25th of February last which will be paid for out of the new bills.

If this recommendation be complied with it will relieve the present pressing distress of the army for want of meat; and Congress have taken measures to obtain a full supply in future from the Eastern States. The present necessity of the army is so great that the Commissary Genl. Colo. Blaine was coming in person with the act enclosed but is prevented by indisposition.² It is hoped that no exertions will be wanting to procure the number of cattle requested with the utmost dispatch.

450. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADA September 24, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 19. Instant,² directing the Commander in Chief to enquire of Sir Henry Clinton whether a Number of respectable Citizens of South Carolina, Prisoners of War by the Capitulation of Charlestown have been seised upon and confined on Board a Prison Ship, and for what Reason

The Persons said to be confined are, the Lt Governor Gadsden, Mr Edward Rutledge, Mr Middleton, Mr Haywood³ and a Number of other respectable Characters

It is desired this Enquiry may be made as soon as Time will permit

If his Excellency Genl Washington is like to be absent any Time after this comes to Hand, please to forward Copies to him

[449]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 79; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 117.

² See no. 447, *ante*.

[450]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 116.

² The resolve referred to is in the *Journals* under Sept. 23, not the 19th. *Cf.* no. 499, *post*.

³ Thomas Heyward, member of Congress 1776-1778.

451. JOHN MATHEWS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA Septr. 24th, 1780.

My Dear Sir,

I did myself the pleasure of writing to you a few days ago by The Minister of France:² since which time, the Committee have brought in a partial report on the affairs of the army. It has been acted upon by Congress and thus far agreed to.³ To call on the States for an army of 32,000 men, to be in the field by the 1st day of January next. To reduce the remaining sixteen battalions, and all the light corps, and add them to state lines, so as to have no more than forty nine battalions, and out of the horse, to reestablish four regiments. The infantry to consist of 580 privates, and the horse 320. The remaining 2300 to compose the artillery. The battalions of Infantry, Artillery, and horse, are quota'd on the several States, and the reduction incorporation, and filling them up, submitted to them *altogether*. The mode recommended for engaging the men is, either for the war, or, *one year*, and on the first day of every September the States are to be informed of the deficiencies of their quotas of men in order that they may fill them up by the 1st of January. I stretched my abilities to their utmost extent, I exhausted every argument that nature, and my enquiries, and observations on this truly important subject, had furnished me with, to get the fatal alternative, "or, for one year" altered, thus—That if the battalions could not be compleated by the 1st day of Decr. for the War, then (the States to be called in the most forcible language) to fill them up by *drafts* for not less than one year, from the 1st of Jany. but if not then relieved, to be obliged to continue in the field untill such time as their places shall be *actually* supplied, by other drafts or enlistments for one year, or for the War. The Commander in Chief to be empowered to discharge from time to time, such of the men as he shall think proper, as their places shall be by others supplied. By this mode, whatever numbers are once fixed on, and got into the field, we should be certain of always having a permanent army and no longer be subject to the caprice, and intolerable delays, supineness, and negligence of the States. There would be an indispensable obligation laid on the states to relieve their annual recruits, if they did not, the fault would lay with them, but we would have the men, undiminished. Not as hitherto has been the case as soon as the times of the men expire, to be left at liberty to return home, and the army thus dwindle to a mere skeleton, and through the shameful neglect of the States, remain in this disgraceful situation, untill the season for operation is nearly expired. I think such a plan is also founded on principles of true policy: for, it would operate on the minds of the people especially of the monied men, as a matter in terrorem.

[451]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.² Sept. 15 (no. 434, *ante*).³ The measure respecting the arrangement of the army appears to have been virtually completed Sept. 21, and was even entered in the journal of that day; but on the following morning it was resolved that the resolutions be taken off the journal until the committee should make a further report (see the editorial note, *Journals*, p. 844). The resolutions were subsequently entered under Oct. 3. Cf. nos. 468, 471, 479, 480, 485, 496, 501, *post*.

As soon as they find themselves subject to a draft, (not on the spur of the occasion, but that it is become an established maxim, and to which they must be annually subjected,) it immediately becomes their interest, to devise some means by which they can avoid, what they will conceive to be, a tremendous inconvenience. The mode readily enough suggests itself to them, which is, by classing the people, and each class to furnish a certain number of men. In each class, no doubt will be found a sufficient number of men, who will be ready to take a good bounty, rather than pay a heavy fine: and if they manage matters with prudence, by making the proper distinction in the bounties, between men for the war, and those only for one year, I dare say, most of the men may be got for the war: for the nature of man is such, that he is but too lyable to be influenced by the powers of that enchanting metal called gold, and there will be one strong incentive to their accepting the largest sum which is, the people have strongly imbibed a notion that the war cannot last more than a year or two longer, therefore I suppose they will readily enough embrace the old proverb, "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush". Much more may be said on the subject, but your Exc'y's experience, and knowledge of these matters renders it unnecessary. This was the plan Sir I proposed but after a very long, and warm debate, it was rejected, and what I have before mentioned, substituted. I am extremely anxious to have yr. Exc'y's opinion on this matter, therefore must earnestly request it of you. I mean it only for my private information, as the business is already determined, and I suppose will not be altered.⁴

There is one objection I am aware of that is, the enormous expense it would create. To this I would answer, it is better at once to incur the *most* enormous expense, and let there be an end of it, than to be every year running into very heavy expences, to answer little, or no valuable purpose, on the contrary, rather tending to throw our affairs into the utmost confusion.

The reduction of the battalions, and consequently of a great many officers, yr. Exc'y will at once see the propriety of keeping private, untill finally determined by Congress.⁵

I have the honor to be, with the highest Respect And the most sincere Esteem,

Yr. Exc'y's most Obedt. Servt.

JNO. MATHEWS

452. JOHN MORIN SCOTT TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA 26th Sept. 1780.

Sir,

I sit down not to give You any agreeable Information; but meerly to give You my Opinion concerning the Event of the Controversy about

⁴ Washington's reply to this letter, Oct 4, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 461, (ed. Sparks), VII. 223. Cf. the letter to Duane of the same date (cited under no. 440, *ante*).

⁵ See no. 485, *post*.

[452]¹ N. Y. State Lib., George Clinton Papers, no. 3240; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 254.

the Grants if we push it to a Determination. It is in short this I believe we may carry it by the Majority of a single State. New Hampshire now represented by General Sullivan alone seems too favorable to the People of the Grants; and countenances an Idea too prevalent in Congress, that the dispute between New Hampshire and New York should be first settled by a Court of Commissioners constituted agreeably to the Articles of Confederation. The End in View is evident. It is to create delay and thereby to discourage the Subjects of our State and strengthen the Vermonteers. We have however gone thro' the Evidence on our part, a Portion of which from Mr. McKesson came just at the nick of Time. In short I am at a Loss what is best to be done. If we push for a determination we may gain it by a bare Majority; and even this depends upon the Prospects we have of New-Jersey. Mr. Duane is of Opinion that Maryland will be with Us. I differ with him. In short it seems to be the System of the smaller States to compel the larger (the western Bounds of which are undefined) to large Cessions. This they expect to effect by embarrassing us with respect to the settled parts of the Country. General Sullivan is sick, which has suspended the Business for a few days; and I have been so much indisposed myself by a small fever hanging about me that I have not attended Congress for three or four days past. I am of Opinion the sooner we press the Matter to its Crisis the better For I fear the Interest agt. us is growing. Not that I imagine a Majority will expressly decide agt. us; but that it may eventually be done by procrastination.² . . .

453. DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILA. Sepr. 26th 1780.

Tuesday half past 11 o'Clock.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your favor of the 22d w'ch was this moment handed to me by the Prest. of Congress and as the Post will leave this at 12 o'Clock I cannot give you that general information which I wish and you desire.²

I fear Gates was premature it was from his information that I gave you the intelligence respecting the Maryland Line. For two or three days repeated Accounts by psudo intelligence has been rece'd of the Arrival of 19 Sail of the Count de Guechens Fleet at Rhode Island but as Congress has recd. no Official information I fear its news fabricated by Speculators. I am under the greatest apprehension for the French at that place.³

² See the *Journals*, Sept. 12 to Oct. 6, *passim*; also nos. 435, 438, 441, 442, 443, *ante*, and nos. 461, 473, 475, 487, 513, 539, *post*.

[453]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

² Governor Lee's letter of Sept. 22 was evidently an inquiry concerning the situation in the matter of supplies of clothing. See no. 454, *post*. Such a letter, either to Jenifer or to the delegates, is not found in *Arch. of Md.*

³ The information obtained from General Gates to which Jenifer alludes was probably that in his letter of Sept. 9 to Governor Jefferson, transmitted by Jefferson to Congress Sept. 14. Jefferson's letter is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), II. 340, and *Official Letters*, II. 206; that of Gates is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 88. Cf. no 454, *post*.

The Delegates from the Eastern States say that the meeting of the Congress or Convention is for the purpose of falling upon ways and means to provide for the Army. I suspect something more. a little time will discover their design. Some late moves by Virga. seconded by New York has alarmed some Members of the Eastern States, and I hope will produce good Effects as it will probably attach them more to the Maryland Claim than formerly.⁴ . . .

I am glad to hear the Merch'ts at Baltimore take our Money at 40 for one as it will soon in consequence thereof pass here, indeed it is at least 50 per Ct. better than Continental.

As my Collegues seem well satisfied with remaining here and as I am convinced I can be of little service I shall soon take my final leave of Congress and return to Maryland.⁵

454. THE MARYLAND DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADEL'A Sepr. 26th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

The interval between the coming in and going out of the post is so short, that we have it not in our power at this Time, to give you the information which you desire. We can assure you that very inconsiderable quan[t]ities have been imported by the Commercial Committee; some Linens have from Time to Time arrived but the quality and quantity we shall endeavour to inform you of in a few Days, as we are at present unacquainted with the amount of the returns. It has always been the object of Congress and the Duty of the Cloathier General to distribute the Cloth that is provided with impartiality, if it has not been the case, we shall be able soon to give your Excellency information upon the subject. The present Cloathier General is a native of Maryland a man of Honor and a good officer and we believe² no partial distribution has been made since his appointment.³ . . .

Your Excellency's Letter to the Board of War we shall seal and deliver; and if our Exertion can avail any thing, they shall be employed in behalf of our gallant tho unfortunate Countrymen.⁴

⁴ The allusion is presumably to Virginia's proposed cession of Western territory. See nos. 422, and note 4, 442, 443, *ante*, and nos. 458, 477, 486, 519, 629, *post*.

⁵ Cf. no. 462, *post*.

[454]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 97; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 121.

² The words "we believe" are substituted for "I think I can undertake to say that", erased.

³ The letter from Governor Lee here referred to is probably that of Sept. 22 (*Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 299). Cf. no. 453, *ante*. The clothier general at this time was James Wilkinson, elected July 24, 1779. In omitted passages the delegates again promise to transmit shortly information concerning the importation of clothing and military stores. This information was transmitted in a letter of Oct. 3 (passage omitted from no. 466, *post*). In *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 120, is a brief communication from the delegates, also dated Sept. 26, probably in reply to the council's letter of Sept. 19 (*ibid.*, XLIII. 296).

⁴ The letter to the board of war, accompanying that of Sept. 22 to the delegates, is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLIII. 300. The reply of the board, Sept. 26 (*ibid.*, XLV. 120), explains the situation in the matter of clothing, particularly the disappointments over the failure of expected arrivals of clothing from France.

Brigadier Smallwood has been appointed by the unanimous voice of thirteen States a Majr. General. This will give the State some pleasure tho' it is not all that she has a right to expect from Congress; The Troops of the other States have received the Thanks of Congress for displaying less gallantry than has lately been exhibited by the Delaware and Maryland lines.⁵

We have no intelligence to communicate. Reports prevail that the French Fleet is arrived at Rhode Island, but it wants confirmation. Admiral Rodney is still at the Hook, and Graves is out. By the last letters from Camp preparations were making for an embarkation. The Conjecture respecting their destination was communicated to you a few Days ago.⁶

We are Sir with the highest respect and Esteem

your Excell'y's Obdt. Servts.

GEO: PLATER

JOHN HANSON

DAN OF ST. THOS JENIFER

J. HENRY JUNR.

455. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADA. September 27, 1780.

Sir,

I have been honored with your Despatches of the 24. and 25. Instant which have been communicated to Congress. The latter which contained very unexpected Information of the black and infamous Conduct of Arnold was kept a profound Secret until Measures were taken to secure such of his Papers as could be found which hath been done, but the Examination is not yet finished

If any material Discoveries should be made in this City respecting this horrid Affair, the whole shall be communicated to you without Delay.

And in the mean Time I wish to be informed of what particular Discoveries you may have made as particularly as may be.²

456. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADA. September 29, 1780.

Sir,

I am honored with your Excellency's Despatches of the 26. Instant, which will be laid before Congress in the Morning. We had before received Intelligence from General Greene that Genl Arnold was gone over to the Enemy. Immediately Orders were given to search and seize his Papers and Effects to be found here which was speedily executed, but I am not yet advised of what particular Discoveries have been made.²

⁵ General Smallwood's promotion was on Sept. 15. Cf. no. 462, *post*.

⁶ Such a letter has not been found. See however no. 453, *ante*.

[455]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 118.

² Greene's letters were read Sept. 26 and 27. The *Journals* make no mention of the contents of Greene's letter of the 25th until the reading, Sept. 30, of Washington's letter of Sept. 26. See nos. 456, 457, *post*.

[456]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 119.

² Washington's letter of Sept. 26, read in Congress Sept. 30, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 455, (ed. Sparks), VII. 218. See no. 455, *ante*.

457. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADA. September 29, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed a Copy of an Act of Congress of the 28. Instant, by which I am ordered to transmit you the other Papers enclosed to which the Act refers

The Originals were found among Genl Arnolds Papers in this City which have been lately seized.²

458. WILLIE JONES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA
(ABNER NASH).¹

PHILADELPHIA Octr. 1, 1780.

D'r Sir,

. . . . Mr. Hill and myself flattered ourselves that we should have received, ere this, an account of the proceedings of our late Assembly, and their Sentiments, as well as your private Opinion, respecting the Conduct of Genl. Gates. From the Circumstances of his Conduct, particularly his rapid Retreat, and the Length of it, and some Hints in one of his Letters, and Strictures in others, it appears to us that Genl. Gates can no longer continue in that Command with Satisfaction to himself, or with a prospect of rendering essential Service to the United States. We hope your next favour will throw some Light on this Subject.²

Congress has recommended to the several States to make provision for the support of their Delegates, so that they may not draw out of the Continental Treasury.³ The Reasons are the exhausted state of the Treasury, and the obvious Impropriety of allowing Delegates to draw at Will. You will be pleased to mention this Circumstance to our Assembly, at their next meeting, that some provision may be made; otherwise their Delegation may possibly be defeated[?], or at least involved in distressing and shameful Circumstances.

By a Resolution of Congress it is recommended to the several States to surrender a part of Western Territory, to induce Maryland to confederate.⁴ Maryland surely has great Merit in the present Contest; yet I think it will be time enough for No. Carolina to deliberate on the surrender of Western Territory, when the States have vigorously supported and finally secured her in her Eastern Territory, and when they have moreover shewn a proper Liberality in the settlement of her accounts.

. . . .

[457]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 119.² See the *Journals*, Sept. 28; cf. nos. 455, 456, *ante*.[458]¹ From the collection of the late Adrian H. Joline of New York, Henkels, *Catalogue*, no. 720, item 107.² Cf. nos. 462, 476, *post*. See also Gates's letters to Washington Aug. 30 and Sept. 3 (*Letters to Washington*, ed. Sparks, III. 66, 74). A court of inquiry was ordered Oct. 5.³ See the *Journals*, Sept. 29, and no. 459, *post*.⁴ See the *Journals*, Sept. 6, Oct. 10, and nos. 422, 430, 443, *ante*, 477, *post*.

459. THE DELEGATES OF NORTH CAROLINA TO THE
NORTH CAROLINA ASSEMBLY.¹[October ? 1780.]²

Gentlemen,

We beg Leave to remind your honourable Body of the Resolution of Congress recommending to the [several States to make provision for] the support [of their Delegates. The] Resolution [was adopted because of] the Insufficiency of the Continental Treasury to comply with the various and pressing demands on it, and the Impropriety of allowing any person whatever [to draw] at Discretion. It is now expected [(unless indispensably necessary)] that the Delegates of no State except Georgia and South Carolina, shall draw from the Continental Treasury for the expence of their attendance. In this state of affairs it is absolutely necessary that some adequate provision be made for your Delegation: but as it is possible that Disappointments may happen, in this Respect, altho' the Fund established [by the Assembly may] be apparently [sufficient, we respectfully suggest] the propriety of authorising [the Delegates] of the State to draw on the Continental Treasury for their reasonable expences in Cases of Necessity.

Many of the States require two, or more, of their Delegates to attend in Congress, yet at [the same time] authorise any one of them, in the absence of the other, or others, to vote and represent the State. Perhaps it might be expedient, in the present moment, for this State to adopt the same Rule; and the rather, as it frequently happens that only two Delegates are attending at Philadelphia, and one or [the other may be ill] or [in] attenda[n]ce upon a committee meeting, which] of necessity [leaves the State unrepresented.]

During our attendance in Congress last Summer we expended large sums of Money, the greatest part of which we borrowed on our own Credit, as there was very little to be obtained from Congress, and our private funds proved insufficient, and are bound to make good the Depreciation. We found it impracticable to take Receipts for our Disbursements—it would have been an endless work—therefore we only noticed the gross sum we expended.

We request [that your] honorable Body [refer this matter to] a Committee, [to the end that provision be made] in such Manner as to you [may seem] just—which we are confident will be perfectly satisfactory to, Gentlemen,

Your devoted Humble Servants

WHITMILL HILL
WILLIE JONES[459]¹ N. C. Historical Commission.

² See no. 458, *ante*. This address from the North Carolina delegates to the assembly is evidently that laid before the assembly at the session begun in January, 1781 (see the proceedings of the senate Feb. 5, 13, and those of the house of commons Feb. 5, 14, *N. C. State Recs.*, XVII. 674, 708, 709, 755, 791). It is without date, but was probably written shortly after the passage of the resolution, although it may have been written after the return of both Hill and Jones to North Carolina. The former left Congress about the end of October, 1780, the latter on or about Dec. 13 (see no. 543, *post*). The document is much mutilated, and as here printed the passages in brackets represent the conjectural restoration of the missing parts.

460. JOSEPH JONES TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

Dear S'r,

The Medical Department was under the consideration of a Committee before I left Congress and will it is probable undergo a change that may curtail the number of the present appointments. Should this be the case and the new arrangement take place before I return (w'ch at present is my intention to do before Christmas) I shall recommend to the support of the Virginia Delegates the Gentlemen you have been pleased to mention, whose long services and well known Characters intitle them to be among the first officers in the establishment.²

If I am not mistaken the spirit of party is much abated in Congress. some instances of the old prejudices and partialities that disgraced and must ever disgrace their councils I think I have discovered, but they are few, and I entertained hopes the Flame was neerly extinguished, and although some restless tempers, as some there are and ever will be in public assemblies of Men, may attempt to revive those disputes, which were carryed to such height between the contending Factions as to neglect the more important concerns of the public, there are I trust a sufficient number of mild spirits who will oppose and repress such dishonorable attempts and confine themselves to the discussion alone of such matters [as] Justice and the general welfare require. I am certain the important objects now before Congress are sufficient to engage their attention and employ their time without perplexing themselves by a revival of old and expiring controversies. It was with reluctance I left Philadelphia before the Report upon your Letter respecting the Army and Magazines was compleate and the arrangements of the Civil offices of Congress were digested but an apprehension that the Assembly was to meet the first Monday in October as usual and a desire of spending a short time with my Family before I went to Richmond determined me to set out so as to reach Home abt. the middle of September. I now find I might have staid a fortnight longer, as the Session does not commence untill the third Monday in this month.

Congress having taken some steps towards compleating the Foederal Union which I anxiously wish to accomplish induced me to be here early in the Session that the Sense of this State upon that interesting question might be taken, that if the proposition was approved it might be divulged to other States without delay and Virginia being more interested than any other in a cession of unappropriated territory the example would not fail to have weight and be followed by others. We are already too large for the Energy of republican Government and I fear shall still be so if the Assembly shall relinquish their claim to the north-west of the Ohio to the Continent.³ I wished too to be present the beginning of the Session to urge the filling up our Battalions immediately and providing Magazines

[460]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 103; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 32.

² See no. 434, *ante*.

³ See no. 422, *ante*.

in time as the ensuing Winter to the South and the approaching Spring to the North if our ally shall command the Water, might afford us favourable opportunities of acting to advantage. But alas! instead of the French commanding the Water we have the mortification to hear Rodney with 12 Ships of the line and four frigates has arrived at the Hook. Where for God sake, is Ct. de Guichen with his great and formidable fleet? Surely not inactive. Adieu.

Yr. aff. Friend and Humble Servt.

JOS: JONES.

VIRGA. Octr. [2 ?] 1780.

461. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA October 2d 1780.

Dear Sir,

Since my Last by General Foulson the affair of Vermont has been frequently on the Tapis but Congress has not as yet come to any Determination not Even to appoint Commissioners, but I believe a few Days more will produce Something. Vermont has put in two pleas to the Jurisdiction, and even threatens to form an Alliance with Great Britain in Case Congress shall Declare them Dependant on any State. I shall from time to time acquaint you with the proceedings of Congress on this affair.²

I need not Trouble you with a particular Relation of Arnolds villany as you will see all the Circumstances which have yet Transpired in the Inclosed Gazette: our Political affairs are so Deranged as to prevent my giving you any Tolerable Account respecting them and was I to attempt it The Task would be Disagreeable to me and painful to you. The members of Congress are mostly new and I believe in General Honest; most of those who were governed by Party Spirit are Recalled but I am sorry to say that in my opinion Greater wisdom than the present members possess would be requisite to Conduct or rather to Restore our publick affairs from that Situation into which Ignorance Treachery or Inattention have thrown them. our Confederation is not in force and even if acceded to would be found weak and perhaps far from answering the Designs. our Treasury is Empty, our Credit Low, our Finances Deranged and the People at Large Suspicious of every Species of our paper Emissions; particular States and even among those who have acceded to the Confederation will comply with or Reject the Requisitions of Congress as their own opinion or Interest seem to Direct. Congress of Course becomes a Body without power and the States the Several Component parts of a Monster with Thirteen heads. How we are to obtain Relief is the Important Inquiry. This can be Done only in one way that I can possibly Conceive which is to Call a Convention of the Several States to Declare what powers Congress is to possess and to vest them with authority to use

[461]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81 B 193; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Weare, p. 682.

² Cf. no. 452, note 2, *ante*, and nos. 473, 475, 487, *post*.

Coercive measures with those States which Refuse to Comply with reasonable requisitions. Measures should be Instantly fallen upon to put an End to the present war; for which purpose Aids both of men and money together with a strong naval force should be Demanded from France and Spain and we should Tell them fully our Situation and The Distresses brought upon us by supporting a war of six years without Aid from Foreign Force or Foreign Loans and that we must at Last Sink under the weight unless powerfully Supported by our Allies. This will bring matters to a point, and I Doubt not will answer the purpose of putting a Speedy and happy Conclusion to the present American war.

The matter will be Debated tomorrow and I hope the most Decisive measures will be pursued. Spain has requested to know if we will build Frigates for her. this will be Determined tomorrow and I hope in the affirmative as it will be a means of Introducing Large Quantities of Specie among us, which must Eventually become our Circulating medium as paper cannot much Longer answer the purpose. it is Easy to keep up the Credit of paper by Seasonable Taxes; but to restore it to Credit after it has been Imprudently Suffered to Depreciate requires more than Human Wisdom.

462. DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND(?).¹

PHILA. Octr. 2d 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . Congress have it not in their power to do much service at present having neither Credit or Money. in such a distressed situation, who could wish to be of that body? ²

I do not know what is to be done with Gates. Our Brave Officers and Troops are prevented from receiving that Tribute which is justly due to their merit, because it can not be done through him, and to do it through another channel would be condemning Gates it is said unheard. As General Smallwood is a Majr. General, I think the Command ought to be given to him The Commander in chief probably has, or soon will appoint a successor, for I take it for Granted that Gates will undergo a Court of enquiry, as to his precipitate flight.³ . . .

463. JOSEPH JONES TO JAMES MADISON.¹

Dear S'r,

I thank you for your favour of the 19th ulto. and the inclosures. It was really a mortifying circumstance to find the French Fleet converted into

[462]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 1012.

² Cf. no. 453, *ante*. Jenifer states in the beginning of the letter that he has been ill for a week and will leave for Maryland as soon as he is able to travel.

³ Cf. nos. 454, 458, *ante*, and no. 476, *post*. In the close of the letter Jenifer speaks of the uncertainty whether André will be executed or pardoned, mentions a report that the Spaniards have sailed from Havana with 20,000 troops for Pensacola or St. Augustine, and that there is no news of the French fleet.

[463]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 34.

twelve British ships of the line and four frigates from which nothing can effectively relieve us but the arrival of a superior number of French Battle Ships² And unless these come I fear many of our people not only here but in other States will entertain unfavourable opinions of the ability at least, if not the inclination of our Ally to give us effectual support. The alterations of the resolution I left are not I think material excepting the one postponed, not to be taken up, which I am certain will be made a Condition by Virga. in any Cession she may make as there are jealousies entertained of certain Individuals greatly interested in that question. Congress cannot in honor or Justice delay their determination on the Vermont dispute. Had the Territorial claims of N. Y. and N. Hampshire been settled in the first instance the Step of Vermont would not at this Day have been known. delay has given them a name and made them formidable. such excrescencies should be taken off on their first appearance as then the work is easy and less Dangerous than when they have grown to a head. We know not what may be the consequences if Congress shall countenance by precedent the dismembering of States because the people blown up into discontents by designing ambitious men shall ask or demand it. fix the boundaries of these States and let the people who live within their respective limits know they are their Citizens and must submit to their Government. I was one of a Com: to whom the Generals long Letter on very important matters was referred. we had come to some resolutions before I left Congress but no Report made. pray inform me what has been done and whether any recommendation has gone to the States to fill up their Battalions immediately and lay up magazines in time. I was also of a Com: to arrange or reform the civil departments of Congress and it was in contemplation to place at the head of the Foreign affairs the Admiralty and Treasury some respectable persons to conduct the Business and be responsible. has any thing been done in these matters—they are important and should not be forgotten. We shall never have these great departments well managed untill something of this kind is done. I cannot forget Mr. L—ls³ very *candid* confession respecting Dr. Franklins complaint of want of information of our affairs. Is there a Report made respecting the Medical departmt. and is there any hope of geting that branch reformed⁴ If any removals are to take place and persons shall be wanting to fill the higher offices of that department there are two Gentlemen mentioned to me who from their long and fait[h]ful services deserve the attention of Congress—I mean Dr. Craig and Dr. Cochran. Col. Mason wrote to us abt. Mr. Harrison in Case a Consull should be wanting for Spain. I have since received a Letter from Col. Meade upon

² See nos. 430, 433, *ante*.

³ James Lovell. What his "*candid* confession" was might be guessed from his general conduct of the business of the committee for foreign affairs. See, for instance, vol. IV., pp. 264, 265, 325, 354, and *passim*.

⁴ Most of Jones's queries are answered in Madison's reply (no. 481, *post*). The committee of which Jones was a member, to report a new arrangement of the civil executive departments, was appointed Aug. 29. A committee, of which he was not a member, to report a proper arrangement for the department of foreign affairs, had been appointed May 15. See no. 514, note 3, *post*.

the same subject and have assured him should any such appointment take place Mr. Harrison⁵ should be recommended but there was no reason to expect this wo'd soon be the case. this reminds me of the report respecting the Mississippi—what has been done with it?

Has Dr. Lee made his appearance and does he attempt to revive the old disputes?⁶

2d Octr. 1780.

464. JOHN MATHEWS TO NATHANIEL PEABODY.¹

PHILADELPHIA Octr. 3d, 1780.

Yours of the 23 and 29 Ult. came safe to hand yesterday. The one of the 23 contains a variety of important matter, as well as its inclosures, which I shall now reply to.

What am I to understand by "Genl. Greene's letter of resignation to Congress". We have received no such letter, therefore, am both puzzled and alarmed. Pray explain this matter to me as soon as you can, untill when I shall feel great anxiety.² Great part of your other extracts were new, for which I am much obliged to you. Arnold's affair rests where it did, when I wrote you last. We have received no further information respecting it.

You ask me what is done about a P—t.³ I think of all the men of ambition I have ever met with in the course of my peregrinations (which have not been confined within a very narrow compass) S. H. bears away the prize in triumph. So far from his manifesting the least disposition to quit, he seemed to be highly pleased with the opinions of his (you may fill the space as you please) "that he had a right to set there for life". This is true Republican doctrine—Ay! you may laugh, or get into a passion about it, but I tell you it must be so, because the *Greatest Republican*⁴ in America said so. Damnation sieze such sycophants! who will sell their consciencies to the Devil for the sake of carrying a favourite point. After four hours hard struggle, all we could obtain was, that all future P—ts, should be elected for one year only, but maugre every exertion, they obtruded their favourite upon us for another year.⁵ Could Old Randolph⁶ have risen from the Dead, and been in the chair, I wou'd have

⁵ Richard Harrison, of Cadiz. Mason's letter to Madison concerning the appointment is in the Madison Papers, dated Aug. 2. Respecting Doctors Cochran and Craik, see also no. 460, *ante*, and Jones to Madison Oct. 17, in *Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 38.

⁶ See nos. 481, 506, *post*.

[464]¹ Library of Congress, U. S. R.; Farmer and Moore, *Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous*, III. 9 (extract).

² See the endorsement (note 9, below). Probably Greene's letter to Congress July 26 and his letter to the committee at headquarters the same day are meant. See nos. 349, 351, *ante*.

³ President. The initials "S. H.", below, are for Samuel Huntington. See no. 417, *ante*.

⁴ The allusion is probably to Samuel Adams.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Sept. 28.

⁶ Peyton Randolph, first President of Congress (1774) and again May 10-24, 1775.

opposed his continuance, with the same activity and spirit, I did the present person, on the principles of *true* Republicanism, more especially when I so evidently saw an elevated station had made a man forget himself, who from being a very modest one, had so strongly imbibed the sweets of power, as to become a very conceited and ambitious one. Did the man possess abilities for the station, I could have acquiesced with a tolerable degree of content, but when I know he possesses no one requisite for it, I must confess my feelings are egregiously hurt. I think, had almost any other man been in his situation, when he found how extremely disagreeable his continuance in office was to a number of members, he would have made it a point to have had a new election, and taken his chance. But he verified the old proverb "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush". I have much more to say on this subject, but will reserve it for a *tete à tete*.

I come now to the most interesting part of your letter—*i. e.* the opening and garbling your letters. Great God! how humiliating is it to generous minds, to behold the depravity of a part of thy creatures. What baseness, and villany is it that some men will not descend to, to gratify the rancour of their damn'd black hearts. The most intimate ties are made to give place to this hellish principle. Friendship among men is become a sounding brass, or a tinkling symbol.

If I take your meaning right, you suspect some who have professed a friendship for you to have been the authors of this piece of treachery, as black almost as the infernal Arnold's, in my opinion there is little difference "for he that filches from me my good name, robs me of that which not enriches him, but is to me worse than death".⁷ My suspicions bend the same way yours do. But alas! my Dear Sir, how can I trace this dark and rascally deed? Do you think he, or they, will be so unguarded as ever to let me penetrate them? No—No—be assured they are too hackneyed in their ways, their contract with the devil is too indissoluble, ever to suffer me to come near enough to them, even, (like Alexander) to *cut* the knot.

Thus much, from my friendship—I almost blush at writing the word—you may rely on, That no man shall take your name in vain.

As to "the Committee's wanting to be made Lords and Protectors". I can say thus much—That by the Great God that made me! If I thought I could have influence enough, to make any honest set of men, the *real* Protectors of this grievously injured people, I would harangue the multitude, night and day! I would rush into the midnight cabals of artful and designing men and drag them forth to public view! in short, what is it I would not do, at the hazard of my life, to save this land from impending ruin! I each day more visibly perceive the rocks and shoals present their ghastly forms to us, yet alas! my forebodings are treated with derision,

⁷ Mathews's substitution of this last line for "but makes me poor indeed" is probably to be attributed to a faulty memory.

and our helmsmen invariably steer the same course. It will take no great length of time to shew what will be the event. I tremble for our fate.

I have at last found the papers, and now inclose them. Blane has not had time enough to get me the returns you want, but has promised it me in a day or two.

Sullivan has shewed me the letter you allude to, I wish your remarks may not be verified: appearances almost⁸ authorizes it.

I hope your health continues to mend, and that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you here 'ere long. In the mean time be assured that I am with sincerity

Yr. friend, and most Obedt. Servt.

JNO. MATHEWS⁹

[P. S.] I will thank you to forward the inclosed to Miss Livingston

465. JAMES LOVELL TO NATHANIEL PEABODY.¹

Octr. 3d, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . Many are *mightily shocked* at the West Point Plot: I presume you escaped *that* Degree of Surprise respecting Arnold's *Baseness*, as you had been *prepared* here on "the Com'tee for his accounts".²

Genl. Sullivan is better able than I to tell you the State of the Vermont Contest. I was not in health to attend the Evening Adjournments. . . .

466. THE MARYLAND DELEGATES TO THE MARYLAND COUNCIL.¹

PHILADELPHIA Octo 3d 1780.

Gentlemen,

. . . . The deficiency of Clothing, which is necessary to be made up, depends principally on the Supplies expected from France, which it is

⁸ Mathews first wrote "certainly".

⁹ There is no address, but the letter bears the following endorsement, in the writing of Nathaniel Peabody: "Recd. Octr. 7, 1780. Ans'd the 8th short Copies of Greens letter to the Com'tte and his letter of Resignation to Congress, and Copy of the answer."

[465]¹ Haverford College, Roberts Coll., 722.

² See no. 180, *ante*. In a letter to Samuel Holten of the same date Lovell wrote: "Oh Doctor, I feel at this moment . . . like a forlorn old cold sour Batchelor. Tartar Emetic warmed me a little but Sal Sennet has made me blue to the Fingers Ends. A pretty Figure of a Gentleman I am indeed to go to Congress in raw northeast drizly weather to contrive how to raise feed cloath and pay an Army without one dollar in the Treasury! Very genial Employment to be sure it will be to listen to all the minute Detail of the Circumstances of a black-died treason! By the Bye Doctor, you are so good a Soul that Altho' you have been a *little perplexed* about his accounts, you could not have thought that the *honorable Gentleman* would have done *just so* as he has done." *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XIII. 217.

[466]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 100 (in the writing of Henry); *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 134. The letter is signed by Plater, Henry, and Hanson.

more than probable will not now arrive in time. be assured we shall all-ways endeavour to have Strict Justice done our Troops, in the distribution of what Cloathing there is now on hand, and also of any that may hereafter be procured. but as most of what is now on hand, lyes in the Eastern States, and will be transported to Head Quarters, it is probable the Army there will be first Supplied.²

We have laid your two letters respecting General Gates's drafts before Congress, who have not yet come to any determination on the Subject.³

467. SAMUEL ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN.¹

PHILADA. Octob. [3], 1780.²

My dear Sir,

I have not yet acknowledged your Favor of the 17th of Sept.³

It is no Novelty to me to hear you expressing your well directed Zeal for the Safety and Welfare of our Country; and I cannot but applaud your Jealousy of Injury to the Publick from a Missapplication of the Resolutions of Congress respecting the Admission of British Effects. A Resolution is now on the Table to guard it from the Dangers which you apprehend.⁴

I have now before me your Letter of the 17th of Sept., and I am obliged to you for the favorable Allowance you make for my having omitted to write to you lately. Without Partiality I may say, you have done me but Justice. And yet I would have written a Letter by the last post, if I could have given you any tollerable Assurance respecting your Affair with Mr. B. I will continue to press the Matter till it is finished.⁵

. . . .

² See no. 454, *ante*. The omitted passage is the promised statement concerning the stocks of clothing on hand, etc.

³ In a letter of Sept. 5 to Governor Lee (*Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 79) General Gates had mentioned drawing drafts on the governor. The governor's letter to the delegates Sept. 19 (*ibid.*, XLIII. 296) concerns these, and the order in the *Journals*, Oct. 18, pertains to one of them.

[467]¹ *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 207 (with the conjectural date October 6).

² The date Oct. 3, instead of Oct. 6, as in Adams's *Writings*, is here assigned to the letter on the basis of a note in *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 139 n.

³ So much as remains (N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers) of Warren's letter is in *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 138. Evidently however parts of the letter to which Adams is replying are missing. In his letters to Warren Oct. 24 and Nov. 20 (*Writings*, IV. 212, 221) he again adverts to Warren's letter of Sept. 17.

⁴ The reference is probably to the committee report, Sept. 29, on the petition of Cumberland Dugan, read Sept. 23.

⁵ "Mr. B." was probably John Bradford, Continental agent at Boston. See the *Journals*, Sept. 11, 19, Oct. 9, 21; also *Out-Letters*, vol. II., *passim*. Cf. these *Letters*, vol. IV., p. 546 n.

468. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹PHILADA. October 4, 1780.²

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 3. Instant, containing a new Arrangement of the Army

You will please to observe, that, if in your Opinion there shall appear no material Objection to this Plan of Arrangement it is the Pleasure of Congress that the same be carried into immediate Effect.³

Congress are extremely anxious, not only to avoid the Embarrassments heretofore experienced by Delays in recruiting the Army until the Opening of the Campaign; but also to establish a permanent Army, of Troops engaged for the War, to consist of such Numbers as may probably be adequate to the Service, and at the same Time not exceed the Ability of the States to raise, recruit and constantly maintain, fit for Service.

To accomplish this desirable Purpose, it is but too obvious that every practicable Retrenchment of Expences, and the greatest Oeconomy is absolutely necessary.

Under these Considerations, having but a Choice of Difficulties, Congress have adopted the Plan enclosed, as subject to the least Objection of any that could be devised. Should your Excellency's Opinion coincide therewith, the Returns of Deficiencies in each State may be laid before their respective Assemblies, most of which meet before the End of this Month, which may enable them to facilitate the recruiting Service in proper Season to comply with the Intentions of Congress.

[468]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 122.

² Oct. 4 Jacob Hiltzheimer, keeper of the Continental stables, presented another complaint (see no. 403, note 4, *ante*) about the shortage of feed for horses of members of Congress. His letter, dated Oct. 3, is in part as follows:

"I Take the Liberty to Inform your Excellency That the Horses in my care belonging to Members of the Hon'ble the Continen'l Congress have been with out grain some time and now with out hay too. Some time ago I Bought Hay on Credit to the amount of about 20000 Dollars with a promise to pay in a short time but could Not comply for want of Money wherefore it is out of my Power to Purchase any more with out paying for it at the time."

He presents some facts respecting consumption and prices, then adds a postscript, "N. B. have just sent to the Forage yard for a load of Hay to serve till to Morrow". The letter is endorsed, "Referred to the board of treasury who are directed to order the warrant in his favor to be paid". Papers Cont. Cong., no. 78, vol. XII., f. 105.

³ A warrant for 60,000 dollars was ordered Nov. 8, and one for 25,000 Nov. 15. See, further, the *Journals*, 1781, *passim*.

³ Although President Huntington here speaks of the resolutions respecting the arrangement of the army as of Oct. 3, in the circular letter of Oct. 6 (no. 471, *post*) he refers to them as "of the 21 Ulto.". They were in fact adopted Sept. 21 and so entered, then held up pending a further report (see no. 451, and note 3, *ante*). There was an amendment to the measure Oct. 21, in consequence of Washington's letter of Oct. 11 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 481, ed. Sparks, VII. 245). See the *Journals*, Oct. 16, 20, 21, and nos. 479, 480, 485, 496, 501, *post*. In Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 466, is "A Calculation to shew the great difference of expense and loss sustained by keeping up a greater number of regiments than can be well and properly filled with rank and file", etc. It relates to the acts of Oct. 3 and 21, and is in the writing of Charles Thomson.

469. JARED INGERSOLL TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

PHILADELPHIA Octr. 4th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . With regard to Arnold, we have very little Intelligence more than what is contained in the Public News-papers. his [ver]y foolish and impertinent Letter to Genl. Washington is in [som]e Points at large. André was detected by some Militia-Men, in a manner that does them the highest honor. as soon as their Names are transmitted, Congress will reward them in every way that is in their power.²

Congress have nearly finished their Arrangements for the Army of next year, the Expence is calculating.³ this Day we have been uncommonly busy on a report in Answer to a Letter of Mr. Jayes. it seems that the Court of Madrid oppose violently our claims of a free Navigation up the River Mississippi, and make that the chief pretence delaying to Conclude a Treaty with us. we have however determined unanimously that, we will not relinquish this, which we think a most important and clear Right, that however our Minister is at liberty to make any reasonable Regulations to assure the Spanish Nation that we do not wish to carry on any contra-band Trade to their prejudice. in the Course of the Conversation which Mr. Jay had with the Spanish Minister the latter mentioned with the appearance of great Satisfaction, that he believed by the beginning of next year, they might be able to lend these States forty thousand pounds. the naming such a pitifull Sum, the strange objections about the Mississippi and some other parts of the discourse by no means seem flattering.⁴ the Spanish Minister has also proposed, and that we shall take into Consideration tomorrow, a Contract for the building of Frigates and other Vessels for the Court of Madrid.⁵ After finishing this business, we shall immediately enter on the Report of the Committee of Ways and Means. we have it in Contemplation to desire the States to enable Congress to lay some general Imposts, that may furnish us with a Revennue and which it might be difficult for the States to do separately. this however is but a Scheme in Embryo. what will finally be thought of it I do not know.⁶

[469]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., MSS. of Joseph Reed, vol. VI.

² See nos. 455, 456, *ante*.

³ See no. 468, *ante*, and no. 471, *post*.

⁴ See no. 406, note 3, *ante*; also the *Journals*, Oct. 4, 6, 16, 17, and no. 494, *post*.

⁵ See no. 470, *post*.

⁶ See nos. 402, 440, *ante*. The committee of ways and means, often called the committee on estimates, or the committee of estimates and ways and means, was appointed Aug. 11. Some resolutions of the tenor here indicated, offered by Robert R. Livingston Aug. 22, were referred to that committee, and at the same time Livingston was added to the committee. In the *Journals* under Oct. 3 is an undated "Report of the Com'ee for encreasing the powers of Congress—Applications to the State Legislatures", drawn by Livingston, but the character of the report definitely suggests that it belongs not here, but about the middle of June, when such propositions were under discussion. See nos. 262, 264, *ante*. At all events, Livingston had left Congress about the end of September, as had Sherman, another member of the committee, and Duane and John Henry had been chosen (Oct. 2) in their places. The committee of ways and means made various reports from time to time, but this phase of the business appears to have been turned over to the committee appointed Nov. 7 to prepare a plan for arranging the finances, etc. An undated report, essentially embodying the Livingston resolutions, is printed in the

Inf[or]mation has been received this Day from one of our Captains just returned from his Captivity at New-York, that the British have determined to exchange no more Sailors, but oblige our Seamen to serve on board their Ships of War. . . .

470. THEODORICK BLAND TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, October [5 ?] 1780.

Sir,

Some overtures having been made to congress, through Mr. Jay, our commissioner at the court of Madrid, for building frigates in America for and on account of his catholic majesty; and the proposals having been referred to the admiralty to confer with the navy boards of the eastern and middle districts, and obtain from them estimates of what would be the cost of a frigate of forty guns; and there being no navy board in Virginia, it was moved in congress by the delegates from that state, that the admiralty should also lay before congress estimates of the cost, etc., of building such frigates in Virginia, in which it would be proper to specify the terms and the time it would take to complete one or more such frigates. We have thought it proper to inform you thereof, that proper persons may be employed to make out such estimates for government, in order that they may be given in to the admiralty, to report upon to congress, as we are not willing that such lucrative and desirable contracts, the execution of which in the end must be attended with so many advantages, should be lost to our state, and engrossed by others, already so far advanced before us in the establishment of a marine. This estimate, transmitted as early as possible, will put it in the power of the delegates from Virginia to press its being transmitted to our commissioner at Madrid, with the estimate from the other states. And the subject itself, together with a speedy compliance, we have no doubt will strike you in the same important light in which it has us.² . . .

Journals under Nov. 8 (it is not however, as there stated, in the writing of James Madison, but in that of John Henry), and another, an impost measure worked out in detail and drawn principally, it appears, by Sullivan, was presented Dec. 18. This measure was debated Dec. 22, taken up again Jan. 18, 1781, and debated almost every day until Feb. 3, when a resolution was adopted calling upon the states to vest in Congress the power to lay a five per cent. impost duty. See especially Sullivan to Weare Nov. 15 (no. 514, *post*); cf. nos. 480, 481, *post*. For proceedings on the matter of estimates and ways and means see the *Journals*, Aug. 11, 22, 26, 30, Oct. 2, 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 16, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, Nov. 4, 8, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22. Of especial importance was the measure adopted Nov. 4 calling on the states for specific supplies. A circular letter to the states, to accompany these resolutions, was adopted Nov. 9. See also the *Journals*, Oct. 21, Nov. 7, 8, and nos. 490, 503, 506, 507, 512, *post*.

[470]¹ *Bland Papers* (1840, ed. Charles Campbell), II. 34.

² According to Ingersoll, Oct. 4 (no. 469, *ante*), the question of building frigates for Spain was to be discussed Oct. 5. The *Journals* do not however contain any record of the consideration of the subject; neither is there any reference to it in the letter to Jay, Oct. 17 (*Journals*, pp. 935-937). Cf. *ibid.*, May 28, 1781 (response to Jay's letter of Nov. 6, 1780), in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 112-150.

471. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

(Circular)

PHILADA., October 6, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 21. Ulto, containing a new Arrangement of the Army. Special Reasons have delayed the Sending of it forward to the several States until this Time.²

By this Arrangement the Number of Battalions is greatly reduced, and of Consequence many of the Officers now retained in the Service must retire for the present; but after just and equitable Compensation is made to them, the Saving of Expense will be very great.

Congress are extremely anxious, not only to avoid the Dangers and Embarrassments heretofore experienced by Delays in recruiting the Army until the Opening of the Campaign; but also to establish a permanent Army, of Troops engaged for the War, to consist of such Numbers as may be adequate to the Service, and at the same time not exceed the Ability of the States to raise and support, and constantly recruit so as to keep up the Number.

It is recommended to the States in the most pressing Manner to have their Regiments completed and in the Field by the first Day of January next at farthest. The Commander in Chief will cause immediate Returns to be made of the Deficiencies of each State according to this Arrangement.

You will observe Sir, that the respective States are to select from the Line of the Army the Number of Officers to command the several Regiments to them respectively assigned; taking Notice that no new Appointment is to be made of higher Rank than Lieut. Colonel Commandant, for substantial Reasons supposed to be known to all the States. But the first and immediate Object is to complete the Regiments to their full Number of non Commissioned Officers and Privates; which is recommended in the most pressing Manner as of the greatest Importance.³

[471]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 123; William L. Clements Library, Clinton Papers (to Governor Trumbull); Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers, XIII. 141 ("Duplicate"); N. J. State Lib.; N. H. State Papers, VIII. 873; Clinton Papers, VI. 278.

² See nos. 451, note 3, 468, note 3, *ante*. The resolutions sent out with this circular letter to the states bear the date Sept. 21 and are certified by Secretary Thomson. Cf. nos. 479, 480, *post*. Oct. 18 Washington despatched a circular letter to the several states, setting forth "the present state of the troops" of each, frankly pointing out the seriousness of the situation, and strongly appealing to the states to take speedy measures to comply with the requisitions of Congress. Texts of the letter are in *Clinton Papers*, VI. 309; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., X. 206. See, further, nos. 485, 491, 496, 501, *post*.

³ The copies of this circular letter which were addressed to the Eastern states were in the mail intercepted by the British Oct. 20. See nos. 480, note 7, 508, *post*.

472. JOHN MATHEWS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA Octr. 6th, 1780.

Sir,

Congress having Ordered a Court of inquiry on the conduct of Majr. Genl. Gates as Commander of the southern army, and directed your Excellency to appoint an officer to that command, I am authorized by the Delegates of the three southern states to communicate to Your Excellency their wish that Majr. Genl. Greene may be the Officer appointed to the Command of the southern department, if it would not be incompatible with the rules of the army²

I have the honor to be with the highest respect and the most sincere Esteem and regard

Yr. Exc'ys most Obedt. Servt.

JNO. MATHEWS

473. JAMES DUANE, NOTES OF DEBATES.¹

IN CONGRESS Fryday Evning 6th Octobr 1780.

Notes of the Debates on the Claim of Vermont

Motion *Resolved* that²

*Huntington Cont*³ That if the Resolution should pass it woud deprive the new State of an Opportunity of supporting their Claim. That he understood they had many things to insist on in favour of their Independancy; That an *ex parte* hearing woud be unjust; That it was true they had notice and he wished they woud have submitted their Claim to Congress; but as they had rejected our Authority we ought not to decide against them; That Commissioners ought to be appointed by Congress agreeable to the Laws of New York and New Hampshire and the Vermonteers called upon to support their Claims before them: and then Congress might determine the Cause.⁴

Col. Bland That he never coud agree to the Resolution moved for. It was an indirect and unfair manner of deciding the Question. It woud

[472]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² See the extracts from letters of Pettit, Biddle, and Richard Claiborne to Greene, in *Life of Greene*, II. 367-375. The court of inquiry was ordered Oct. 5. Concerning the appointment of Greene to the Southern command see no. 498, note 2, *post*.

[473]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Duane Papers, VI. 453.

² The motion is not recorded by Duane, but it was doubtless that of Madison, Sept. 16. See no. 452, note 2, *ante*, and nos. 475, 487, 513, 514, 527, 531, 539, *post*.

³ The names of the speakers are written in the margin of the manuscript opposite their respective remarks, but opposite Huntington's remarks is a list of all the speakers, including some whose remarks are not recorded. This list, except "Huntington Cont", was evidently written after Huntington's remarks had been recorded, and "Hon'l Messrs" written against the entire list. The marginal notation as it stands reads thus: "Speakers: Hon'l Messrs. Huntington Cont Bland Virg Maddison Virg Howly Georgia Ingersole Pens. Matthews S. Car Henry Maryl Van Dyke Del Bee S Carol."

⁴ The speaker was evidently Samuel Huntington. Cf. no. 487, *post*.

deprive the Vermontees of all future opportunity of Vindicating their Independance. That they had been grievously oppressed by New York. their Persons imprisoned and their Land seized; and had a Right to Independance. That New York had proved that New Hampshire had no Title and New Hampshire that New York had None; That therefore it belonged to *Neither*; That the Charter to the Duke of York comprehended New Jersey and Delaware and parts of Connecticut and Pensylvania and could not be admitted to establish a Title; That there were several independant Nations besides Vermont in the Bounds of the United States; the Cherokees Creeks etc. That

He therefore moved that the Resolution under Consideration should be postponed to make place for another which he moved, to witt, the People of Vermont declared an Independant State. But he was not seconded.⁵

Mr. Maddison. Expressed his surprize that the Motion should be represented as unfair or indirect. That he intended it to bring the true Question before Congress; for that if the District in Question was comprehended within the Jurisdiction of one or more of the United States, it must necessarily follow, that the Inhabitants could have no Right to set up an independant State. That it had been clearly proved to lie within New York or New Hampshire; for as these States were bounded upon each other there could be no Room between them for another Jurisdiction. That Congress by the original Union of the States must have a Superior deciding (?) power over the states and that⁶

Mr Howly. That Gentlemen had not touched on the true Grounds which ought to decide the present Question. The Right ought not to be considered; it was premature and tho' much might be said upon it, at this time it was improper. The Expediency of a Decision in the critical Situation of our Affairs ought alone to be the Basis of the determination. He then insisted that it was no time to controvert our Jurisdictions but to oppose their common Enemy. After expatiations on this Topic, he said that he must make some Remarks on the *Right*. That the people ought to be considered as direlict for New Hampshire had given up and abandond them. And that the King of Great Britain had no power without their own Consent to annex them to New York. That they never did acquiesce under that Government. That the Crown of England could not like an arbitrary German prince make over his People as if they were a Flock of Sheep. That New York did not begit the Inhabitants of the Grant; that they had treated them cruelly imprisond their persons and seized their Lands; that they had a Right to become Independant on the same principles which had Authorized these States the [to] shake off the British Yoke.

Mr. Ingersole That⁷

⁵ See no. 475. *post*.

⁶ Following the word "Congress" in the last sentence the words "having the Rights of peace and war could not and a" are erased, and the words "by the original Union of the States" inserted. After the words "must have a", "Controuling" is erased. Duane probably first erased "could not" and started to follow "having the Rights of peace and war" by "and a Controuling power", etc. After the word "Superior" the line has been so obliterated by a fold in the manuscript as to make the reading largely conjectural. Cf. no. 440, *ante*, and no. 475, *post*.

⁷ Ingersoll's remarks are not recorded.

474. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNORS OF MARYLAND, PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK.¹

PHILADA., October 7, 1780.

Sir,

I am directed by Congress to inform you that a Letter hath been received from the Commander in Chief at Head Quarters, representing that "the Army must again be reduced to Extremity for Want of Flour except a Supply should arrive in a few Days". It is therefore the earnest Request of Congress that what remains of the Quota of Flour from your State may be sent on with all possible Despatch.

[The same to Delaware, except the last sentence, which is as follows:]

As the Quota expected from the State of Delaware has not yet been forwarded, it is the earnest and most pressing Request of Congress that the same may be sent on with all possible Despatch.²

475. JAMES DUANE TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹[October 7, 1780.]²

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I wrote to your Excellency by Mr. Ray. As I then led you to expect Congress went in the Evening upon the Subject of Vermont and altho' there was a great disagreement in Opinion the Debates took a Turn³ which could not have been looked for and clearly satisfied me that several States were disposed to support the Independance of our revolted Citizens. The Deleg[ate]s of Pensylvania act under the Influence of Instructions from their Legislature requiring them to consent to no Act of Coercion agt any people friendly to the Revolution nor, to suffer at this critical conjuncture the Time of Congress to be taken up by the Concerns of any particular State. General Cornel the Delegate from Rhode Island has declared that many of the principal People of that State and the Officers and Soldiers of their Cont. Bat.⁴ have accepted Grants under the assumd State. It is even affirmed that the Governour is one and that he has desired the Delegates to take Care of his Interest. General Cornel has candidly confessed that he cannot Vote agt the Independ. of Vermont because it woud in effect Vacate those Grants. The Delegate from Delaware who did not hear a Word of the Evidence pronounced his opinion

[474]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 83; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 125 ("To Governors Clinton, Livingston and Lee and Presidt. Reed"); *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 138; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 583.

² The resolve respecting Delaware was passed Oct. 5, that respecting the other states Oct. 6.

[475]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Duane Papers, V. 233 (draft).

² The date of this letter is assumed from the fact that it was written the day after "Congress went in the Evening upon the Subject of Vermont", and from the statement concerning Blands motion, which, according to Duane's Notes of Debates, Oct. 6 (no. 473, *ante*), was made that day. Clinton's reply, Oct. 29, is in the Duane Papers, V. 239; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 345.

³ The words "most injurious to New York" are here erased.

⁴ Continental Battalion.

clearly that Congress could not interfere. Some other Members doubted their own Authority.⁵ Col. Bland a new Member from Virginia bluntly⁶ proposed a Resolution that Vermont should be declared independent tho his colleagues are of a different opinion;⁷ nor was he seconded.

Nothing therefore is to be expected from Congress. The Embarrassment of our publick Affairs and the bold Declarations of the Vermonters that they have allies and can make a separate peace are not I presume without Influence on this Occasion.⁸ But the acts of our Antagonists and the shameful prostitution of the disputed lands to gain a party in some of the States have in my Judgement no inconsiderable weight.

I am of Opinion that our Legislature must depend on their own Wisdom to manage this unhappy Business. I refer you to Mr. Knolton who has acted with the utmost firmness, Diligence and propriety for further Information.

The Time of my returning from Congress swiftly approaches merely for want of a supply of money to defray necessary Expences. I feel myself Hurt to be obliged to mention this subject again. But it is necessary that I may not be censured.

476. WILLIE JONES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA
(ABNER NASH).¹

PHILAD. Octr. 7th, 1780.

D'r S'r,

. . . . Congress yesterday² resolv'd that Genl. Washington order a Court of Inquiry on the Conduct of Genl. Gates as Commander of the Southern Army; and that he appoint an Officer to take that Command, in the Room of Genl. Gates, until the Inquiry shall be had.³

477. JOSEPH JONES TO JAMES MADISON.¹

SPRING HILL 9th Octr. 1780.

Dear S'r,

I think you acted very prudently in declining to press on the part of Virginia the Resolutions I left for the Consideration of Congress,² had

⁵ Cf. no. 487, *post*.

⁶ The initial letter is plainly "p", nevertheless it is believed that Duane meant to write "bluntly". For Bland's remarks and his motion see no. 473, *ante*.

⁷ Cf. nos. 443, 473, *ante*.

⁸ Cf. no. 461, *ante*.

[476]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 1184.

² The resolve was on Oct. 5.

³ Jones repeated this statement in a letter to Governor Nash Oct. 10 (*N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 113). In that letter he remarked: "I wrote to you fully on the 1st Inst., and another short Letter subsequent per favour of Mr. Stanley." The first letter referred to is no. 458, *ante*; the second evidently this letter of the 7th. He further remarked: "It was yesterday reported that eleven Regiments had embarked at New York, bound into Chesapeak Bay. Had I not the utmost Confidence in the consummate Virtue and Wisdom of Genl. Washington, I should murmur that greater Reinforcements have not been detached from the Grand Army to march to the Southward."

[477]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 30.

² See nos. 422, 430, 443, 458, *ante*, 486, *post*.

I been present I should have done the same as I had no intention when they were offered that Virginia should appear anxious about them whatever my opinion might be as to their propriety or Justice. I meant to leave them to the Candor of Congress and to those impartial reflections which ought ever and upon such great questions I trust will generally govern their Councils. I wished also to feel the pulse of that Body upon these points and to know the reasons that governed their resolutions, that if the resolutions were any of them rejected and the ground upon which they were overruled good, the Assembly of Virga. might in their deliberation on the subject perhaps be influenced by like considerations. I thought I could discover a strong propensity among some of the members to give independence to the people of Vermont. This affair ought to be a warning to Congress how to act in similar situations in future—To be remiss and indecisive upon such pretensions as these serves only to support and not discourage the Claimants. It does more, it shews the weakness or wickedness of Government and must ultimately produce dishonor and contempt. I have sent forward your Letter to the auditors and inclosed my account whereby the balance due to me is £3000 which I have directed to be applied to your use and requested the money might be forwarded to you as speedily as possible as I well knew you wanted it.³ . . . Have

³ Madison's account for services in Congress will be found under no. 443, *ante*, note 4. Below is Jones's account, rendered Oct. 7. Concerning the account he remarks further in his letter to Madison:

"The fourth of the eight thousand pounds drawn for is included in the three thousand pounds, and so I have informed the auditors; so that when Meade's orders are paid you must take on my account two thousand pounds. Out of Mrs. House's account of 8000 some odd dols. is to be deducted what I advanced for wine—5 s. hard money overpaid at the former settle'm't and the money advanced by me for the family, the amount of which I gave you in the first instance and Mrs. Trist in the second."

Following is the account (Library of Congress, Virginia, Miscellaneous):

"Dr. Joseph Jones in account with the Commonwealth of Virginia

1780	To one third of a draught on the Auditor for 23312 dol's by J.		
June	Henry J. Madison and J. Jones.....	2331.	4. 0
	To one fourth of a draught on the Auditor for £20.000—by J. Madison J. Walker Theo. Bland and J. Jones.....	5000.	0. 0
	To Bal	3079.	8. 9
		<hr/>	
		£10410.	12. 9
		<hr/>	
		£	
	To ¼ of 2 Warrants for £4000 ea.....	2000.	
	Balance as above.....	3079.	8. 9
		<hr/>	
	Due J. Jones Esq.....	1079.	8. 9

N. B. The draught of 23312 dol's was in favor of Col. Bland negotiated by Levi Hollingsworth. I signed two other draughts just before I left Philadelphia for £4000 each to Geo: Mead and Co. (I think) one fourth of which I am to be charged with when paid as Mr. Madison who furnished me with great part of his Cash received by Col. Bland to enable me to discharge my accounts before I came away is in my absence to receive the money for his reimbursement but the 2000 l. will not be sufficient. I request the balance of my account may be remitted to him as I am certain he must soon want the money if he is not already disposed for it

JOS: JONES

no reasons been assigned by the Minister for the disappointments respecting the expected reinforcement—if there are any that are worthy notice I should be glad to be furnished with them that I may do Justice to the good intentions of France and to their exertions in the common cause which some are but too apt to suspect upon the present occasion and though I am not among the number I must confess I am at a loss how fully to satisfy the doubts of some and to silence the insinuations of others who ground their observations upon the transactions of the present year and particularly the promised reinforcement. I have mentioned this matter in Confidence to you that if you think it proper you may take occasion to intimate to the proper persons how much it would contribute to the satisfaction of the Friends of the alliance to be able to give some satisfactory reasons for our disappointments not only of the aid to come to the Continent but of our expectations of advantages to be obtained over the Enemy by the combined Forces in the W. Indies—in short their inactivity there as well as in Europe. These I know are delicate matters but they are such as we ought to know as well for our future government as for silencing those who throw out insinuations injurious to France.⁴

478. WHITMILL HILL TO THOMAS BURKE.¹October 9, 1780.²

. . . . I have no particular matter to engage your attention now except our wretched prospect of succeeding in our *great Enterprise*, and for a moment view this Continent contending with the most powerful people on Earth, without one Shilling of Money in the Treasury, no public Magazines of Provisions, Forage, etc., laid up for the Army, which during this Campaign have been ten times without Bread, and as often without one mouthful of Meat, notwithstanding there is a great plenty in the Country: in fact, we have nothing to buy it with but Certificates issued

Cr.			
1780	By Board lodging washing etc. for self and one Servant from 23d April to 7th of September.....	7162.	19. 0
	By expences of four Horses part of the time and three the remainder	1862.	3. 9
	By Cash advanced on Express. 175 dol's.....	52.	10. 0
	By allowance for traveling to and from Philadelphia 480 miles at 2 dol's per mile is 960 dol's.....	288.	0. 0
	Ferriages going and returning.....	217.	0. 0
	By allowance of 20 dol's per day from 23d April to 7th Sept. is 138 days—2740 dol's	828.	0. 0
		£10410.	12. 9

Octo'r 7th 1780.

E Exd. Jos: Jones

Delegates in Congress.....	£10358.	2. 9
Contingent for Express.....	52.	10. —

£10410. 12. 9"

⁴ See Madison's reply, no. 490, *post*.[478]¹ *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 91.² This is a continuation of a letter the earlier part of which is undated, though probably written about the first of the month.

by the Commissary, etc. Of these the people are quite tired, and when it is to grow better I know not, as I am very apprehensive the new Emission will not have a Circulation when the attempt is made. Are you not alarmed at our Situation? Must confess I am exceedingly. Perhaps it may arise from my natural Timidity, but the more I reflect on our affairs the more gloomy prospects throw themselves within my View. Amidst all our domestic Inefficiency, our Allies appear to be at least inactive; the Armament sent to our Relief has been blocked up in Rhode Island ever since their Arrival; the British, by the latest accounts, keep the command of the channel, having, by putting to Sea early, prevented the junction of the combined Fleets; and, notwithstanding the very great superiority of the combined Fleets in the Wt. Indies, they have been hitherto inactive, and at last dwindled to nothing. In short, I know not what is to become of us.

I observe with pain the Restrictions you are obliged to make on Genl. Gates' Conduct, and have since the recpt. of your Letter prevailed on Congress to direct Genl. Washington to order a Court of Enquiry into his Conduct and to send a proper Officer to succeed him. I don't know yet who it will be, but have some Expectation it will be Green.³ . . .

479. JAMES DUANE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 10th October 1780.

My dear General,

Yesterday I had the Honour of your Excellency's very friendly Letter of the 4th Instant for which be pleased to accept my Warmest Thanks.

Before this reaches your Hands you will have received the new Arrangement of the Army. submitted, as it is, to your Opinion it is only to be considered as an Essay open to such Alterations as you may Suggest. The Idea of a Majority of Congress was clear that it would be too hazardous to risk the Defence of America on the practicability of drawing an Army for the War into the Field by the first of January: the Alternative therefore, as you will find it guarded, was thought necessary tho' All admitted a permanent Force to be most desirable. I saw and explained the danger of an *alternative* however cautiously expressed. The States may think they do enough if they comply with either of the injunctions; and while Men who make Arms a *profession*, have a prospect of being annually retained, for high premiums, they will hardly tie themselves at once for the War.

In the original proposition there was another Alternative—for the War, or *for three years*, besides that which gives your Excellency so much and such just apprehension. This last was rejected by a majority, perhaps unfortunately as in the opinion of many it strengthened the Reasons for the annual supply by drafts. I do not think it too late to correct this Error if pointed out with the Force that every thing falls from your Pen. The manner of Reduction is I am confident liable to great objection, and I

³ See no. 472, *ante*.

[479]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks). III. 113.

have no doubt but you will suggest a Rule or principle as *seniority* or anything you may think better, which will avoid the difficulty you suggest and meet with Approbation; for I do not conceive that a single Member will be tenacious of the provision on this Article. Indeed I am persuaded that your Excellency's Representations on this and every Subject will have as much Influence as you can wish, and that on this particular Occasion nothing but a clear conviction of impracticability will induce Congress to overrule your opinion.²

A false Estimate of the Power and Perseverance of our Enemies was friendly to the present revolution, and inspired that confidence of success, in all Ranks of people, which was necessary to unite them in so arduous a Cause. you cannot forget the Opinions which were current on this Floor at the first and Second Congresses and how firmly they established this Error. We seem to part with it with Reluctance; it still hangs heavy upon us; and has produced the Indecision the Expedients and the Debility of which you complain. I hope Misfortunes and Distresses will at length rouse us to just Sentiments and vigorous Exertions; and with your Excellency I pray God that the fatal Delusion which has marked our Conduct may end here. . . .

I am much obliged to your Excellency for your Account of the Interview at Hartford; and beg you to believe that no Man can be with greater Affection and personal Estachment, than I am

My dear General Your most Obedient and very humble Servant

JAMES DUANE.

480. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, October 10, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I do myself the honour to write to your Excellency by this day's post; and when I reflect that I have been honoured by only two letters from you since I arrived at this place, I fear my scrolls have been disagreeable, but shall continue them until I am informed.

The arrangements of the army hath passed in Congress in the same form I mentioned in my last.² So far as respects the reducing officers is referred to General Washington for his opinion on the mode proposed before it will be published. So far as it respects the number of troops and time of service for the ensuing year, is ordered to be sent to the respective states which I apprehend you will receive before this will reach you, by which you will see our quota is five hundred and eighty non-

² Cf. nos. 422, note 3, 440, 451, *ante*, and nos. 480, 485, 496, 501, *post*. See also the *Journals*, Oct. 21.

[480]¹ *New York Royal Gazette, Extraordinary*, Oct. 25, 1780; Pub. Rec. Office, A. W. I. 139: 44 (so in Stevens's Index; the letter could not however be found under that reference); R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780 (copy); Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 314.

² No. 441, *ante*; cf. nos. 451, 468, 471, *ante*, and nos. 485, 491, 496, 501, *post*.

commissioned officers and privates. I trust the State will have no objection to the number, and I flatter myself they will take measures to have the quota compleated for the war, and in the field by the time limited at least it is my most earnest wish; and I hope to be so happy as to have the Honourable General Assembly to concur with me in sentiments.

Congress is busily employed in committee and otherwise, in reducing the public expences and devising ways and means for raising money and supplies, and preparing an estimate of the national expence for the year ensuing.³

The affair of the Hampshire grants is yet before Congress undetermined, and I am not able to say positively what will be done, but have reason to believe Commissioners will be appointed agreeable to the Confederation to enquire into and settle the claims between the States of New York and New-Hampshire, and report to Congress, After which it is probable the Independence of Vermont will be taken into consideration.⁴

Congress have ordered an enquiry to be made into General Gates's conduct during his command to the southward, and that he be suspended from his command until such enquiry be made; and directed General Washington to send a Major-General to take the command of the Southern army.

Your Excellency was pleased to inform, in your letter of the 25th of July, that the General Assembly had, at their last session, adopted the resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last, and fixed sufficient funds for the redemption of the States quota.⁵ I expected the act would have been sent forward long before this, but as it hath not come to hand, I wish to know the reason that I may be able to answer Congress when I am called upon which hath been done often. I have not the least doubt but it hath been kept back upon just principles and I wish the prospect of the new bills having a quick circulation, was greater than I have any assurance of in those States that have received them.

Congress last week compleated the system of the Hospital department, and made choice of the necessary Surgeons, Physicians and Hospital officers, by which means more than fifty Surgeons, etc. have gone to the right about by the number being lessened by which means I am sure much money will be saved, and I trust the sick will be better taken care of.⁶

I have the honour to be with every sentiment of respect and esteem,
your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

EZEKIEL CORNELL.

His Excellency William Green, Esq.⁷

³ See no. 469, note 6, *ante*; cf. nos. 481, 514, 529, *post*.

⁴ See nos. 473, 475, *ante*, and nos. 487, 513, 509, *post*.

⁵ See no. 382, *ante*.

⁶ See the *Journals*, Sept. 30.

⁷ This letter was in a mail intercepted by the British at Stratford, Conn., on the night of Oct. 20. See the *Journals*, Nov. 2, Dec. 12; also no. 471, *ante*, and nos. 500, 508, 509, *post*. Another mail was captured at the end of November. See nos. 514, 518, 550, *post*.

481. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹PHILADA. [October 10, 1780.]²

Dear Sir,

I received yesterday yours of the 2d inst:³ Some of the questions mentioned in it I anticipated in my last. The clause of the resolutions you left on the table relating to Indian purchases is still undetermined. Many attempts have been made to bring the Vermont dispute to an issue, but the diversity of opinions that prevail on one side and the dilatory artifices employed on the other have frustrated them. All the evidence has been heard and a proposition for including it within the jurisdiction of some one of the States debated for some time, but the decision was suspended.⁴ An arrangement of the Army founded on G. Washington's letter, has passed Congress and is now with the Genl. for his observations on it. It includes a recommendation to the States to fill up their quotas.⁵ No

[481]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081 (addressed to him at Fredericksburg); *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 60; *Writings of Madison* (ed. Hunt), I. 91.

² In the *Madison Papers* (as also in *Writings*, which uses the same text) this letter is given the date "November, 1780". The letter is actually undated, but was evidently written shortly after Oct. 6 and certainly before Oct. 16. For instance, it was on Oct. 6 that the Vermont discussion took place, and it was on the same day that the medical officers (Doctors Shippen, Craik, and Cochran) were elected. On the other hand, Washington's observations on the army measure, for which Madison says Congress was waiting, were received Oct. 16, and it was on the same day that the committee which was preparing the explanatory letter to Jay brought in its report (the instructions had been adopted Oct. 4). Moreover, Madison's letter to Edmund Pendleton Oct. 10 (*Writings*, I. 73) contains essentially the same news as in this letter to Jones and very much in the same language. It is also to be remarked that Madison was accustomed to write to his Virginia correspondents on Tuesdays (with occasional variations), the day being determined by the arrival and departure of the post. See, for instance, the letters of Oct. 17 and 24 (nos. 486, 490, *post*). It may therefore be confidently assumed that this letter was written Tuesday, Oct. 10.

On the back of this letter (outside) is the following brief message: "Sir, I have the pleasure to inform you that an express is just arrived fr'm Richmond w'h the news of an Action on the 7. Inst. between Col. Ferguson of the British w'h 1400 Regulars and Tories, and 1600 No. Carolina Militia commanded by five Colonels, it was very obstinate, lasted 47 Minutes the Enemy were defeated with the loss of their commanding Off[icer] 150 killed 810 take[n] Prisoners, w'h several [h]undred Stand of Arms. I am S'r Yrs. W. S."

"W. S." has not been identified. His message was evidently placed upon Madison's letter at some point during its passage southward, probably in Fredericksburg. In his letter to Madison Oct. 24 (*Letters*, ed. Ford, p. 38) Jones remarks: "I presume the post carried you the account of our success against Ferguson's party by a body of North Carolina militia. It is said the news came to our Governor by express from Genl. Gates. From Richmond Genl. Muhlenberg communicated the intelligence by express to Genl. Weedon; but no doubt the Governor has given the President full information. Our account was that Ferguson and 150 of the enemy were slain, 810 prisoners with a large number of arms taken."

General Weedon (as Jones indicates farther on in the letter) was at the time in Fredericksburg, and the express mentioned by W. S. was no doubt that from Muhlenberg to Weedon (see Walker to Weedon, Oct. 24, no. 490, note 2, *post*). The first news of the battle of King's Mountain appears to have reached Congress through Gates's letter of Oct. 12, transmitted by Jefferson Oct. 15, and read in Congress Oct. 23.

³ No. 463, *ante*. According to Madison's weekly schedule of letters to Jones there should be a letter of Oct. 3, which is probably the one he refers to as "my last". A letter of that date to Jones is missing, although there is one to Pendleton (*Writings*, I. 72), to whom Madison almost uniformly wrote on the same day on which he wrote to Jones.

⁴ Cf. nos. 473, 475, *ante*, and no. 487, *post*.

⁵ See no. 468, note 3, *ante*.

arrangement of the civil departments has taken place.⁶ A new medical system has been passed. Shippen is again at the head of it. Craig and Cochran have not been forgotten.⁷ The instructions relating to the Mississippi have passed entirely to my satisfaction. A committee is now preparing a state of the reasons and principles on which they stand.⁸

Lee has not yet arrived.⁹

482. CHARLES THOMSON TO JOHN JAY.¹

PHILAD. Oct. 12th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . I have been anxious with respect to your being regularly informed of what is passing here. Many things have happened since you left us, of which you ought to be acquainted. I perceive the Minister of Spain is desirous to know the state of our finances. They have undergone a considerable Change, since your departure, particularly with regard to the money or paper bills heretofore emitted for the purpose of carrying on the war. On this Subject though I can explain myself to you, it will be no easy matter for you to give a satisfactory Account to people in Europe who are entire strangers to our paper money. And yet this ought to be done to prevent the ill impressions that may be made by the clamours of disappointed men, who hoped to accumulate mountains of wealth from our misfortune. Congress, having before your departure resolved not to emit a greater quantity of Bills than 200 millions Dollars, and having, in order to stop a farther depreciation and fix the value of that Sum, settled the mode of redeeming it by annual assessment for eighteen years, found themselves under a necessity to call upon the States to raise by taxes the Sum of Fifteen Millions a month in order to carry on the war.² But as the legislatures were slow in raising the taxes, and the demands of the Public were pressing, the people found they were *solicited* to sell before the want of money *urged* them; and consequently foreseeing that their taxes would be heavy, every one determined to ease himself and make his own particular burden as light as possible by raising the price of Commodities wanted. The result of this was, that the money depreciated more than ever, and the monthly Assessments when paid in were found to be no wise adequate to the public demands, as every thing wanted for the army was, by the month of January, raised to double the nominal price of what it was in the month of October when you left us. The Merchants and Traders, who dealt in foreign articles and who are always watchful to secure themselves, taking advantage of the depreciation raised the price of their commodities to an enormous degree, so that the Commonwealth lay like a Ship stranded, whose mariners instead of exerting themselves to save her were wholly employed in securing to themselves as much of

⁶ See no. 463, note 4, *ante*.

⁷ See nos. 434, 440, *ante*.

⁸ See the *Journals*, Aug. 22, Sept. 3, 29, Oct. 4; *cf.* nos. 406, note 3, 469, *ante*, and nos. 519, 522, *post*.

⁹ See Jones's inquiry, Oct. 2 (no. 463, *ante*).

[482]¹ N. Y. Hist Soc., *Collections: Rev. Papers*, I. 31.

² See the *Journals*, Sept. 1, 3, 8, Oct. 7, 1779.

the Cargo as possible, leaving her to the mercy of winds and waves. In order to supply the wants of the Army, which could not be provided for by taxes, Congress in the month of February called on the several States for specific supplies of provisions and forage.³ But, before these could be brought in, such advantage was taken of the public wants, which were wholly supplied by purchase on Credit, that the nominal debt of the Continent was increased almost beyond calculation. Of this you will easily judge, when you are informed that in the month of March Commodities were sold in the market at Philadelphia at four times the price they were in the month of September. In short a Continental Dollar was valued at no more than a penny half penny, and in many instances not more than a penny, so that the depreciation was fluctuating from 60 to 90 for one, and no body knew where it would settle. Upon this our enemies took Courage and flattering themselves that Congress must sink under these embarrassments, they set every engine to work to continue and increase them, by counterfeiting the Currency, multiplying their emissaries to decry its credit, tampering with our army and at the same time prosecuting the war with a greater degree of vigour than they had done from the commencement of it. To the honor of our country, I must inform you that history cannot produce such instances of fortitude, patience and perseverance as were exhibited by our virtuous army. Though exposed to hunger and nakedness amidst the rigours of a most inclement winter they struggled through with unparalleled firmness, and notwithstanding the tempting bribes and offers of the enemy, and the incredible hardships our Soldiers suffered, the desertions were comparatively few. Congress finding it necessary, in order to baffle the designs of the enemy and curb intestine avarice, to adopt more decided measures, resolved on the 18th of March to call in, by taxes in the course of one year, and burn all the paper bills heretofore emitted to the amount of 200 millions dollars, and in lieu thereof to issue ten millions new money, which was to be issued as fast and no faster than the old was brought in. That is to say for every 20 Dollars of the old money paid into the treasury, one dollar of the new emission was to be perfected and lodged there for the purposes of the war. It was further resolved that in the payment of Taxes Gold and Silver might be received at the rate of one for 40, at which rate also the new money was to be received, by which means its value was fixed, and those who had amassed large quantities of the old paper were disappointed in their hopes of converting it into gold, dollar for dollar. Congress proceeded farther and fixed the value of the Certificates given for money loaned from Sept. 1777, to March, 1780, rating the value of the continental money on every day between those two periods that the lender might receive the value of the money lent, both principal and Interest, and that the public might not be loaded with a debt for which they had not received an equivalent. For it was judged to be contrary to every rule of right and justice that the landed interest, which is the principal object of taxation should be loaded with the burden of paying off a Certificate for instance of 200 Dollars which was procured with the price of

³ See especially the *Journals*, Feb. 25, 1780.

three bushels of wheat or a bushel of salt and sometimes for less, with that number of silver dollars, worth in reality from 60 to 100 times the value of the money lent. And yet this must have been the Case had Congress persisted in the mode of redemption adopted in 1779. These regulations were deemed so just and equitable that the people acquiesced and the States have generally enacted laws conformable thereto. By these means the debt incurred by a war of six years was fixed at about one or two and twenty millions of dollars—a war which has cost our enemies in the same time upwards of Sixty millions pounds Sterling. I ought to have observed to you that out of the ten millions, issued in lieu of the 200 millions which were ordered to be paid in by taxes and burned, congress assigned six millions to the States to enable them to purchase the specific Articles required of them, reserving four millions for paying the Army and defraying the expenses of transportation and other incidental charges. But while these measures were in agitation and before they could be carried into execution, our enemies pressing on the war with vigour, Congress found themselves exceedingly straitened for want of money and were from necessity forced upon a measure which I fear will give you and our other ministers in Europe some trouble: I mean that of drawing bills here.⁴ To our want of money may be ascribed the Enemy's success in Carolina. For although Congress had timely notice of Sir H. Clinton's intentions last fall and notwithstanding his tedious passage and the slowness of his proceeding after his arrival, owing to the losses he had sustained by a violent storm on his voyage, yet for want of money Congress could not forward with sufficient dispatch the succour intended, and consequently the Communication between Charlestown and the country was cut off and the enemy had time by regular approaches to force a surrender.⁵

I suppose you will be informed, through another channel, that after the surrender of Charlestown, Mr. Laurens returned to Philadelphia and for some time took his seat in Congress, and after a few weeks Stay he embarked for Holland on his first appointment. You will also without doubt hear of Mr. Searle's embarking for Europe.⁶ The design of his going is a profound secret; but it is conjectured that he is sent on some business by the Council of this State. I am mistaken in the Character of the man if his business and mission remain long a secret after his arrival.

483. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA October [17 ?] 1780.

Your Excellency's Letter of the 2. Instant addressed to the Delegates of Connecticutt hath been received. I am also honored with your favor of the Same Date

⁴ See nos. 305-309, *ante*.

⁵ Thomson here relates at some length the principal events of the war during the year past, particularly the Southern campaign, and also recounts the Arnold episode.

⁶ See no. 309, note 2, *ante*, and *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 399, 514, 532, 625, IX. 62, 311, 367, 519, 564, 589.

[483]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M.H.S.), XIII. 49; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XIII. 49.

Why Commissioners have not already been sent by the Board of Treasury to settle Accounts in the late Commissary's Department, I am not able to say. Two additional Chambers of Accounts have been lately appointed, more especially for that Purpose. I believe they will soon enter upon the Business.²

A Committee have reported that the first thursday of December be set apart as a Day of Thanksgiving and Prayer, but their Report hath not yet passed in Congress.

Judge Sherman, thro' Want of Health hath been obliged to leave us sooner than I expected. B. Huntington Esqr. and Myself will be released of Course the last of this Month, if the last Appointment and Commission does not arrive by that Time. . . .

The Treason of Benedict Arnold hath been the Topic of much Conversation, and many of his scandalous Transactions are brought to Light that were before concealed. The Papers enclosed will give some Information on that Subject. The Proceedings against Major André who was executed as a Spy are ordered to be published and now in the Press, which will give some further Particulars of Arnolds Conduct

By our last Accounts from the Southward a Party of the Enemy had advanced as far as Charlotte No. Carolina; tho' their Force is but small, our Army had not been so collected as to make effectual Resistance. There appears such a Dissatisfaction to the Southward respecting the Conduct of Genl. Gates since the unfortunate Event of the 16. of August, which is commonly the Consequence of a Defeat that Congress have found it necessary to order a Court of Enquiry respecting his Conduct, and directed the Commander in Chief to appoint another Officer to take the Command in that Department in the mean Time.³

484. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 17th, 1780.

Dear Sir:

I had the honour to receive your Excellencys favour of the 4th Instant, by yesterdays Post, with the inclosed Newspapers containing the Act of the Hon'e the General Assembly for funding the Money to be emitted pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 18th of March.

The act of the General Assembly is refered to the Board of Treasury. As soon as the Money is struck I shall endeavor to forward it to the State, without loss of time. How soon that business will be accomplished I am not able to ascertain, but fear it will be some time.

You may depend on my best endeavors to obtain a grant of money for the State, and I wish I could say that I expected success in the business,

² See the *Journals*, June 12, 13, July 31, Aug. 28, Oct. 2, Dec. 12. The "late Commissary" was Joseph Trumbull. Concerning the settlement of his accounts see vol. III., p. 450 n., vol. IV., pp. 126, 142, 195.

³ See no. 472, *ante*.

[484]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 112; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 315.

But when I consider the large sums due to the States of New York and New Jersey and the late applications made by them to Congress for relief, and that they received for answer that it was inadmissible even to give them a draught on the Loan office for a part of the four tenths in their own states, I think I am not warranted to give you any encouragement that the request will be granted in our present distressed situation. At the same time I could wish to have an exact account of the Money furnished by the State to the D. Q. M. General, as I am confident no grant can be obtained on general principals.

Necessity obliges me to hint to your Excellency that my circumstances, for want of cash are not altered for the better, since I mentioned that subject before. I do not complain but submit my case to your own feelings and rely on the Justice of my Constituents for relief.

Our affairs at the south wear at present a gloomy aspect. The Enemy have by the last official accounts Marched in force into North Carolina, and taken Post at Charlotte, and I fear (by the complexion of affairs) soon to hear they have nearly possessed themselves of that State. General Gates hath lost all confidence with the people in that Quarter and in a particular manner, with General Smallwood, who is the Next in command. General Washington has not informed Congress of the officer ordered to take the Command of the southern Army.² I wish it soon to take place for at present you may depend all is in disorder and the Utmost confusion.

P. S.—I received a large packet from Virginia inclosed to your Excellency, containing sundry Acts passed in that State, which I do myself the Honour to forward by this day's Post.

I have also Inclosed two News papers containing a particular detail of Major André's conduct, and the infamous Arnolds Address, to which is added another prepared for the press by Mr. Secretary Thompson. Major André's Trial is now in the press: as soon as published I will do myself the Honour to enclose one to your Excellency.³

485. JOHN MATHEWS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Octr. 17th, 1780.

My dear Sir,

At the time I wrote to you respecting that part of the system for the army that had been agreed on by Congress, I had despaired of its' being submitted to your opinion. I had moved for it, but my proposition was rejected, on a principle, that the whole should go together. We have received your Exc's sentiments on this very important subject such as I evidently foresaw would be the result of your serious consideration. Your observations are incontrovertible, and unless Congress are so bigoted to the Idol they have set up, and are determined to reject every principle that can have the least tendency to invalidate the foundation on which it is

² See no. 472, *ante*.

³ See Bibliographical Notes, *Journals*, XVIII. 1236.

[485]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 118.

erected, they must ultimately adopt the plan you propose. No other, I am convinced, can ever answer our purposes. But even in this case a most tremendous inconvenience arises for here is the month of October better than half spent, and probably before Congress come to a final determination, November will be arrived, and then there remains only two months, for prosecuting this great work. The time is certainly too short for it's completion. I consequently dread the arrival of the first day of January. Had Congress put this business in the train that was proposed early in Sept. so much precious time would have been saved, as, in all probability would have given success to the plan. However, we must now use our best endeavours to put things on as good a footing as the nature of the case will admit of. Yr. Exc's letter of the 11th inst. is committed to the same Committee who brought in the former report, together with that report, but nothing is, as yet, done in it.

My plan respecting the annual recruits was only meant to render the system as useful as possible, for if an alternative must be admitted into it, we should endeavour to derive every possible advantage from it. I therefore thought it best to have the *power* to detain the men, and take our chance for it's success, rather than that they should at all events be at liberty to disband themselves at a certain day.²

Your Exc's appointment of Genl. Greene to the command of the Southern army has given general satisfaction. To the five Southern States, I know it has given the highest satisfaction.

486. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

PHILADA. Oct. 17th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

The Post having failed to arrive this week, I am deprived of the pleasure of acknowledging a line from you.²

Congress have at length been brought to a final consideration of the clause relating to Indian purchases. It was debated very fully and particularly, and was in the result lost by a division of the house. Under the first impression of the chagrin I had determined to propose to my colleagues to state the whole matter to the Assembly with all the circumstances and reasonings of the opponents to the measure. But on cooler reflection I think it best to leave the fact in your hands to be made use of as your prudence may suggest. I am the rather led to decline the first de-

² Concerning the measure for the arrangement of the army see nos. 451, 468, 471, 479, 480, *ante*, and nos. 491, 496, 501, *post*. Washington's letter to Congress Oct. 11 (see no. 468, note 3, *ante*) was committed Oct. 16. For the action of Congress upon it see the *Journals*, Oct. 20, 21. One provision which Washington had insisted upon in his letter of Aug 20, which was the basis of the army arrangement, was half-pay to the officers for life. Congress failed to accede to his recommendation, but in his letter of Oct. 11 he again earnestly besought them to make this provision, not only as an act of justice to the officers but as a measure of true economy. See nos. 491, 493, 501, *post*. [486]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 79; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 53.

² A letter the same day to Edmund Pendleton (*Writings*, I. 81) contains a similar statement, followed by a recital of sundry items of news, most of which is also found in the letter to Jones.

termination because I am pretty confident that whatever the views of particular members might be it was neither the wish nor intention of many who voted with them to favor the purchasing companies. Some thought such an assurance from Congress unnecessary because their receiving the lands from the States as *vacant* and unappropriated excluded all individual claims, and because they had given a general assurance that the cession should be applied to the common benefit. Others supposed that such an assurance might imply that without it Congress would have a right to dispose of the lands in any manner they pleased and that it might give umbrage to the States claiming an exclusive jurisdiction over them. All that now remains for the Ceding States to do is to annex to their cessions the express condition that no private claims be complied with by Congress. Perhaps it would not be going too far by Virginia who is so deeply concerned to make it a condition of grant that no such claim be admitted even within the grants of others, because when they are given up to Congress she is interested in them as much as others, and it might so happen that the benefit of all other grants except her own might be transferred from the public to a few landmongers. I cannot help adding however that I hope this incident in Congress will not discourage any measures of the Assembly which would otherwise have been taken of ratifying the Confederation. Under the cautions I have suggested, they may still be taken with perfect security.³

Congress have promoted Col. Morgan to the rank of a Brigadr. on the representations in favor of it from Govrs. Rutledge and Jefferson and G'l Gates.⁴ The latter is directed to be made a subject of a Ct. of Enquiry, and G'l Washington is to send a successor into the Southern department. The new arrangement of the army sent to the Genl. for his revision, has brought from him many judicious and valuable observations on the subject which with the arrangement are in the hands of a Committee.⁵ . . .

[P. S.] A letter from the Continental Agt. at Statia just recd. by the Commercial Committee reduces the capture of the B. fleet by Spaniards almost to certainty.⁶

487. JAMES DUANE TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILDA. Oct. 18, 1780.

The business of Vermont stands suspended on account of the necessary provisions for the army and other pressing and indispensable calls for the attention of Congress. It shall be resumed and a decision procured the first opening. The sentiments of some States are clearly influenced by personal and private interests, not, I believe, of the delegates, but of their

³ See the motion of the Virginia delegates Sept. 6; also the *Journals*, Sept. 9, 18, Oct. 10; also nos. 422, 426, 430, 442, 443, 458, 477, *ante*, and nos. 489, 519, 629, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Oct. 13; *cf.* nos. 317, 321, *ante*.

⁵ See no. 485, *ante*.

⁶ In a similar postscript to the letter to Pendleton mentioned in note 2 the words "at Statia" are printed "as stated". See no. 506, note 4, *post*.

[487]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 52, vol. III., p. 355 (extract).

principal friends. Connecticut I am sorry to count among the number, as to this period a majority of their delegates were clear to decide on the claims of the Vermonters, which they seem now to evade.²

488. WILLIE JONES TO THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA
(ABNER NASH).¹

Oct. 18th, 1780.

D'r Sir:

I wrote to you of the 1st Oct. and 10th,² to which I refer. The Resolution of Congress, directing Genl. Washington to appoint an officer to take the Command of the Southern Army instead of Genl. Gates, was immediately sent to Head Quarters, but the General has not informed Congress of his proceedings thereupon, nor can I advise you who will be appointed to that Command. Genl. Gates sent us dispatches three or four days ago, advising that Ld. Cornwallis had penetrated our State as far as Charlotte. These Dispatches were immediately forwarded to the Commander in Chief, and I have some small hopes that he will be thereby induced to detach some troops to the Southward, perhaps Lee's Corps—for every Idea of acting to the Northward is now laid aside. However, I am not sanguine in this Expectation. We have Reports every day of Reinforcements going from N. York either to No. Carolina or Virginia, but nothing which can be depended on. I hope both those States will consider it as a thing certain that Reinforcements will be sent from New York in the course of the ensuing winter.

The News papers will inform you of the Capture of the Et. and Wt. India Fleets outward bound. A Letter to the Commercial Committee gives a more authentick account. . . .

I hope to leave this place in three weeks, but this depends on Remittances from Carolina, for I have been long out of Cash.

489. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, October 24th, 1780.

Dear Sir:

I do myself the honor to inclose to your Excellency the proceedings of a Board of General Officers on the case of Major André, a veiw of the title of a tract of Country called Indianna, and a resolution that passed in Congress on Saturday last. Together with this day's paper.

The Indiana affair is a matter of great consequence. the state of Virginia hath undertaken to vacate the title made to the grantees and take the

² See nos. 473, 475, *ante*, and nos. 513, 514, 527, 531, 539, *post*.

[488]¹ *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 121.

² The letter of Oct. 1 is no. 458, *ante*; that of Oct. 10 is in *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 113. He speaks therein of the court of inquiry on General Gates's conduct, of the execution of André, etc. See also a brief letter from William Sharpe to Thomas Burke, Oct. 13, *ibid.*, p. 119.

[489]¹ *R. I. Arch.*, Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 114; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 316.

land to themselves, which proceedings gives much uneasiness to the original proprietors as it is a Country of immense value and they have made applications to Congress for relief who in my opinion, have little to do in the affair but both parties have their advocates.²

I shall make no Comment on the Resolution of Congress, as my sentiments will appear by the yeas and nays³ at the same time I wish nothing therein contained may in the least operate to the retarding of the recruiting service. You will also see the Regs. are augmented, which was occasioned by Genl. Washington informing Congress that he had been obliged, in his late Conference with the French gentlemen at Hartford to fix on a number of men for the next Campaign equal to what is now called for, and that Estimate was sent to France. . . .

On Thursday last a letter from Arthur Lee was read in Congress, the subject matter was taken up and all the old members appeared perfectly acquainted therewith tho' not fully agreed. I must Confess I am not able as yet to find the right side of the Question if there is one but I am sure there is a high Quarrel which at present I wish to have no hand in but it appears a winter's work is cutting out I hope it will not operate to the procrastination of business of greater moment. I shall do myself the honour to enclose your Excellency a Copy of Mr. Lees letter in my next.⁴

² Memorials of the proprietors of the Indiana and Vandalia tracts were presented to Congress Sept. 27 and Oct. 14. Later these land companies came into special prominence in connection with the question concerning the Western lands. With regard to the proposed cession by Virginia see no. 486, *ante*, and no. 519, *post*.

³ The resolution of Saturday, Oct. 21, to which Cornell refers was doubtless that pertaining to the army. See no. 485, note 2, *ante*, and no. 501, *post*.

⁴ Arthur Lee's letter, dated Oct. 17, is in the *Journals*, Oct. 19, except that the postscript is there omitted. The whole (erroneously dated Oct. 7) is in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 85. The committee to whom the letter was referred brought in a report Oct. 30, but it was not acted upon until Dec. 2. Cf. no. 506, *post*. The same day on which Cornell was writing, Lee wrote to Count Sarsfield:

"M. de la Luzerne I hear has conducted himself perfectly free from party. I am sorry I cannot say as much of M. Marbois, who seems closely knit with the remnants of the Deane faction, tho' they were dismissed from Congress for their conduct in that affair, and are I verily [believe] confirmed and dangerous Tories.

"In a few days the recall of Dr. Franklin will be moved for in Congress, but how it will be decided is very doubtful, not for want of an almost universal persuasion of his unfitness and misconduct, but there is an apprehension it will be disagreeable to the court." Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 32, vol. II. (extract); cf. no. 420, note 5, *ante*.

To James Warren, Lee wrote, Oct. 30: "I am in hopes of settling my Affairs with Congress without the disagreeable necessity of a public Appeal. I find Congress much disposed to attend to public business, and avoid disputes; a laudable disposition and worthy of being cultivated, tho' my Arch-Enemy Mr. Duane avails himself of it to prevent my having full justice, which Congress, but for the fear of his exciting new discord upon it, seem perfectly inclin'd to do me" (*Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 142). See the letters of Richard Henry Lee to Arthur Lee, Aug. 31 and Oct. 29, in *Letters* (ed. Ballagh), II. 196, 206.

Samuel Holten wrote to Elbridge Gerry from his home in Danvers, Mass., Oct. 26: "On Wednesday last the Mins. of France arriv'd in Boston. I spent the chief of three days with him and some length of time in private conversation. he expressed a great desire of seeing you, but if he sits out this morning as he intended you may not see him. it would give me pleasure to make you acquainted with what information I have recd. from him, but really I have not time as the bearer stands waiting. We have got a small Loan in Spain." Furnished by courtesy of Professor S. E. Morison.

490. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

Dear Sir,

PHILADA. Octr. [24,] 1780.²

Your favor of the 9th which ought to have come on Monday last did not arrive till thursday. That of the 17th came yesterday according to expectation.³

I wish it was in my power to enable you to satisfy the uneasiness of people with respect to the disappointment in foreign succour. I am sensible of the advantage which our secret enemies take of it. I am persuaded, also that those who ought to be acquainted with the cause are sensible of it; and as they give no intimations on the subject it is to be inferred they are unable to give any that would prevent the mischief. It is so delicate a subject, that with so little probability of succeeding, it would perhaps be hardly prudent to suggest it. As soon as any solution comes out you shall be furnished with it.⁴

We continue to receive periodical alarms from the Commissary's and Quarter Master's departments. The season is now arrived when provision ought to be made for a season that will not admit of transportation, and when the monthly supplies must be subject to infinite disappointments even if the States were to do their duty. But instead of Magazines being laid in our army is living from hand to mouth, with a prospect of being soon in a condition still worse. How a total dissolution of it can be pre-

[490]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 76; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 55.

² In the table of contents of the Gilpin edition of the *Madison Papers* the date of this letter is given as Oct. 20. It is more probable however that the letter was written on Tuesday, Oct. 24. On that day Congress had under consideration the report of the committee on a letter from the commissary-general of purchases, as well as other matters pertaining to ways and means, to which Madison appears to allude (see also the *Journals*, Oct. 23, 25; cf. nos. 506, 512, *post*). Furthermore, he adds in a postscript, "A confirmation of the capture of the B. fleet is just recd. from Mr. Harrison at Cadiz", as in a like postscript to a letter to Pendleton (*Writings*, I. 74), similarly dated "Oct. 1780", he says, "The President has just communicated a letter from Mr. Harrison at Cadiz confirming the capture of the B. fleet" (see no. 486, *ante*). Harrison's letter was read Oct. 24. He also mentions to Pendleton that his letter of Oct. 17 "came yesterday according to expectation". The post was due to arrive in Philadelphia on Monday. Concerning Madison's custom of writing on Tuesdays see no. 481, note 2, *ante*.

John Walker wrote Oct. 24 to Gen. George Weedon, then in Fredericksburg (see no. 480, note 2, *ante*):

"I thank you for your fav'r of the 10th Inst. It should have received an Answer sooner had the Post of that week arrived before the other went out. A gleam of Light has sprung up in the South which I hope will soon overspread that Hemisphere. I am of opinion that Ferguson's defeat will prove the Prelude to a second Burgonade.

"For the News of this Quarter I refer you to the inclosed Paper. In a few days you will probably see Colo. Meade: he and old Harrison are now here on their way to Virg'a from them you will hear many things which it might not be altogether proper to commit to a Letter. I hope to have the pleasure of writing you in Fred'sburg about the middle or 20th of Novr.

"Genl. Green is to take command in the South'n Department and is daily expected here on his way

"P. S. We have just recd. a confirmation of the capture of about 50 of the British outward bound East and West India Fleets with 1000 Highlanders by the French and Spanish Fleets off Cape Finistere." Am. Phil. Soc., Weedon Papers, no. 46.

³ Jones's letter of Oct. 9 is in *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 30; that of Oct. 17 is *ibid.*, p. 37. An extract of the first is no. 477, *ante*.

⁴ See Jones's query (letter of Oct. 9, *ante*) concerning the reported French reinforcement.

vented in the course of the winter is for any resources now in prospect utterly inexplicable, unless the States unanimously make a vigorous and speedy effort to form magazines for the purpose. But unless the States take other methods to procure their specific supplies than have prevailed in most of them, the utmost efforts to comply with the requisitions of Congress can be only a temporary relief. This expedient as I take it was meant to prevent the emission of money. Our own experience as well as the example of other Countries made it evident that we could not by taxes draw back to the treasury the emissions as fast as they were necessarily drawn out. We could not follow the example of other Countries by borrowing, neither our own Citizens nor foreigners being willing to lend as far as our wants extended. To continue to emit *ad infinitum* was thought more dangerous than an absolute occlusion of the press. Under these circumstances the expedient of specific requisitions was adopted for supplying the necessities of the war. But it is clear the success of this expedient depends on the mode of carrying it into execution. If instead of executing it by specific taxes, State emissions or Commissary's and Q. Master's certificates which are a worse species of emissions are resorted to, what was intended for our relief will only hasten our destruction.⁵ . . .

491. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular

PHILADA. October 26, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 21. Instant, which makes some Alteration in the late Arrangement of the Army and the Numbers of each Regiment of Infantry requested by the Resolution of the 3. Instant as also in the Cavalry

The whole of the Troops are to be enlisted during the War, and join their respective Corps by the first Day of January next

The Officers who will be reduced by this Arrangement, as well as those who shall continue in Service are entitled to half pay during Life

You will receive from the Commander in Chief the proper Returns to ascertain the Deficiencies of Troops in the respective States

It may not be improper to add, that the enclosed Resolution was adopted in Consequence of a Letter from the Commander in Chief expressing his Sentiments on the Subject in pressing and explicit Terms.²

492. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular

PHILADA. October 26, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 24. Instant, directing that the Commissary General make

⁵ See no. 460, note 6, *ante*.

[491]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 145; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 340. This and the circular of the same date next following are found in several repositories.

² See nos. 471, note 2, 485, note 2, *ante*, 496, 501, *post*.

[492]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 146; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 159. See no. 491, note 1, *ante*.

accurate Returns to Congress of the Supplies furnished by each State since the last Day of December last, and that the State Agents transmit to the Commander in Chief and Commissary General respectively monthly Returns of all the Provisions which shall be drawn into their Hands, specifying the Articles and Places where they shall be deposited, and also earnestly recommending to the several Legislatures to enjoin it as a Duty on their State Agents in such Manner as to enforce a punctual Obedience

I am also directed to transmit you the enclosed Copy of Col. Blaine's Letter and Papers to which it refers, and to request the serious Attention of the States to the present Wants and Distresses of the Army, and the most efficacious Means in their Power to furnish the Supplies requested with unremitted Attention

493. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, October 26, 1780.

Sir,

This will accompany my official letter of the same date addressed to your Excellency, and enclosing the copy of an Act of Congress allowing half pay for life to the officers, *as well those who shall be reduced by the new arrangement of the army* as those who shall continue in service.²

I was not a little surprized at the passing of the paragraph allowing half-pay for life, as the question had been so often discussed before and as often negatived.

I have enclosed a copy of the votes with the ays and nos on the questions, with an extract of General Washington's letter on the subject.

The delegates of Connecticut looked upon themselves bound by their former instructions to oppose the measure, with which I presume their own sentiments also coincided fully. I confess for myself ever to have opposed the measure, and take that to have been the sentiments of all the delegates from Connecticut who have been present when the question has been debated.

Though I am as willing as others generously to reward the officers of the army, and think they merit much from their country, yet I have ever been opposed to pensions for life as a reward for their services, as inconsistent with the genius and spirit of our constitution.

I presume this resolution will give general satisfaction to the officers, and those who opposed it will incur their disesteem, and perhaps censure; but I am much more concerned on account of its consequences among the people. What effects it will have with them time will best discover; hope it may be better than my fears.

[493]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 153.

² For the earlier tortuous career of the half-pay measure see vols. III., pp. xi-xiv, and IV., pp. x-xi, and *passim* (index, Half-pay).

I have thought it my duty to say thus much upon a subject so important and interesting.³

And am, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

SAM. HUNTINGTON.

494. JAMES LOVELL TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

Honble. Sir,

Octr. 28th, 1780.

A Committee was appointed in Congress on the 6th to draught a "Letter to our ministers at the Courts of Versailles and Madrid to enforce the Instructions given by Congress to Mr. Jay by their Resolutions of the 4th Instant and to explain the Reasons and Principles on which the same are founded; that they may respectively be enabled to satisfy those Courts of the Justice and Equity of the Intentions of Congress".

That Com'tee reported a Draught of a Letter to Mr. Jay "and that a Copy of it be communicated to Doctor Franklin together with the Resolution directing the draught".²

There is no Member of the Com'tee of for'gn Affairs attending Congress but myself, nor have the Com'tee had a Secretary or Clerk since T. Payne's Resignation. I must entreat you therefore Sir to excuse the Oeconomy of my Request that you would transmit to Mr. Jay all the Papers which happen to reach you directed for him, taking Copies of such as are left open for your Information. I persuade myself you will readily communicate to Mr. Adams what appears so much connected with his Commission, though it has not been specially ordered by the Report of the Com'tee on the draught.³

³ See nos. 485, 491, *ante*, and no. 501, *post*. In view of the strong opposition to the measure in 1778 and 1779, and even only a month earlier, when Congress had declined to include the half-pay provision in the army measure, despite Washington's earnest solicitations, it is rather surprising that the measure passed with so little opposition on the final vote. Of the twelve states in attendance (Delaware was absent) only Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey voted in the negative, and no state was divided.

[494]¹ Am. Phil. Soc., Franklin Papers, XX. 52, LIV. 88; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 107.

² See nos. 406, 469, *ante*, and the *Journals*, Oct. 4, 6, 16, 17; cf. no. 514, *post*.

³ Respecting the committee of foreign affairs, cf. nos. 300, 305, 308, *ante*. Almost as Lovell was writing this apologetic letter to Franklin, Jay was writing to Lovell (Oct. 27) in reply to Lovell's letter of July 11:

"I would throw stones, too, with all my heart if I thought they would hit only the committee without injuring the members of it. Till now I have received but one letter from them, and that not worth a farthing, though it conveyed a draft for one hundred thousand pounds sterling on the bank of Hope.

"One good private correspondent would be worth twenty standing committees, made of the wisest heads in America, for the purpose of intelligence. What with clever wives, or pretty girls, or pleasant walks, or too tired, or too busy, or do you do it, very little is done, much postponed, and more neglected. If you, who are naturally industrious and love your country, would frequently take up your pen and your ciphers and tell me how the wheel of politics runs and what measures it is from time to time turning out, I should be better informed and Congress better served. I now get more intelligence of your affairs from the French ambassador than from all the members of Congress put together." Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 105.

Lovell wrote to John Adams Oct. 28, "It is reported that Mr. Searle is taken. Our affairs in Holland must, in such case, be very bad, as you will not have received any

495. THE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CAPTAINS BELL AND JOSIAH.¹PHILADELPHIA 28 Oct 1780.²

Sirs,

The Committee of Congress for Foreign affairs ask your kind care of some letters Gazettes and Books for Doctor Franklin and others. The Letters should be sunk in case of danger from the Enemy. They are of much importance and should be put into faithful hands for conveyance upon your arrival in Port. The books and Gazettes may take their chance of such conveyance as may be most convenient. Should the Ship be obliged to go into a port of Spain, all *those* Letters to Doctor Franklin *ma[r]ked* Z may be forwarded to *Mr. Jay* by some *very* *trusty* person, but not risked in the Posts. God prevent this and every unfortunate change of the ships course and grant you every prosperity.³

powers for acting instead of Mr. Laurens, who is, too, probably taken, and carried to England from Newfoundland. And I also know of other fatalities to my letters" (*ibid.*, p. 107). Adams already knew of the capture of Laurens (see his letters of Oct. 14, 24, 27, *ibid.*, pp. 97, 103, 106). Searle had however arrived about five weeks before and delivered his despatches (*ibid.*, p. 61). Respecting the conveyance of the present despatches see no. 495, *post*.

[495]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I., p. 274.

² Frederick A. Muhlenberg, who appears to have terminated his services in Congress on this day, rendered on Nov. 4 the following account for attendance (Hist. Soc. of Pa., Gratz Coll.):

"The State of Pensilvania Dr. to F. A. Muhlenberg for Pay as a Delegate in Congress.

From March 3d 1779 to April 4th 33 Days at £5 per Day agreeable to a Resolve of the Assembly April 5th 1779.....	£165	0
From April 5th to Nov. 26th 236 Days at £9. 0 0 per Day according to a Resolution of the Assembly Oct. 9th 1779.....	2124	0
From Nov. 27th to May 29th 1780. 185 Days at £22. 10 per Day agreeable to a Resolution of the Assembly Febr. 11th 1780.....	4162	10
From May 30th to Octob. 28th a. c. 152 Days at £60 per Day according to a Resolution of the Assembly May 30th a. c.....	9120	0
	£15571	10
	Cr..	7125 0
Balance due	£8446	0

[The credit account is on the right-hand page:]

State of Pensilv'a Cr.

1779

June 15th	By a Warrant in Favour of F. Muhlenberg on the continental Treasury for 1500 Dolr's.....	£562	10
Sept. 16th	By ditto on ditto for 1500 Dolr's.....	562	10
Nov. 18.	By a Warrant from the Honble the Supreme executive council of the State Treasurer.....	1125	0
1780 March 1.	By ditto from ditto.....	1875	0
June 16th.	By ditto from ditto.....	3000	0
		£7125	0

Errors excepted. Fredk. A. Muhlenberg.

Philada. Nov. 4th 1780."

³ See no. 494, *ante*. The captains to whom this letter was addressed were doubtless Thomas Bell, of the Pennsylvania ship *Chevalier de la Luzerne*, and James Josiah, of the letter of marque *Lady Washington*.

496. JOHN MATHEWS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA Octr. 30th, 1780.

My Dear Sir,

. . . . I am made happy by Congress having at last agreed on the plan for the army, on such a footing as is likely to produce the desired effect. Had they but done this at first, there would have been little doubt of its success, but there is yet room to hope for important benefits from it, tho' late.²

497. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO CERTAIN STATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA October 31, 1780.

sir,

By the Act of Congress of the 30. Instant, herewith enclosed, your Excellency will observe that Majr. Genl. Greene is appointed to take the Command in the southern Department; and you will also receive the necessary Information of the Powers and Instructions given to him by Congress, and that it is earnestly recommended to the Legislatures and Executives from the Delaware State to Georgia inclusive, to afford him all necessary Aid and Assistance.²

P. S. Your Several Letters of the 10th 15th 22nd and 25th ulto. have been receiv'd³

498. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADA. October 31, 1780.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 30. Instant, by which you will be informed, that your Appointment to the Command of the Southern Army meets with their Approbation, and that Major General the Baron de Steuben is directed to repair to that Department under your Command.²

[496]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² See no. 485, *ante*.

[497]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 63; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 150 ("To the Supreme Executive Powers from Delaware to Georgia inclusive"); *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 166.

² See nos. 498, 499, *post*.

³ This P. S. is on the Virginia letter only. The letters referred to ("ulto" is an inadvertence for "inst.") were read Oct. 21, 23, 30, and 31, respectively. The last two are in *Writings*, II. 351, 353; *Official Letters*, II. 222, 223.

[498]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 147.

² See the *Journals*, Oct. 5, 27, 28, 30. Washington offered the Southern command to General Greene Oct. 14; Greene, then at West Point, so informed Congress on the 15th, and accepted on the 16th. On the 22d Washington drew up his instructions to Greene, informed Congress of the appointment, and suggested that Baron Steuben also be assigned to the Southern department. Washington's letters are in *Writings* (ed. Ford), VIII. 494, 496, IX. 11 (in part), the instructions, *ibid.*, IX. 9. See also his letter to Greene Oct. 18 (*ibid.*, VIII. 496). Excepting the letter of Oct. 22, they are also in *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII. 257, 259, 263, 271. Greene's letter of acceptance is in *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 116; a letter of Oct. 19, replying to Washington's letter of the 18th, is *ibid.*, p. 123; and a letter of Oct. 31, respecting his conference with Congress, is *ibid.*, p. 137.

That the Army for that Department will consist of all the regular Regiments and Corps, raised or to be raised from the State of Delaware to Georgia inclusive until the further Orders of Congress or the Commander in Chief

That all the Powers given to General Gates while in that Command are now vested in you, and the Acts of Congress during that Period be Instructions to you in that Department

You Sir are also empowered to organize and employ the Army under your Command in the Manner you shall judge most proper, subject to the Controul of the Commander in Chief; and it is earnestly recommended to the Legislatures and Executives respectively in that Department to afford you every necessary Assistance and Support, and you are authorized to call for the same

The Heads of the several Staff Departments are directed to furnish to your Orders such Articles as cannot be obtained in the Southern Department

You will also observe that you are empowered to cooperate with our Ally or his Catholic Majesty if Occasion shall offer in your Department in such Manner as may appear most effectual

To prevent all Doubts on the Subject of exchanging Prisoners you are expressly authorized to negotiate from Time to Time an Exchange of Prisoners with the Commanding Officer of the British Army in that Department; provided such Exchanges be not contrary to any general Directions of Congress or the Commander in Chief

The necessary Information on this Subject will be forthwith communicated to the Supreme Executive in the respective States in the southern Department

Be assured Sir, my best Wishes accompany you, that your Command may be attended with desired Success, to the Satisfaction of your Country and your personal Honor

499. JAMES MADISON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.¹

PHILADA. Octr. 31, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 23. came to hand yesterday. We received notice of the invasion of Virga. yesterday morning and more fully last evening.² I am sensible of the great difficulties you will have to contend with, and that no practicable exertions can save the state from much injury whilst the Enemy have a total command of the Bay and rivers. . . .

Congress have felt a becoming resentment of the barbarous treatment of the gentlemen in captivity at Charleston, and have directed General Washington to require of Clinton an explanation of the matter. Nothing has yet been done in consequence of it except an application to Clinton,

[499]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 91 (extract); *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 58 (extract).

²The intelligence was received through letters of Jefferson of Oct. 22 and 25 (*Writings*, II. 351, 353; *Official Letters*, II. 222, 223), read in Congress Oct. 30 and 31. respectively.

which as he had at that time not been officially informed of the fact, he evaded by general assurances of the humanity etc., of Cornwallis. Gen. Washington had very luckily between the application and the answer received two of the Earl's bloody proclamations which he very handsomely communicated to Sir Henry.³

The motions of our Allies are no less mysterious here than they appear to you. We have however experienced so many proofs of their wisdom and goodness towards us, that we ought not on slight grounds to abate our faith in them. For my own part I have as yet great confidence in both.⁴ . . .

Genl. Green is appointed to command in the S. Dept. during the enquiry into Genl. Gate's conduct. He is now here on his way. Baron Stuben will accompany him.⁵

500. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Octr. 31st, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I do myself the honor to enclose to your Excellency the Act of Congress mentioned in my last with the yeas and nays.

The President of Congress will soon present to you a Resolution recommending to the Several states, to levy their proportion of the Six Millions of Silver dollars, about Four Millions and a half to be paid in Flour, Beef, pork, Rum, and Salt, in certain Quotas at fixed prices and the remainder in silver and gold or the bills emitted in pursuance of the Resolutions of the 18th of march last.²

I am not able at present to inform your Excellency, when the State's quota of the said new bills will be ready to go forward. You may rest assured nothing on my part shall be wanting for their despatch, as I apprehend they will be wanted for the payment of the taxes.

. . . General Greene is now in this City on his way to the Southward, to take upon the Command of the Army in that Quarter, he intends to leave this place to morrow . . .

Mr. Rivingston saith in his paper that some of their brave fellows have taken our post with his mail and carried both to N. York. If this is true, they must have taken a letter to your Excellency, dated either the 10th or 17th, of which I expect to be informed as I suppose they will publish it. Either of [these] letters contain some particulars, I should by no means have wrote to the Enemy. Yet conscious of the rectitude of my Conduct

³ See the *Journals*, Sept. 23, Oct. 23; also no. 450, *ante*.

⁴ Pendleton's letter of Oct. 23 is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, second ser., XIX. 117. See also his letters of Oct. 1, 8, 17 (*ibid.*, pp. 114-117).

⁵ See nos. 472, 498, *ante*.

[500]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780, p. 119; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 318.

² The reference is to the requisition completed Nov. 4.

I flatter my self my carrector will not suffer, and I am sure they will not be much benefited. All this is upon a supposition they publish the truth ³

I have the honour to be

your Excellencys most obedt. Humble Servant,

EZEK. CORNELL.

501. ABRAHAM CLARK TO JOSIAH HORNBLOWER.¹

PHILADA. Octr. 31, 1780.

Sir,

Herewith I enclose a Resolution of the 12th Inst.² granting half pay for Life, as well to Officers reduced as to Others. This Resolution is a kind of Supplement to the Resolution of the 3d, directing a Reduction of the Army. On this precipetate, and in my Opinion, injudicious Act of Congress it is unnecessary, perhaps improper for me to make any comments; it speaks for it self, and in a Language which in New Jersey will be better understood than Relished. The states which had Established half pay for life to the Officers of their Lines, aided by New York who entertains simular Sentiments forced this measure upon us; A measure contrary to the Genius and Political Ideas of the New England States and New Jersey.

In Opposition to this Resolution it was urged that the measure was unjust, improper and altogether Unnecessary to be forced upon the States who Opposed it, as it was of no Consequence to the United States in what mode any particular state gave satisfaction and rendered justice to their Officers, provided they kept their Regiments properly Officered, which there could be no doubt would be done where the mode of doing it was left to themselves, whereas, a Measure so disgustful would irritate and prevent the exertions so Necessary at this Time; but no reasons could prevail upon Men fixed and determined. What is now to be done? Will, or will not our Legislature Remonstrate against this procedure, and insist upon an exemption. If they mean not to sit down easy and quiet under this Act, the sooner they explain themselves upon the Subject the better, as I believe no reductions have yet been made in the Army.

As some persons are of opinion it would be of general Utility for Congress to repeal that part of the Resolution of the 18th of March which admits of receiving one Dollar of the New emission in Lieu of 40 of the old, it may be proper for the Legislature to instruct their Delegates upon the Subject in case they think the measure adviseable. This hath not been moved in Congress nor do I know that it will. I do not in this wish to call off your attention from more important matters unless you think this a matter of Consequence. The Subject I have not considered maturely since the New emission is passing where issued at a depreciation of near one half, owing as is supposed to fixing the same at one for forty of the old emission. The expectation of Congress in that Act was, that the new

³ See no. 480, *ante*, and no. 509, *post*.

[501]¹ N. J. State Lib.; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XXXVI. 326; *N. J. Rev. Corr.*, p. 267.

² The resolution granting half-pay for life to the officers was adopted Oct. 21, not Oct. 12. New Jersey was one of three states that voted in opposition to the measure. See no. 493 *ante*; *cf.* nos. 479, 480, 485, 491, 496, *ante*, and nos. 508, 510, 514, *post*.

bills would fix the Value of the old, but we find the Value of the new is fixed and Varies with the old. As the Laws of our State are Conformable to the Resolutions of Congress your Delegates cannot consent to any Alteration without your direction, should the same be moved and become ever so Necessary under the present Change of Circumstances. This tie makes any consideration of the Subject unnecessary in your Delegates without your particular Orders for that purpose.

I have the honour to be, Sir, With all proper regard

Your Obedt. Humble Servt.

ABRA. CLARK.³

502. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA (JOHN RUTLEDGE).¹

PHILADA. November 2, 1780.

Sir,

I do myself the Honor to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Copies of two Acts of Congress of the 10. of October and 6. of September last, respecting the unappropriated Lands, with several other Papers to which

³ On Nov. 1 the medical committee, of which Clark was a member, made a report, and the consequent resolve mentions an "estimate approved by the Medical Committee". Following is the estimate referred to. It is in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 39, vol. III., f. 464.

"Estimate of Sundry Articles wanted immediately in the General Hospital, selected from An Estimate produced by the Purveyor to the Medical Committee by order of the Director, as far as the Committee approve of the same:

One Hogsh'd of Rum, supposed to Cost.....	£ 70
2 Hogsh'ds of Sugar.....	140
1 Pipe of Wine.....	100
11 Tierces of Rice.....	250
2 Hogsh'ds of Molasses.....	50
100 lbs Bohea Tea.....	37.10
2 Reams of Writing and 5 of Wrapping paper.....	10
500 lbs Coffee.....	30
500 Blankets	500
25 doz'n Port Wine.....	30
100 lbs Tow [?].	5
100 lbs Wax	10
200 lbs Resin	10
500 lbs Lard	25
30 Galls. Oil	11.5
200 lbs Salts	50
Old Linnen for bandages and Lint.....	25
for Milk and Vegetables.....	250
Candles and Soap to be drawn from the Com'sys stores.....	...
Spoons and . . . [sic] from the Quarter Master.....	...
Shirts from the Clothier.....	...
Estimated in Specie Value.....	£1603.15
equal to 4276 $\frac{2}{3}$ Dollars.	

The Above Approved of Novr. 1st, 1780.

By order of the Committee

ABRA: CLARK, Chairman "

[Endorsed:]

"Estimate of sundry articles wanted for the general Hospital Referred to board of treasury

"Report 4276 Dolls. and 60/90 on the State of New Jersey

3d Novr. 1780

THOMAS BOND PURVEYOR

General to be accountable."

[502]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 152.

the latter refers, together with a Proclamation for a Day of Thanksgiving and Prayer

I have thought it proper to forward these Proceedings of Congress for your Excellency's Information, being general Acts, altho' the present Circumstances of South Carolina may prevent for a Time the Carrying into Execution of those Acts that relate to the unappropriated Lands.

503. BENJAMIN HUNTINGTON TO OLIVER ELLSWORTH.¹

PHILADELPHIA NOV. 2d 1780.

Sir,

. . . . Congress have Resolved to Recommend to the States to Tax to the Value of Six Millions Dollars in hard Money to be Collected Partly in Specific Supplies and the Remainder in Case of the Emissions Pursuant to the Resolves of the 18th of March but as the Whole Report is not finished I have no Right to say what the Remainder will be. it is the Order of this Day I Expect it will be the Proportion of the Several articles to be Raised in Several States²

504. THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

[November 5, 1780.]

The great depreciation of money and the extravagant prices of every thing here together with the difficulty of negotiating Bills renders it absolutely necessary that some stable provision shou'd be made, and some fixed mode adopted for supplying us with money, other wise we shall not be able to exist—we shou'd be glad to be informed on this head as soon as possible.²

[503]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 9726.

² See the *Journals*, Nov. 4; also no. 469, note 6, *ante*, and nos. 506, 507, 509, 512, 514, *post*. In *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 39, vol. III., f. 465, is the following minute, which appears to belong to the proceedings on the question of specific supplies:

"Resolved that the States who are required to furnish flesh Meat be requested to furnish such proportion of the same in fresh, and in salted as shall be deemed Necessary by the Commissary General. [At the margin of this paragraph is the notation: "postpon'd No (November?) 3d pr agreement."]

"Resolved that any State who shall furnish Tanned Leather of good and sufficient quantity, or shoes ready made for the Soldiers in the Army of the United States, shall be allowed for the same a price in specie equal to fifty per cent on the average price the same bore in the year 1774.

"1 Paragraph determines whether Supplies in kind shall be called for. [Notation in the margin: "New Hampshire. beef agreed. Rum agreed."]

"Supplies where the army are situated

"North Carolina South Carolina failure of supplies

"Flower. Beef live or dead."

[504]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers, "Extract of a L're from the Virga. Delegates in Congress to his Excellency the Govenour, dated at Phila: nov. 5. 1780".

² The extract was transmitted by Governor Jefferson to the speaker of the House of Delegates, Benjamin Harrison, Nov. 17 (*Writings*, II. 365). See also his letter to the delegates in Congress, same date (*ibid.*, p. 363). Jefferson's letters are also in *Official Letters*, II. 232, 233. Joseph Jones wrote to Madison Nov. 10: "I have done what I could since I have been here to forward money to the delegates but could not effect it. Mr. Jameson yesterday informed me they would be able speedily to send you a supply. . . . I shall endeavor to get matters so settled as that our supply be regular" (*Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 46). See also his letters of Nov. 25, Jan. 2, 17, 1781, *ibid.*, pp. 57, 66, 67.

505. WILLIAM SHARPE TO MATTHEW LOCKE.¹

Specific supplies for the Southern Army. Quota of North Carolina To furnish against the first of January next.²

N: B: an accurate account ought to be kept of all the Beeves, Hogs, Sheep etc. taken either from Whig or Tory or at least the number of rations supplied by our State. Which will all stand part of our quota and be charged to the Continent.

WM. SHARPE.

6th Novr. 1780.

506. JAMES MADISON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.¹

PHILADA. Novr. 7th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 30 of last month came by yesterdays post and explained a report which had amused us here for several days²

There is I believe no doubt of an intended Congress at the Hague not of Ministers from the Belligerent but neutral powers under the auspices of Russia; and as the avowed object of it is to establish the liberty of the Seas which G. B. has so little respected, and is highly approved by France and Spain as well as all the neutral Maritime powers, it must necessarily prove unfavorable to G. B. and consequently friendly to our views. Congress have thought it advisable to testify their approbation of the liberal principles held out by Russia as the basis of the proposed negotiation, and have accordingly by a public Act adopted them so far as to direct the Board of Admiralty to prepare instructions for their Armed Vessels conformable to them.³

Doct. Lee and Mr. Izard particularly the latter have been here some time, and I believe are not very reserved in their reflections on the venerable philosopher at the Court of Versailles. Mr. Izard I understand is particularly open in his charges against him. Doctr. Lee on his arrival applied to Congress for a hearing on the subject of Mr. Deanes allegations, if any doubt remained of the falsehood and malice of them, but nothing final has been done as yet in consequence of it. I have had great anxiety lest the flame of faction which on a former occasion proved so injurious should be kindled anew, but as far as I can judge the temper of Congress

[505]¹ P. R. O., Cornwallis Papers, 4:22 (addressed, "Matthew Locke Esquire"); Library of Congress, British Transcripts.

² There follows a schedule of North Carolina's quota of supplies to be furnished against each of the several dates (Jan. 1, Mar. 1, May 1, July 15) as laid down in the act of November 4. However, Sharpe sets down (doubtless in error) the number of barrels of pork to be furnished by Jan. 1 as 7000 instead of 5000, as in the *Journals*. If there was a letter accompanying the schedule, it does not appear.

[506]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 92 (part); *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 58 (part).

² Pendleton's letter of Oct. 30 is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, second ser., XIX. 117.

³ See Pendleton's inquiry in the letter above referred to.

is in general by no means prone to it, although there may be individuals on both sides who would both wish and endeavour it.⁴

Congress have just finished an estimate of supplies for the ensuing year requiring of the States the value of 6 Millions of D'r's in specie. The principal part of the requisition consists of specific articles, the residue of specie or the new emissions, receivable as specie.⁵ If the States fulfill this plan punctually there is no doubt that we shall go smoothly through another campaign, and if they would forbear recurring to State emissions and certificates, in procuring the supplies, it may become a permanent and effectual mode of carrying on the war. But past experience will not permit our expectations to be very sanguine. The collection and transportation of specific supplies must necessarily be tedious and subject to casualties, and the proceedings of 13 separate popular bodies must add greatly to the uncertainty and delay. The expense attending the mode is of itself

⁴ Pendleton had written: "We hear Dr. Lee and Mr. Izard are with you and are open and unreserved in their abuse of Dr. Franklin. They must have very strong proofs before they can affect the character of that great man and philosopher, so long and universally esteemed for his wisdom and integrity, but I am more concerned for our common interest which must receive injury from every internal wrangle of this sort."

Joseph Jones, in a letter to Madison Oct. 24 (*Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 38), remarks: "I expect you will soon have Mr. Smith to succeed Mr. Walker. I hope he will avoid entering into and reviving those party contentions that when he was in Congress before so much disgraced that body. And I trust the gentlemen of our delegation will in general check every attempt that may be made to renew former disputes, or to do anything more than what justice shall require. I own I have my fears Congress will again be drawn into sects and divisions."

With regard to Lee and Izard, see nos. 420, 463, 481, 489, *ante*. The committee on Lee's letter brought in a report Oct. 30, and action was taken on it Dec. 2, with a further direction to the board of treasury Dec. 15. Concerning the adjustment of his accounts see, further, the *Journals*, Jan. 3, 8, 16, 1781.

On Dec. 7, 1780, Lee addressed a letter to Congress, respecting Franklin in particular, which was read Dec. 11 and referred to a committee. The committee brought in a report upon one paragraph (respecting the cultivation of friendly relations with Russia) Dec. 15, and one on the parts relating to Franklin Dec. 28. The latter report, endorsed as having been read Jan. 2, 1781, will be found in the *Journals* under that date (it has no connection, however, with the memorial of Thomas Lee and John Coffin Jones, a report upon which was brought in on the same day; the latter report is found under Jan. 3). Lee wrote to James Warren Dec. 25, "A Committee have reported that Doctr. Franklin ought to be recalld. But Congress have not yet determined upon the report nor do I know what will be their opinion" (*Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 158).

Lee wrote to Elbridge Gerry from Philadelphia, Nov. 26: "Toryism is triumphant here. They have displaced every Whig, but the President. Atlee, Wincoop, Clymer, Montgomery and Smith brother to the Tory Doctr are chosen members of Congress. Mr. Root is arrivd for Connecticut. Dr. Burke is expected and Mr. Smith from Virginia every day. A committee having been appointed on my subject brought in a report in which it was said that Congress were satisfyd with my zeal integrity and ability. Mr. Duane has had influence enough to put off a decision upon this, and when the old members are collected they will vote it out" (Collection of the late Adrian H. Joline of New York).

In one of the passages omitted at this point Madison says: "A Gentleman at Statia writes to the Commercial Committee of Ocr. 3d that a Dutch war is seriously talked of." Jones's reference to this in his reply, Nov. 18, as printed (*Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 46), reads: "I . . . very sincerely wish the *State* news may prove true, but I cannot yet believe the Dutchmen will go to war." "*State*" should of course be Statia. See no. 486, note 6, *ante*.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Nov. 4; also nos. 469, 490, 503, *ante*, and nos. 506, 509, 512, 514, *post*.

a sufficient objection to it, if money could by any possible device be provided in due quantity. The want of this article is the source of all our public difficulties and misfortunes. One or two millions of Guineas properly applied would diffuse vigor and satisfaction throughout the whole military departments and would expel the enemy from every part of the United States. It would also have another good effect. It would reconcile the army and every body else to our republican forms of Government; The principal inconveniences which are imputed to them being really the fruit of defective revenues. What other States effect by money, we are obliged to pursue by dilatory and undigested expedients, which benumb all our operations, and expose our troops to numberless distresses. If these were well paid, well fed, and well clothed, they would be well satisfied, and would fight with more success. And this might and would be as well effected by our Governments as by any other if they possessed money enough, as in our moneyless situation the same embarrassments would have been experienced by every government.

507. SAMUEL ADAMS TO SAMUEL COOPER.¹

PHILADA Novr 7 1780.

My dear Sir,

. . . . You have doubtless before this time been informd that Congress have called on the States to take immediate and effectual Measures to fill up the Army with their respective Quotas during the War. They have since orderd a Tax to the Value of Six Millions of Dollars in Specie, to be paid partly in specifick Articles for the Supply of the Army, and the Remainder in Gold and Silver or Bills of the new Emission. Their Design is to have a permanent Army, and to provide adequate Magazines for its subsistence without Delay. We have often a Choice of Difficulties presented to us. I think, upon the whole, we have in this Instance fixed upon the best Method. At least it appears to me to be the surest, considering all our Circumstances.²

508. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, November 9, 1780.

Sir,

I have been honored with your Excellency's Letter of the 27. Ultio, with the Appointment of Delegates for the State, in which the Powers of the Delegates are not in the least defined, or any mention made what Number of them are authorized to represent the State. I should suppose there is some Act of Assembly, either general or special, relating to this Subject, otherwise it must require at least a Majority of all the Delegates named in the Appointment to represent the State. Genl. Woolcott is not yet arrived. Mr. B. Huntington's Time is expired.

[507]¹ *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 216; N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers.
² Cf. no. 503, *ante*.

[508]¹ Conn. State Lib., Trumbull Papers (M.H.S.), XIII. 136; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XIII. 136.

I find the Post was robbed of my official Letters of the 6. Ulto, addressed to the four eastern States, covering Dispatches relating to recruiting the Army, as your Excellency had conjectured; but presume the Intelligence the Enemy obtained thereby must be very disagreeable to them, and as Events have turned up hope it will not retard the recruiting Service.² A Copy of that Arrangement was transmitted to the Commander in Chief, to obtain his Sentiments thereon, and in Consequence of his Opinion and express Desire, some Alterations have been made in the final Arrangement, which was completed the 21. of October, and transmitted to the several Eastern States, under Cover of my official Letter of the 26. October by a faithful Messenger, who I presume hath delivered them safe long before this.³

B. Huntington Esqr. who will deliver this, cannot wait until the Duplicates of the Despatches which were taken by the Enemy are made out; but they shall be forwarded soon.

509. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Novr. 9th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I do my self the honour to write your Excellency by the express that goes to Carry the Recommendation to the several States for levying a Tax equal in value to Six Million of silver dollars to be paid as is therein recommended.² Upon which I beg liberty to observe that the provisions is called for upon the most accurate calculation the Nature of the business would admit and upon the most mature deliberation Congress were unanimous of opinion, that a less a quantity could not be relied on with safety. The Tax is proportioned both as to the supplies and money agreeable to the proportion on which the first fifteen Million Monthly Tax was recommended. great care hath been taken that the states be called on for such kind of provision as each state could best supply. It is probable there may be some disproportion in the prices of the several Articles which is intended to be remedied by a resolution reserving the whole for a liquidation at a future day. The consideration of this business took up much of the time and attention of Congress and they were fully sensible of the

² See nos. 471, 480, note 7, *ante*.

³ See nos. 469, 471, 479-481, 485, 491, 501, *ante*. On the same day Congress issued a circular letter to the states, explaining the situation and appealing to the states for compliance with the requisitions of Congress for money and supplies. The letter was prepared by a committee appointed Oct. 21, and a draft (drawn by John Morin Scott) was reported Nov. 7, and considered Nov. 8. The letter was adopted Nov. 9 and as entered in the *Journals* has one erased paragraph. A text with some variations, written by Charles Thomson, is also found in the *Journals* (p. 1040 n.). Of the letter sent out several texts have been noted: Hist. Soc. of Pa., Society Collection (in the writing of Thomson); Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 5; copy from the original (to New Jersey), in the possession of the Carnegie Institution. It is printed in *R. I. State Recs.*, IX. 310, and in *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 174.

[509]¹ *R. I. Arch.*, Letters to the Governors, 1780; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 319.

² Cf. no. 508, note 3, *ante*.

burdens their Constituents groaned under, at the same time found themselves under the absolute necessity of making the recommendation they could devise no alternative. I hope our state will adopt the recommendation and find their reso[u]rces adequate to the requisition.

Much is said upon the subject of an Armed Neutrality and some politicians Conjecture it strongly forebodes a general peace. I confess I am not sanguine in my expectations on the subject. And can assure you S'r, Congress has not received the most distant official hint that a peace is even conjectured by those Neutral powers

I inclose to your Excellency a copy of my letter of the 10th Ultimo, that fell into the hands of the Enemy since Mr. Rivington has been so kind as to publish it. His motives for so doing I am at a loss to g'ess, but I must do him that justice as to say he hath given to the Public an Accurate Copy.³

N. B. I apprehend you have not seen the arangment of the Army mentioned in the Enclosed Copy as they fell into the hands of the Enemy at the same time my letter did. But as the arangment was after wards altered and sent forward which I trust you have receiv'd it is not so material. I shall be more cautious in future in writing as you can easily judge of my feeling if some of the letters you have receiv'd had met the fate the one did of which the enclosed is a Copy.

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510. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

Dear General,

PHILADELPHIA Novemb'r 12th 1780.

You will, I doubt not, forgive my neglect in not writing you, when I assure you that I have had nothing to communicate which could give you pleasure, or avoid giving you pain; and, that I was unwilling to add to the pressure which your mind has been so long accustomed to. To enumerate the evils which have flowed from party spirit, from inattention, and from other sources, would fill a volume in folio. we are now struggling to extricate ourselves from those Difficulties into which our Folly or our prejudices have thrown us, perhaps we may succeed. Some advances have been made toward a reformation, many more will shortly be attempted the army is arranged I hope agreeable to your Excellencys wish. the officers have half pay for Life; The states are Called upon for men and Specific supplies Loans are Demanded the several Departments are arranging; the expensive naval and other Boards will be Demolished, oeconomy introduced and I trust Speciee will relieve paper bills from the Task of Deceiving mankind and yield to every man his just Demand. Party spirit though not annihilated is Compelled to hide its head and Jealousy of the Army which has Long obstructed salutary measures dare not appear in publick. I know it is Late for a reformation to Commence but I hope not too Late.² I lament exceedingly the distresses of our army,

³ See nos. 480, 500, *ante*.

[510]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 144.

² See no. 514, *post*.

and will cheerfully contribute every thing in my power to relieve them, or so lighten that burden which I know your Excellency must feel, provided I could have the honor of a line from you, pointing out the evils, and the mode you would have adopted for redress.³

511. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular,

PHILADELPHIA November 13, 1780.

sir,

Congress having received Information from the Honorable the Minister of France, of Inconveniences and Injuries received by our Allies, resulting from the Abuse the British make of Papers and Clearances they take in American Prizes, by personating the Officers and Commanders named in such Papers, being fully acquainted with the Language and Manners of our Officers and Seamen etc.

In Compliance with the request of the Minister of France, Congress have adopted the enclosed resolution; and I am to request your Excellency's Attention to the necessary Measures for carrying the same into effectual Execution.²

512. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

PHILADA. Novr. 14th 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . I do not learn that any of the States are particularly attentive to prevent the evils arising from certificates and emissions from their own treasury, although they are unquestionably the bane of every salutary arrangement of the public finances. When the Estimate for the ensuing year was on the anvil in Congress I proposed a recommendation to the States to discontinue the use of them and particularly in providing the specific articles required. It met however with so cool a reception that I did not much urge it. The objection against it was that the practice was manifestly repugnant to the spirit of the Acts of Congress respecting finance, and if these were disregarded, no effect could be expected from any additional recommendations.² The letters from G. Washington and the Com: General for some time past give a most alarming picture of the state and prospects of the Magazines. Applications to the contiguous States on the subject have been repeated from every quarter, till they seem

³ See Washington's reply, Nov. 20 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, IX, 32, ed. Sparks, VII, 297).

[511]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII, 8; N. C. Hist. Comm., Nash Papers; Mass. Arch., CCIII, 178; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 157; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII, 606; *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I, 386; *R. I. State Recs.*, IX, 312; *Clinton Papers*, VI, 410.

² Luzerne's letter, dated Nov. 1, is in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV, 111. It was read in Congress Nov. 3, and the resolutions were adopted Nov. 10.

[512]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081, p. 14; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I, 61; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I, 95.

² See Jones's letter Nov. 5, *Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 40. The estimate was under consideration during practically the whole of October and was concluded Nov. 4. See nos. 469, note 6, 503, 506, 509, *ante*, 514, *post*. Madison's proposition does not however appear in the *Journals*.

to have lost all their force. Whether any degree of danger and necessity will rouse them to provide for the winter season now hastening upon us, I am unwilling to decide because my fears dictate the worst. . . .³

513. JAMES DUANE TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA 14th Novemb'r 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have the Honour of both your Excellency's dispatches of the 29th October, accompanied by several Resolutions of the honourable Legislatures; to all which I shall pay the strictest attention.²

The Desolation of so great a part of our Northern and Western Frontiers is deeply to be deplored: but when a powerful nation will descend to the low Employment of an Incendiary; and plume herself on wasting a Country which she cannot subdue: when she can sacrifice her Glory to her Vengeance; and trample upon the Laws of War; the Rights of Humanity; and the Obligations of Honour and Justice; merely to ruin and distress! When her military are taught to destroy without Distinction or Remorse; and to fly without Shame! Is it to be wondered at that she should be successful in Feats not beyond the Atchievement of the midnight Ruffian!

The time may come when such unexampelled Cruelty shall draw down Just Retaliation, and she shall feel the sad Effects of an Example which fills the world with Abhorrence:

Your Excellency's Remarks respecting the Grants are but too well founded: But to press for a Decision woud hitherto have been highly impolitic. Those who are convinced of the Justice of our Cause wish it to yield to the pressure of our publick Affairs; and that we shoud give no Room for complaint that we embarrass the national Councils with a partial Concern while the Preservation of the common Liberties demands all our Efforts for a vigorous and decisive Campaign. When this great business is dispatched, I shall recall the Attention of Congress to our Cause and do my utmost to bring it to a happy Issue. The Motives which have additional weight to reconcile us to Passivity the General, who is the Bearer of these dispatches, will communicate.³ The Legislature, in their late Appointment of Delegates, have distinguished me by a fresh proof of their Confidence, and I shall not fail to give the best Evidence, which uprightness and assiduity can produce, of my Zeal and Attachment to the common Interest, and of my constant Attention to the Rights and the Security of the State which I so long have had the Honour to represent.

³ See nos. 490, 506, *ante*. Jones replied to this letter Nov. 25. *Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 53.

[513]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Duane Papers, V. 243.

² Clinton's letters of Oct. 29 are in *Clinton Papers*, VI. 345. In N. Y. Hist. Soc., Duane Papers, are some notes of "Papers from the Govr. and Legislature of New York", Oct. 7-29, being briefs of instructions to the delegates respecting Vermont.

³ See nos. 473, 475, 487, *ante*, and nos. 514, 527, 531, 539, *post*. The general alluded to was doubtless Gen. John Morin Scott, the delegate, who took his departure about this time.

The honourable Legislature will observe that by the Reduction of the five State Regiments to three, agreeably to the new Arrangement of the Army, their Instruction in the Joint Resolution of both Houses of the 7th of October is anticipated. The Objections which are raised in their Resolutions of the same day on the Acts of Congress directing a Compensation for the Army, deserve great Consideration. The Subject, as your Excellency must perceive, is involved in great difficulties, and it will be hard to lay down a Rule for defining what Troops, not of the respective Lines, shall be provided for by each State; so as to do equal Justice to All. It will however be attempted, and is now under Commitment. The Mistakes of the Board of War in assigning to our Quota Officers and Privates who are known to have been Natives and Residents of other States, can readily be corrected.⁴

The Joint Resolutions of our Legislature on the Act of Congress of the 26th of August for ascertaining the Current Value of Continental Bills of Credit, compared with Specie at the time the debt became due etc. is also under the Consideration of a Committee; and I have no doubt but the Mode of Adjustment suggested by the Legislature will meet with Approbation. It affords full security to the publick and the Creditor, and nothing further can be desired.⁵

The last Resolutions of the Legislature investing full power in Congress for an effectual prosecution of the War, does Honour to their Zeal and publick Spirit it shall be communicated and enforced. The Compulsory Clause is not perhaps proper for publick Inspection; as it implies most Strongly and will certainly hazard, what General Scott will better explain in a verbal Conference. On this point I shall wait for further Instructions; observing however that I shall not, in Case of Necessity, fail to pursue the Spirit of the whole Resolution; tho' at present we both are struck with the Impolicy of producing the Clause alluded to. We hope to be pardoned for exercising our Discretion so far as to represent Inconveniences which we apprehend, before an Instruction is publicly announced; especially as we cannot foresee that a Short Suspension will be attended with any pernicious Consequences.⁶

⁴ The question of New York's quota of troops was brought before Congress Nov. 8, in one of Clinton's letters of Oct. 7 (that noted in the *Journals*, p. 1032 n., as in *Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 67, vol. II., f. 318). See no. 527, *post*. In his letter of Nov. 29, just referred to, Duane again discusses the difficulty of laying down a general rule.

⁵ The matter here referred to was laid before Congress Nov. 8, in a letter from Governor Clinton, dated Oct. 10.

⁶ The resolutions of the New York legislature here referred to were adopted Oct. 10 and are as follows:

"*Resolved Unanimously*, That the Delegates from this State be instructed to declare in Congress, that it is the earnest wish of this State, that Congress should during the War, or until a perpetual Confederation shall be completed, exercise every Power which they may deem necessary for an effectual Prosecution of the War, and that whenever it shall appear to them that any State is deficient in furnishing the Quota of Men, Money, Provisions or other Supplies, required of such State, that Congress direct the Commander-in-Chief, without delay, to march the Army, or such Part of it as may be requisite, into such State; and by a Military Force, compel it to furnish its deficiency.

"*Resolved*, That his Excellency the Governor, be requested to transmit a Copy of the preceding Resolution, to the Delegates from this State in Congress.

"*Resolved Unanimously*, That the Commissioners on behalf of this State, appointed to meet in the Convention at Hartford, on the second Wednesday in November next, be

514. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

SCHULKILL FALLS, November 15th 1780.

Dear Sir,

Some time has Elapsed since I wrote You last owing to my having been ill with the Fever which raged in the City. I was not confind more than a Week, yet it left me so Enfeebled that an attention to the Business in Congress and in Committees which met every Morning and Evening not only prevented my writing but reduced me so low that I was compelled to move to this Place for recovery of Health from which I ride into the City every Morning to meet Committees at Nine, attend Congress afterwards; and return at Night. This Deprives me of that Leisure which I would wish to Employ in giving You every possible Information respecting our Publick Affairs. I am sorry to say that they are far from affording Pleasure to the Friends of America; former Congresses undoubtedly had their Difficulties; and whether any other set of Men under their Circumstances would have done better is not Easy for a Judicious Mind to Determine. Events have however proved their Error and call aloud for a speedy Reformation. Perhaps most of our Difficulties have arisen from an Ignorance of Finance and the want of System in every Department.

A new Army is now Arranged, the States now called upon for Men and Specific Supplies.² All Publick Departments are now Arranging upon oeconomical Principles. The several and expensive Navy Boards will be Abolished. The War Office and Treasury Board regulated.³ A Committee is appointed for arranging our Finances.⁴ A Loan from France solic-

instructed to propose and agree to, in the said Convention, that Congress should, during the present War, or until a perpetual Confederation be completed, be explicitly authorized and empowered, to exercise every Power which they may deem necessary for an effectual Prosecution of the War, [the remainder is almost an exact repetition of the second clause of the first resolution above, with this addition:] *Provided*, That the Four Eastern States shall agree to grant or confirm to Congress, similar Powers." *Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly of the State of New York . . .* (Albany, reprinted by Munsell and Rowland, 1859).

A copy, in the writing of James Duane, of the first resolution as far as "Prosecution of the War", and subscribed: "A true Extract from the Instructions of the Delegates from the State of New York, Jas. Duane", is in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 67, vol. II., f. 326. It is endorsed as "Read in Congress Novr. 14, 1780". Cf. no. 545, *post*.

[514]¹ William L. Clements Library, Clinton Papers (L. S.); Br. Pub. Rec. Office, A. W. I. 139:31 (new ref., C. O. 5:101); *New York Royal Gazette, Extraordinary*, Dec. 18 and 27, 1780; Almon, *Remembrancer*, XI. 124.

² See the *Journals*, Oct. 3, 21, Nov. 4, and nos. 471, note 2, 491, 501, 506, *ante*.

³ See no. 510, *ante*. A committee to report a plan for the department of foreign affairs was appointed May 15 and it brought in a report June 12, but not until Dec. 15 did consideration of the report again find record in the *Journals*. Jan. 10, 1781, it was resolved to create a department of foreign affairs. A committee to report a plan for a new arrangement of the civil executive departments was appointed Aug. 29, but no proceedings concerning the activities of this committee appear in the *Journals* until January, 1781. Jan. 6 four new members were added to the committee, and one week later (Jan. 13) the committee brought in a report, which was considered Jan. 18, Feb. 6 and 7. On the latter date the plans for the departments of finance, war, and marine were adopted. See, further, nos. 552, 621, note 2, *post*.

⁴ See note 6, below.

ited in the most pressing and Positive Forms: ⁵ and a regular System will soon take Place. Perhaps it may be thought a late Hour for this Reformation, but is it not better late than never? Every Days Experience proves that many of our Distresses arise from a want of Power in Congress to carry any of their Measures into Execution. They send Regulations to the States, some comply some do not; and the Consequence of this is too Obvious to need Explanation. Hence it is that our Army is often ready to Perish with Hunger and Cold. I am happy to find that New Hampshire stands formost in Her Compliance with the regulations of Congress. At present we have no Money in the Treasury; some States have not yet receiv'd their new Money or called in their Old. This with the Artful Industry of Tories and Speculators has Depreciated the Old Money to Eighty five and even to a Hundred and ten for one in this City. This of course more than doubles our National Debt; for as the Bills of the 18th of March must be redeemed with Silver and Gold, and are Issued at forty for one, Five Million of Silver Dollars must be employed to redeem the two Hundred Million of Dollars Emittted, when at only Eighty for one two Millions and a half of Silver Dollars would purchase in the whole Sum. Consequently there is a National loss of more than two Millions and a half of Silver Dollars with its Interest without any Prospect of Publick Advantage. But this is not all. Speculators, and Tories who have hoarded up the Specie take every advantage of our Necessities, Speculate upon our Foreign Bills, so that we lose 25 per Cent on all our Money borrowed from France. Our Army is almost naked yet we have had Clothing sufficient for them at Cape Francois more than Eighteen Months, and Frigates employed in Useless adventures. We had also Arms for 20 thousand Men and Clothing for forty nine thousand purchased in France and sent to the Stores to be Shipped in April last. The Capt. of the *Alliance* was to have brought them but he came off and left them. We then hoped they might come in the *Ariel*, but She has not arrived. In short this season has Exhibited a Scene of misfortunes, scarcely to be Equaled in History, many of them have arisen from unforeseen Events; and too many from our own inattention and Neglect. Measures are now taken for forwarding the Arms and Clothing. But to prevent the other Evil ari[sing from] Depreciation and Speculation is not so easy. The first loss of two Millions and a half of [Dollars] is inevitable: for the Credit of the last Money must be supported or Publick Faith can no longer Exist. To do this and prevent the loss on our Bills Specie must be introduced to Circulate with the Bills, to redeem them and to act in all respects as an Auxiliary to them.

Perhaps it may be said that it was wrong to Issue these Bills in the manner they were Issued, to which I agree; but it is now too late to prevent an Evil which has had all its Effects, and an attempt to remedy it would draw on Consequences still more Injurious.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Oct. 7, Nov. 1, 11, 17, 22, 25, 28, Dec. 8. For the purpose of obtaining a loan of money and other aids from France John Laurens was sent as special minister to the court of Versailles. See nos. 539, 540, *post*.

I have the Honor to be one of the Committee for Arrainging our Finances, and flatter myself that we shall yet have them established upon a respectable Footing.⁶

Thus have I given you a True though Malencholy Picture of our Political Affairs, and I sincerely wish that truth would permit me to give You a more Pleasing one.

With respect to our Military Affairs, I can give you but little Information. Lord Cornwallis, since the famous Furgerson was Defeated has retreated towards Charlestown. Genl. Green has gone on to take the Command from Gates. The British that landed at Portsmouth in Virginia remain there sending out small Parties to Pillage. Genl. Clinton is about Imbarking with a large Force: I suppose for the Southern States to employ the Winter there as he did the last, though I [hope] not so successfully.

[I su]ppose you will readily conceive by the Account I [have] given that my Employment here is not of the most Entertaining kind. I freely confess it, and wish to be relieved as soon as convenient. I must at all Events be Home by the first of the Spring to look after my Farms which are now the only Barrier between me and extreem Poverty. Perhaps if requested I may return again in the Summer. I wish as soon as the Assembly meets to know what Wages I am to expect (in real value) as the duty I owe to myself and Family will no longer permit me to serve the Publick in the highest and most perplexing offices to the ruin of my Fortune when even the common Soldier receives a superior reward and commands Superior Attention. This has ever been my misfortune since in Publick Service except when I had the Honor to serve in Congress before for Newhampshire.

And as it is my Duty to serve the Publick with Fidelity I at the same time ought to know what I am to expect as a reward for these Services.

With respect to Vermont the Case was several times Argued and at length Congress met to consider upon it at six in the Evening and sat till twelve: it was learnedly and Candidly Argued. The Agents on both sides attended without speaking. The Arguments ran so much against New York that the Agents who were before pressing a Decision have never Mentioned it since and thus it rests at present.⁷

I am compelled to inform you that I shall be in immediate want of Money. Articles are so dear here that you can scarce have a conception of it: Board without anything but water to drink Eight hard Dollars per week. Then firewood and all Lyquors to be paid for. Horsekeeping forty Dollars per Day. A common riding Saddle twenty one pound hard Money

⁶ The committee (Sullivan, Bland, Mathews, Matlack, and Clark) was appointed Nov. 7, Clymer taking the place of Matlack Dec. 1. Some proceedings and observations of the committee, recorded principally by Sullivan, will be found *post* (no. 529). The committee brought in an elaborate report Dec. 18. See nos. 529, 623-626, *post*.

⁷ The reference is doubtless to the proceedings Oct. 6. See nos. 473, 475, 480, 481, 513, *ante*. Duane himself acknowledged (no. 475, note 3, *ante*) that "the Debates took a Turn most injurious to New York", though he altered the phrase to "took a Turn which could not have been looked for".

and every thing else in proportion and daily rising. In short a thousand Continental Dollars will not purchase what five formerly did.

I have the Honor to be most respectfully Dear Sir

Your most Obedt. Servt.

JNO. SULLIVAN

P. S. The exchange here is from Eighty five to one Hundred and ten. The price of Articles in hard Money is on an Average three times as much as formerly; upon this Price they take the Exc'ng'e in Continental money at about a Hundred for one so that three Dollars would formerly Purchase as much as nine Hundred will at this Time.

JNO. SULLIVAN

515. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA November 16, 1780.

Sir,

I have the Honor to transmit your Excellency an Extract of a Letter of the 7th Instant from General Washington, together with the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 14. Instant, earnestly requesting that as great a Proportion as can be procured, of the Quota of Provision for the Army assigned to the State of Maryland, may be forwarded without Loss of Time. The great Destruction of the Grain upon the Western Frontiers of New York in the late Incursions of the Enemy makes this Request peculiarly pressing, and the Efforts of the State in Compliance therewith the more essential

Your Excellency will further observe, that by the Act enclosed it is recommended to the respective States (where it hath not been already done) to pass Laws to inflict Capital Punishments on all Persons who shall furnish the Enemy with Provisions, military or naval Stores, and that the most effectual Measures be adopted for the vigorous Execution of such Laws.²

516. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE OFFICERS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE LINE.¹

PHILADELPHIA November 19th, 1780.

Gentlemen,

It is with Infinite Anxiety and Concern that I hear of the Difficulties arising among You respecting the New Arrangement of the Army.

[515]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 11; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 158; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 186.

² Washington's letter is in *Writings* (ed. Sparks), VII. 286, (ed. Ford), IX. 21 (in part). See *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 222, 252, 255. That part of the resolve which is referred to in the first paragraph applied to Pennsylvania and Delaware as well as Maryland.

[516]¹ William L. Clements Library, Clinton Papers; Br. Pub. Rec. Office, A. W. I. 139: 57 (new ref., C. O. 5: 101; "Copy of intercepted Rebel Letters, No. 2. In Sir Henry Clinton's No. 112"); *N. Y. Royal Gazette, Extraordinary*, Dec. 18, 1780; *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, Jan. 10, 1781; Almon, *Remembrancer*, II. 130.

I am well convinced of the Sufferings of our Officers and have with Pleasure viewed the Fortitude and Firmness with which they Encountered and Surmounted every Difficulty and this even without any Rational Hope of ever being put upon a Respectable Military Establishment. But this Event has now taken Place and the Army has every thing to hope which can reasonably be expected or desired by Men who have ventured their All in defence of their Country; and even those who are to retire have proper and generous Provision made for them. But should this bring about a Contention for the Preference (not for remaining in Service but) for retiring will not this cast a shadow over all their virtuous Actions and induce Mankind to believe that Interest and Ease have gained the Ascendency over Publick and Military Virtue.

Those Members of Congress who exerted themselves to obtain a proper and Honorable Establishment for their Officers had so good an Opinion of their Military Ambition that they believed there would be a contention among them for remaining in Service but by no means for retiring and I shall be exceedingly mortified if I am compell'd to Change my Sentiments especially with respect to the Newhampshire Line.

I am informed that some doubts have arisen respecting the Resolve of Congress which I wish to explain. Congress directed a meeting of the Officers of each State (not f[or] determining who should go home) but to fix upon proper Officers to Command the Regiments of the respective States and where they could not agree it was to be determined by Sen[ior]ity. The Obvious and Natural Construction is that when the Corps could not be Established by agreement they were to be Completed by Seniority. Whoever would put a differ[ent] Construction upon it must suppose that Congress mea[nt] at once to get rid of all their old and Experienced Officers and to put the Army under the Command of Young and Inexperienced Men. This Construction is not only against the rational and obvious meaning of the Words but against common Sense and reason; and I confess I was not a little surprised to hear that some Officers in the Newhampshire Line had supposed that this was the meaning of Congress.²

Permit me Gentlemen to Intreat Your Perseverance in ga[in]ing the Object so long and Nobly contended for: and You may rest assured that those brave Men who continue in Service will have in Addition to the Applauses of a grateful Country every Emolument which the nature of our Service will admit.

I have the Honor to be with the most Perfect Attachment Gentlemen
Your most Obedt. Servt.

JNO. SULLIVAN

The Officers of the Newhampshire Line.³

² The resolve referred to is that of Oct. 21.

³ This address was enclosed to Col. Alexander Scammell. See no. 517, *post*.

517. JOHN SULLIVAN TO ALEXANDER SCAMMELL.¹

PHILADELPHIA November 19th 1780.

Dear Sir,

Having been informed of some Difficulties in the Newhampshire Line respecting the late Arrangement I enclose you an Address to the Officers which I beg you will present after shewing it to his Excellency and receiving his Approbation without which I would not have it communicated as I do not conceive myself authorised to address any Part of the Army without his concurrence.²

I am Dear Sir etc., etc.

(Signed) JNO. SULLIVAN.

Col. Scammell.

518. JAMES LOVELL TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.¹

Novr. 20th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I find that I have not only to acknowledge your Favor of the 2d by Mr. Penny² recd. the 15th, and your other of the 6th recd. this day, but That from Worcester of Octr. 27 which I have just discovered wrapped up in an half written very confidential Sheet, thrown by, as I suppose, in a Qualm of Timidity lest it should be intercepted at or near Stratford.³

As to Vermont—They may sow and mow, I imagine, and reap there too, before any definitive Judgement will be made up here respecting them.⁴

So much in answer to yr. first date.

"Popular", say you, "beyond all description". Oh strange! Alack and Alas-a-day! what ? more popular than *that* one of old ? !!!

Somuch to your second date.

But perhaps you may be a little in the dark, as to the chronological Reference. I have to lament that *good* Col. Peabody is not at your Elbow to suggest the 32d of Exodus.⁵ Believe me he is really in a most critical State at Morris Town confined to his Bed. . . .

[517]¹ British Public Record Office, A. W. I. 139: 57 (new ref., C. O. 5: 101).² The address is no. 516, *ante*.[518]¹ William L. Clements Library (Marked on the address "Intercepted"); Br. Pub. Rec. Office, A. W. I. 139: 51 (new ref., C. O. 5: 101); *N. Y. Royal Gazette, Extraordinary*, Dec. 18 and 27, 1780; *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, Jan. 3, 1781; A. G. I., Seville (enclosed in Rendon to Galvez, Mar. 5, 1781).² "Mr. Penny" was Pierre Pennet, the French merchant. He brought also a letter of Nov. 2 from James Warren to Samuel Adams. See *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 148.³ An allusion to the capture of the mail at Stratford, Oct. 20. See no. 480, *ante*. This letter was in turn intercepted and in consequence troubled more than ever the waters that were before anything but placid. See note 5, below, and nos. 550, 586, 634, *post*.⁴ See nos. 513, 514, *ante*.⁵ Without the guidance of Gerry's letters the allusions are obscure, but, because of Lovell's known attitude toward Washington, they were generally supposed to refer to the commander-in-chief. Gerry explained however, in a letter to Washington Feb. 7, 1781, that the letter from which Lovell had quoted referred to the recent election in Massachusetts, which placed John Hancock in the governor's chair, and that his remark upon the strange popularity of a certain person was pointed at no other than Hancock, the "civil officer who was then elected". To some of Hancock's opponents this eleva-

I told you some time ago that I would give you a curious motion, the Product of some months Study in the Jersies; it was introduced thro' a Porch very large indeed, and of most uncouth Architecture, and is what a mountebank Doctor would suppose a *Plaster for all Sores*.

Motion by M—th—s, seconded by T—lf—r

Res: That Gen. W—— be, and he is hereby fully authorized and empowered to carry into Execut'n in the most compleat and ample manner such measures as shall appear to him best calculated for raising and bringing into the field on or before the 1st day of Jan'y next, an army of 25000 men to continue in the service of these United States during the present war with Great Britain, to provide arms ammunition, cloathing military and hospital Stores and Camp Equipage of all kinds. Waggons horses and forage, to supply the said army with all kinds of provisions and refreshments, to lay up such magazines of provisions forage military and hospital stores and Camp Equipage as he shall judge are necessary, to appoint such Officer or Officers in the said army as shall be from time to time required, and to bring to tryal all officers whose conduct may render it necessary, and to carry into execution such sentence as shall be awarded by a court martial, to call forth from time to time such and somany of the militia of these United States as in his opinion may be necessary. And he the said Gen. W—— is by these presents required in the most speedy and effectual manner to carry compleatly and vigorously into execution the Powers and authorities hereby vested in him and to do all such other matters and things as shall appear to him necessary to promote the Welfare of these United States, to draw on the Treasury of the United States for such sums of money as shall be required to defray the Expences incurred in consequence of the powers to him delegated. And the Congress of these United States do in the most solemn manner pledge themselves to the said Gen. W fully and vigorously to support him and to ratify whatever shall be by him done in the premises

Res. That the foregoing powers and authorities continue and they are hereby declared to be in full force until the 1st day of December 1781 and no longer.⁶

I will endeavor to get some *Decency* for Gen. W—— if it is only *plump Denial* of Justice. Perhaps as Mr. Matlac is joined to Mr. Fell there may be neither Denial nor Equivocation.

"Is it not Time to pay a Visit to Mass.?" Does my Wife look as if she wanted a toothless grey headed sciatic Husband *near* her? I am more Benefit to her at a Distance than in ♂ as the Almanack has it.

I shall call on Nanny Cl——r tomorrow and *talk* of the mackrel.

tion was an exhibition of idolatry as disgusting and shocking as the elevation of the golden calf of Exodus 32. Besides the correspondence between James Warren and Samuel Adams, in which this attitude is especially manifest, see a letter from Mercy Warren to John Adams Nov. 15, 1780, in *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 145. Concerning the episode, see Austin, *Life of Gerry*, I. 334-340. Gerry's letter will be found under no. 634, *post*.

⁶This is no doubt the resolution alluded to by Mathews in his letter to Washington Sept. 15 (no. 434, *ante*). Mathews had returned to Congress from camp probably in the early days of September, and must have offered his resolution before the 5th, the date at which Lovell promised to send it to Gerry (see no. 420, *ante*). The proposed resolution is in the *Life of Gerry*, I. 338, where however it is credited to Lovell himself. Cf. no. 431, *ante*, and no. 545, *post*.

By the Way, this puts me in mind to tell you that Pennsylvania is clearly for taking off the Embargo, Delaware has not continued it and Maryland has only done it conditionally. I think the Chance is that it will be off. I am sure it will whenever the State Quotas are furnished, and the Merchants are ready to give a pr. Ct. in kind of what they Export of the enumerated articles. This State thinks this her only Way of raising her Quota. Mr. J Adams was in Holland in August but he says not a Word of money matters.

I am obliged by yr. note respecting the settlement of accounts, and think that 40 for 1 is favorable upon a Supposition that I had drawn my pay nearly from time to time, whereas I pinched myself till the very height of Depreciation. Besides the Foundation is not good; one *half* of what Connecticut gives.

The hoarse Watchman warns me to bed.

Adieu dear Sir,

J L

519. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

PHILADA. Novr. 21st, 1780.

Dear Sir,

. . . . I am glad to find you have at last got a house of Delegates, and have made so auspicious a beginning, as a unanimous vote to fill up our line for the war. This is a measure which all the States ought to have begun with. I wish there may not be some that will not be prevailed on even to end with it. It is much to be regretted that you are not in a condition to discontinue another practice equally destructive with temporary enlistments. Unless an end can by some means or other be put to State emissions and certificates they must prove the bane of every salutary regulation. The depreciation in this place has lately run up as high as one hundred for one, and it cannot be satisfactorily accounted for on any other principle than the substitution of certificates in the payment of those taxes which were intended to reduce its quantity and keep up a demand for it. The immediate cause of this event is said to have been the sudden conversion of a large quantity of paper into specie by some Tories lately ordered into exile by this State. It is at present on the fall and, I am told the Merchants have associated to bring it down and fix it at 75. The fate of the new money is as yet suspended. There is but too much reason, however, to fear that it will follow the fate of the old. According to the arrangement now in force it would seem impossible for it to rise above one for forty. The resolutions of Congress which establish that relation between the two kinds of paper must destroy the equality of the new with specie unless the old can be kept down at forty for one. In New Jersey I am told the Legislature has lately empowered the Executive to regulate the exchange between the two papers, according to the exchange between the old and the new, in order to preserve the equality of the lat-

[519]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081: *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 97; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 62.

ter with specie. The issue of this experiment is of consequence, and may throw light perhaps on our paper finance. The only infallible remedy whilst we cannot command specie, for the pecuniary embarrassments we labour under, will after all be found to be a punctual collection of the taxes required by Congress.

I hope you will not forget to call the attention of the Assembly, as early as the preparations for defence will admit to the means of ratifying the Confederation nor to remind it of the conditions which prudence requires should be annexed to any territorial cession that may be agreed on. I do not believe there is any serious design in Congress to gratify the avidity of land mongers, but the best security for their virtue, in this respect will be to keep it out of their power. They have been much infested since you left us with memorials from these people; who appear to be equally alarmed and perplexed. Mr. G. Morgan, as agent for the Indiana claimants after memorializing Congress on the subject has honored the Virginia Delegates with a separate attention. He very modestly proposes to them a reference of the Controversy between the Company and Virginia to arbitration in the mode pointed out in the Confederation for adjusting disputes between State and State. We have given him for answer that as the State we represent had finally determined the question, we could not with any propriety attend to his proposition; observing at the same time that if we were less precluded we could not reconcile with the sovereignty and honor of the State an appeal from its own Jurisdiction to a foreign tribunal, in a controversy with private individuals.² . . .

520. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA NOV. 21st, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I had the honour to receive your Excellencys favour of the 1st Instant by yesterdays post. And have taken due notice of the contents, and so far as respects the New Bills beg leave to refer you to the official information from the Treasury board that is inclosed. But when it is struck I fear there will be a difficulty in forwarding them unless I undertake the Business my self which I shall do if not done without.

I have examined at the Treasury Board for information respecting the Bills of Exchange you mention they will not own that Mr. Clark² hath wrote for any. There is Bills ready as soon as a safe conveyance can be had. I dare not give my receipt for them to go by the Post. But shall miss no safe opportunity to forward them.

² See nos. 486, 489, *ante*, and nos. 521, 629, *post*. The memorial of George Morgan here referred to may be that presented Sept. 14, 1779. Memorials in behalf of the proprietors of the Indiana and Vandalia tracts were presented by William Trent Sept. 27 and Oct. 14. A further memorial by Morgan as "Agent for the Indiana proprietors", dated Nov. 30, 1780, was read in Congress Mar. 16, 1781. With regard to his address to the Virginia delegates see no. 521, *post*.

[520]¹ William L. Clements Library, Clinton Papers; Br. Pub. Rec. Office, A. W. I. 130:44 (new ref., C. O. 5:101); N. Y. *Royal Gazette, Extraordinary*, Dec. 18, 1780; Almon, *Remembrancer*, XI. 129.

² Presumably Joseph Clarke, general treasurer of Rhode Island.

So far as respects the postage of the Blank Commiss'ns etc. I beg leave to observe that Governor Jefferson made a similar complaint and nothing more was done then the passing the Inclosed Resolution.³ At the same time it appeared to be the sense of Congress that the State ought to pay the sum charged and carry the same to the Accompt of the United States. As the matter hath been so late before Congress I can not suppose you would wish me to Urge the matter over again.

I cannot have too high an opinion of the Honl. the General Assembly on account of the particular favour they have done me, in their liberal Grants to Enable me to return home as soon as releivd, which I hope will soon take place when I shall be so happy as to have the pleasure of giving you a more particular account of our publick affairs then either time or prudence will permit at this time.

I have the honour to be with every sentiment of Esteem

Your Excellencys most obedt. Humble Servant

EZEK. CORNELL

521. THEODORICK BLAND TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA NOV. 22d 1780.

S'r,

Mr. Walker, who sets off to Virginia tomorrow, affords us this opportunity of Enclosing your Excellency a Copy of a letter Presented to us the 16th Inst. together with a Copy of our Answer, concerning the affair of the Indiana Comp'y²

It may not be improper to Inform Yr. Excellency and, (through Yr. Excy.) the Legislature who we suppose may be now Siting, that every art has been and tis probable may be used, by that Company to extend their

³ The blank commissions were probably those mentioned in the resolve of July 27; the resolution respecting postage probably that of Sept. 19.

[521]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Library of Congress, Madison Papers (copy). The copy in the Madison Papers is preceded by a letter of Dec. 5, 1780, from Jefferson, transmitting Bland's letter to Benjamin Harrison, speaker of the House of Delegates (*Official Letters*, II, 239). The copies are certified by Wm. Mumford, keeper of the rolls, Sept. 30, 1820. See the certificate to the copy of Madison and Bland's letter of Dec. 13, 1780, no. 543, *post*.

² The letter is from George Morgan signing himself as "Agent for the Indiana Comp'y" (see no. 519, *ante*). He calls the attention of the delegates to the act of the Virginia assembly requiring the Indiana Company to set forth its right to the tract claimed by virtue of the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, to the company's memorial to Congress requesting that body to hear and determine the case (concerning which nothing had been done by Congress), and then proposes to submit the dispute "to the arbitration and final Decision of Gentlemen of the first Capacity, Integrity, and Experience upon the Continent, to be Chosen by the Hon'ble the Congress in the Same Manner as is directed by the Articles of Confederation in like Cases, between State and State" (Va. State Lib., Ex. Papers). The delegates replied:

"The Delegates from Virginia Inform Mr. Morgan in answer to his letter of the 16th Instant, That as the State they represent have finally decided on the Subject to which his proposition relates, it would be manifestly improper for them to attend to it—they think it their Duty to add that if they were less precluded they could not reconcile with the respect due from every State to its own Sovereignty and honor, an appeal from its own decisions, to a foreign tribunal, in a case which involves the Pretensions of Individuals only, and not the Rights or pretensions of any foreign State" (*ibid.*). See, further, no. 629, *post*.

influence and Support their pretensions, and we are Sorry to say that we have Suspicions founded upon more than mere Conjecture, that the land Jobbs, of this Comp'y, the Vandalia, and the Illinois Companies, have too great an influence in procrastinating that desireable and necessary event of Compleating the Confederation, which we hope the Wisdom, firmness, candor and Moderation of our Legislature now in Session will remove every obstacle to

We Could wish also and we think it a duty we owe to our Constituents to call their attention to a revision of our former instructions relative to the Navigation of the Missisipi, that, Should any overtures from Spain be offerd which are advantageous to the United States, and which might contribute not only to relieve our present necessities, but promise us peace and a firm establishment of our Independance, it might not be considerd as an object that would counterbalance the distant prospect of a free Navigation of that River, with Stipulated ports, which may perhaps under another form or at some more convenient opportunity be obtained from that Nation, in behalf of our Citizens Settled on its Banks and Waters. Having Shewn the above to my Colleague Mr. Madison, he has thought it unnecessary to Join in that Part of it relating to our Instructions on the Subject of the Navigation of the Missisipi. I am Sorry to Say that notwithstanding the high Idea I entertain of that Gentlemans good Sense, Judgment and Candor, I feel myself irresistably impelld by a Sense of my duty, to State a Matter and to communicate it through the Proper Channel which *may* eventually effect so greatly the Prosperity and even existence of the United States at large, and feeling myself willing to receive the Censure of my Constituents if I have done wrong, or their applause if I have done Right in Suggesting to them so important a matter I am under the necessity (as to that matter) of standing alone in my opinion, which I wd. not wish, should in the Minutest degree, be interpreted, as obtruding or dictating a measure however necessary I as an individual Representative of the State may conceive a relaxation of our instructions on that head to be, nor do I conceive that any Member either of the Executive or Legislature of our State, who is acquainted with my wish to promote the Public good, and to conform to the Strict tenor of their instructions, can attribute my suggestion to any wish to swerve from them in my Vote in Congress, having pledged myself both in Principle and in promise Steadily to adhere to them on all occasions.³ I have the Honor to be

Yr. Excell'ys Most obedt. and very H: Set.

THEO'K BLAND

522. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

Dear Sir,

PHILADA. Nov. 25th 1780.

I informed you some time ago that the instructions to Mr. Jay had passed Congress in a form which was entirely to my mind. I since in-

³ For Madison's position see nos. 522, 533, 548, *post*; cf. no. 543, *post*.

[522]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 101; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 64; Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 628 n.; *Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 50.

formed you that a committee was preparing a letter to him explanatory of the principles and objects of the instructions. This letter also passed in a form equally satisfactory.² I did not suppose that any thing further would be done on the subject, at least till further intelligence should arrive from Mr. Jay. It now appears that I was mistaken. The Delegates from Georgia and South Carolina, apprehensive that a *Uti possidetis* may be obtruded on the belligerent powers by the armed neutrality in Europe, and hoping that the accession of Spain to the Alliance will give greater concert and success to the military operations that may be pursued for the recovery of their States, and likewise add weight to the means that may be used for obviating a *Uti possidetis*, have moved for a reconsideration of the Instructions in order to empower Mr. Jay in case of necessity to yield to the claims of Spain on condition of her guaranteeing our independence and affording us a handsome subsidy. The expediency of such a motion is further urged from the dangerous negotiations now on foot by British Emissarys, for detaching Spain from the war. Wednesday last was assigned for the consideration of this motion and it has continued the order of the day ever since without being taken up. What the fate of it will be I do not predict but whatever its own fate may [be] it must do mischief in its operation. It will not probably be concealed that such a motion has been made and supported, and the weight which our demands would derive from unanimity and decision must be lost. I flatter my self however that Congress will see the impropriety of sacrificing the acknowledged limits and claims of any State without the express concurrence of such State. Obstacles enough will be thrown in the way of peace, if [it] is to be bid for at the expense of particular members of the Union. The Eastern States must on the first suggestion take the alarm for their fisheries. If they will not support other States in their rights they cannot expect to be supported themselves when theirs come into question.³

² See no. 481, *ante*, and the *Journals*, Oct. 17. Madison himself drafted the letter, which may also be found in his *Writings*, II. 82.

³ The proposition of the Georgia delegates, dated Nov. 10, was moved Nov. 18. It was further considered Dec. 5 and 8, and the endorsement on the original (Library of Congress, U. S. R.) shows that on Dec. 29 further consideration was set for Jan. 5, 1781. See nos. 533, 543, 629, 661, *post*. The *Journals* contain no record of the consideration of the motion again, and Madison states (letter of Jan. 8, 1822, under no. 661, *post*) that it was postponed to await the action of Virginia respecting the question of the free navigation of the Mississippi River. The Georgia delegates then adopted a measure of their own. They published a small pamphlet with the title: *Observations upon the Effects of Certain Late Political Suggestions* (Philadelphia, R. Aitken, 1781, pp. 10; reprinted, Wormsloe, 1847). (The original manuscript is in the Emmet Collection, no. 1662; a copy of the Aitken edition is in the Library Company of Philadelphia; another is in Paris, Aff. Etr., E. U. 15:12; a French translation is *ibid.*, 15:13.) Some parts of the *Observations* may appropriately be reproduced here:

"From the most recent accounts that have been received from Europe, there is the greatest reason to expect that a new commission will issue from the court of London, for the purpose of again sounding the temper of America, upon the subject of a pacification; in which the State of Georgia, and perhaps that of South-Carolina, will not be regarded as part of the American Union, but excluded as having been again colonized to England by new conquest.

"The *uti possidetis* also has been much talked of in Europe, as a probable basis for the peace; and this report, although rejected with marks of abhorrence by all descrip-

In this important business, which so deeply affects the claims and interests of Virginia and which I know she has so much at heart, I have not the satisfaction to harmonize in sentiment with my Colleague. He has embraced an opinion that we have no just claim to the subject in controversy between us and Spain, and that it is the interest of Virginia to adhere to it. Under this impression he drew up a letter to the Executive to be communicated to the Legislature, stating in general the difficulty Congress might be under, and calling their attention to a revision of their instructions to their Delegates on the subject. I was obliged to object to such a step, and, in order to prevent it observed that the instructions were given by the Legislature of Virginia on mature consideration of the case, and on a supposition that Spain would make the demands she has done, that no other event has occurred to change the mind of our Constituents, but the armed neutrality in Europe and the successes of the Enemy to the Southward which are as well known to them as to ourselves; that we might every moment expect a third delegate here,⁴ who would either adjust or decide the difference in opinion between us, and that whatever went from the Delegation would then go in its proper form and have its

tions of men in America, circulates with terrors, as it is pretended to be drawn from the armed Neutrality.

"The people who would be particularly affected by the operation of such principles, ought to fear every thing; although justice, humanity, and the interests of America, and her friends, forbid them to dread any thing. They united in the one cause, and have sacrificed their blood and fortunes in its support; and therefore it would be unjust and inhuman, for the other parts of the Union, separately to embrace the result of the common efforts, and leave them under the yoke of a bankrupt and enraged tyrant. To preserve the States entire, is the object of the alliance with France, and it cannot be the interest of the other great branch of the family compact, that we should again make a part of the British empire.

"We will not, however, enter into any farther discussion of this subject, than will be sufficient to shew the importance of the question as it respects our own State, leaving to others to speak of their interests."

There follow some observations upon the place of Georgia in the union, considered from the points of view of geography and commerce, the latter in particular. The argument then continues:

"From all these considerations, it inevitably follows, that the State of Georgia is a material part of the Union, and cannot be given up without affecting its essential interests, if not endangering its existence. It seems to be almost universally acknowledged, that it is not only the interest of France and Spain, but of all Europe, Great Britain only excepted, that the bulk of North-America should constitute an Independent Power. . . .

"As to America, no part of it could expect to be free long, while England retains both ends of the Continent. . . .

"We conclude these remarks, by repeating as our opinion, what has been said all over Europe and America, that the two Southern States, being the feeble part of the Continent, in point of numbers and compactness of settlement, can be recovered only by a naval superiority: to which object, therefore, we could wish to fix the attention of all those whom it concerns.

"Done at Philadelphia, the Eighth Day of January, 1781, and in the Fifth Year of our Independence.

GEO. WALTON.
W. FEW
R. HOWLY."

On the application of the Georgia delegates Jan. 27 Congress ordered a warrant issued "for two thousand six hundred and sixty-three dollars and one-third of a dollar, old emissions to enable the said delegates to pay so much due to R. Aitkin on account of the said State of Georgia which is to be accountable". The payment to Aitken was doubtless for printing the *Observations*.

⁴ The third delegate expected was doubtless Jones himself. See nos. 540, 610, *post*.

proper effect, that if the instructions from Virga. were to be revised, and their ultimatum reduced, it could not be concealed in so populous an Assembly, and every thing which our Minister should be authorized to yield would be insisted on, that Mr. Jay's last despatches encouraged us to expect that Spain would not be inflexible if we were so, that we might every day expect to have more satisfactory information from him, that finally if it should be thought expedient to listen to the pretensions of Spain, it would be best, before we took any decisive step in the matter to take the counsel of those who best know the interests and have the greatest influence on the opinions of our Constituents, that as you were both a member of Congress and of the Legislature and were now with the latter, you would be an unexceptionable medium for effecting this, and that I would write to you for the purpose, by the first safe conveyance.

These objections had not the weight with my Colleague which they had with me. He adhered to his first determination and has I believe sent the letter above mentioned by Mr. Walker, who will I suppose soon forward it to the Governor. You will readily conceive the embarrassments this affair must have cost me. All I have to ask of you is that if my refusing to concur with my Colleague in recommending to the legislature a revision of their instructions should be misconstrued by any, you will be so good as to place it in its true light, and if you agree with me as to the danger of giving express power to concede, or the inexpediency of conceding at all, that you will consult with Gentlemen of the above description and acquaint me with the result.⁵

I need not observe to you that the alarms with respect to the inflexibility of Spain in her demands, the progress of British intrigues at Madrid, and the danger of the *Uti possidetis*, may with no small probability be regarded as artifices for securing her object on the Mississippi. Mr. Adams in a late letter from Amsterdam, a copy of which has been enclosed to the Governor, supposes that the pretended success of the British emissaries at Madrid is nothing but a ministerial finesse to facilitate the loans and keep up the spirits of the people.

This will be conveyed by Col. Grayson, who has promised to deliver it himself, or if any thing unforeseen should prevent his going to Richmond, to put it into such hands as will equally ensure its safe delivery.

523. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA Novem'r 26th, 1780.

Dear General,

I am honored with your Excellency's Favor of the 20th Instant,² and feel myself under the greatest obligations for your obliging Condescension in Consenting to a Continuation of my Letters.

⁵ For Bland's attitude see no. 521, *ante*.

[523]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² Washington's letter to Sullivan, Nov. 20, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 32, (ed. Sparks), VII. 297.

Sensible of your Situation and Course of Business I feared to write Lest your Politeness should Divert your attention from important matters and Lead you to answer even where an answer appeared unnecessary. But I now take the Liberty of assuring you that I shall not expect Frequent or Lengthy answers. when the Nature of my Letter requires and your Liesure will permit I shall promise myself an answer and not otherwise

I shall take the Liberty of Informing your Excellency from time to time of Those Points which Turn up in Congress and are interesting to the Publick in General or the Army in Particular and shall Continue This without expecting regular or Frequent answers

I am happy that the Late Regulations are Pleasing to your Excellency; and with you Lament that They were not Sooner adopted: But I can, with great Truth assure you that they are not now the offspring of Choice but necessity, which perhaps has been Lately Painted in more Striking Colors and has been more realized than formerly

I am Sensible of the injurious Consequences of Sending out requisitions at so Late a Period. But I flatter myself That The States will yield a Chearful and Speedy Compliance as I have Seen an Act from Connecticut and Answers from other States which promise much Toward a Speedy Supply

I will Endeavor to have it mentioned in Colo. Palfrey's Instructions to obtain materials in preference to ready made Cloathes for the reasons you mention³

The means you have been pleased to point out are Fortunately adopted. Congress have in the most Decent and at the Same time in the most pressing Terms Solicited a Loan⁴ and I have Long Since without the knowledge of Congress Solicited the French Minister and Mr. Marbois to favor the application, which they have already Done by writing to the French Court warmly in favor of it

I am fully Sensible of the Evils arising in the Cloathing Department a report is now on the Table for regulating it; which I hope will pass this week.⁵ The mode you mention for future Provisions I hope will be adopted. We have had Cloathing Sufficient for the Army at Cape Francois eighteen months and a Sufficiency on the Shores of France Since April Last: *and we have had a number of Frigates Employed in useless adventures.*

This Clearly proves the Justice of your observation respecting The attention of Congress being Taken up in Trivial affairs while great Nations Concerns have been neglected. Several attempts have been made toward

³ "Colo. Palfrey is appointed Consul and Commercial agent" [note by Sullivan]. Palfrey's appointment was on Nov. 4; his instructions are in the *Journals*, Dec. 9. See no. 546, *post*.

⁴ See nos. 461, 514, *ante*.

⁵ The proposed regulation was reported Nov. 4, but was recommitted. Additional regulations were proposed by the board of war Jan. 2, 1781, but it was not until June 18, 1781, that measures regulating the department were adopted. See also the *Journals*, Mar. 28, Apr. 2, 17, 1781.

a reformation, but to no purpose. You might almost as Soon Teach the Streams to rush back to their Sources as perswade Congress out of Their Ancient Tract.

524. JOHN MATHEWS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA Novr. 27th, 1780.

Sir,

Inclosed is an extract of a letter of the 23d of August last lately received from Mr. John Adams. As the intelligence relates particularly to your department, we thought it necessary to be forwarded to you.² This is all the foreign intelligence worth transmitting you. As to domestic, we recollect none.

No effectual means have as yet been taken for supplying the Southern army with clothing. The Committee to whom your letter (before you left Philadelphia) was refered have made no report yet.³ Your letter of the 19th inst. is refered to another committee, the result, we will give you the earliest information of.⁴

We are Sir with sincere Esteem and Regard

Yr. most Obedt. Servts.

By Order of the Committee

JNO. MATHEWS Chairman ⁵

525. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

PHILADA. Novr. 28th 1780.

D'r Sir,

. . . . We have enclosed to the Govr a copy of an Act of the Legislature of Connecticut ceding some of their territorial claim to the United States, which he will no doubt communicate to the Assembly. They reserve the jurisdiction to them selves, and clog the cession with some other conditions which greatly depreciate it, and are the more extraordinary as their title to the land is so controvertible a one.²

The Association of the Merchants for fixing the depreciation seems likely to prove a salutary measure. it reduced it from 90 and 100 to 75

[524]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² Adams's letter of Aug. 23 is in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 41.

³ The reference is probably to the letter of Oct. 27, referred the same day to a committee of five.

⁴ Greene's letter of Nov. 19 was read and referred to a committee Nov. 27.

⁵ Mathews is here writing as chairman of the committee appointed July 8, 1779, as a standing committee to correspond with the commanding officer in South Carolina and Georgia. This committee came to be referred to in the *Journals* usually in a phrase in which "southern department" was substituted for "South Carolina and Georgia", and by the committee itself as "the committee of correspondence". The changes in membership in 1779 and 1780 are set forth in the lists of standing committees (*Journals*, XV. 1447, XVIII. 1230). Mathews was substituted for Henry Laurens (the original chairman) Nov. 10, 1779.

[525]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 106; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 69.

² The Connecticut resolutions of October 1780. See the *Journals*, Jan. 31, 1781, and nos. 563, 629, *post*.

at once, which is its present current rate; although it is observed that many of the retailers elude the force of it by raising the price in hard money.³

526. SAMUEL ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN.¹

PHILADELPHIA Novr. 29th, 1780.

My dear Sir,

In your Letter of the 17th of Sepr. which is still before me you say that "the Tongue of Malice has always been employd against me", and in mentioning it, you discover the Feelings of a Friend. . . . The Report you mention as propagated of me, is groundless. Would any Man in his Senses, who wishes that the War may be carried on with Vigor, prefer the temporary and expensive Drafts of Militia, to a permanent and well appointed Army? But Envy knows no other Business than to calumniate.²

527. JAMES DUANE TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADA. 29th Novemr. 1780.

Dear Sir,

I had the Honor of writing to your Excellency yesterday. Col. Blaine being detained gives me the opportunity of adding that the Resolutions of our Legislature respecting their Quota of Troops to be provided for, remain still under Commitment.² It is really difficult to establish an equal Rule of Justice in that Respect. I have thought of laying down this principle: that the Person who had gained a legal Settlement in any State at the period of his Inlistment should be transferred to that State. With respect to the artificers: that they should all be provided for by Congress; not only on account of the Inequality of their pay; but because the Burthen woud otherwise fall most heavily on the states which had large Capitals.

How these Rules especially the first woud operate or whether they woud give Satisfaction ought well to be considered and I wish for your Excellency's Sentiments as soon as possible.

Our Vermont business remains quiet; but is not forgotten. I foresee there must be a Rehearing; as there is a considerable Change in the House not for the worse; Nor will the late Conduct of those distracted People, if it is true that they have made a Truce with the Enemy, gain them Favour. I shall do my Duty at every Event.³ . . .

³ Cf. no. 531, *post*. Jones's reply to this letter is in *Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 62.
[526]¹ *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 148.

² Warren's letter is *ibid.*, II. 138.

[527]¹ N. Y. State Lib., George Clinton Papers, no. 3393; *Clinton Papers*, VI. 447; Vt. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 83.

² See no. 513, *ante*.

³ See nos. 473, 475, 487, 513, 514, *ante*, and nos. 539, 635, *post*.

528. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹PHILADELPHIA November 9th [30th ?] 1780.²*Dear General,*

I was this morning Honored with your Excellency's favor of the 25th Instant: I shall be happy to see the Chevalier De Chattelieux and to pay him every mark of respect and attention in my Power: ³

The Confidence your Excellency is pleased to place in me is exceeding flattering and I can with great Truth assure you That no person Desires more to Comply with your wishes, relieve you from the anxiety you Suffer; (from Difficulties which as Commander of the Army you never ought to Experience) or to render your Troops happy in their Situation than myself.

The appointment of General Smallwood was in the old State way. I did not oppose it for Political Reasons but I took that opportunity of Delivering my Sentiments against those irregular and unmilitary promotions and upon various occasions Since and am happy to find that There is now a Large majority of the House of my Sentiments so that I am Convinced There will be no more of those irregular appointments of Course General Clinton and General Knox will not be Superceeded. The Latter if Driven to resign would be an irreperable Loss to the Army.

I have conferred with a number of the most Confidential and most powerful members and have Secured their Interest so far as to assure me that the Event which your Excellency apprehended can never take place ⁴

As I have been fortunate Enough, to Dissuade a majority of the members from pursuing the old mode I expect soon to be called upon to point out a new one Liable to no objections and here I confess I shall be at a Loss owing perhaps, to my want of Capacity or possibly to the Confusion of having one Large Army Composed of Thirteen Small ones and wish Your Excellency would be so oblidging as to give me your Sentiments upon it and what you would wish to be the Rule of Promotion.⁵

To Rise Regimentally to the Rank of Captain and afterward in the Line of the State to a Colonel (which I take to be the Rule) admits of no great Difficulty. but the Rule has been Extended to Brigadiers and even to Major Generals. Now Let us Suppose that Major Generals are to be Created from the Eldest Brigadiers and the former Rule is to Stand good for promotion of Colonels to Brig'rs is not this a perpetual Bar to promotion of Colonels who belong to States which Supply but one or two

[528]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² This letter is endorsed, "From Genl Sullivan 9th Decr. 1780". It could not have been written Nov. 9, since Sullivan acknowledges the receipt of Washington's letter of Nov. 25; and it is not at all probable that it was written Dec. 9, since a report made Dec. 4 is referred to as not yet presented. The last paragraph was evidently written as late as Nov. 30.

³ Washington's letter to Sullivan, Nov. 25, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX, 39, (ed. Sparks), VII, 308. Sullivan is replying also to some matters in Washington's letter of Nov. 20. See no. 523, *ante*.

⁴ Washington's apprehensions pertained to promotions that might affect unfavorably General Knox.

⁵ See Washington's letter to Sullivan Dec. 17 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, IX, 63, ed. Sparks, VII, 332).

regiments. Colonels of Such States may of Course be compelled to Serve under a Brigadier who a few years before Served under them over Detachments, etc. as Captains. I See but one way to remedy this Evil which is to Rise from Colonels in the Line of the Army. perhaps there may be Consequences attending this which I am not able to Discover. I therefore wish to know your Excellency's Sentiments upon it.

Your Excellency's Letter referred to was read in Congress and is Referred to General Ward General Cornell and myself we shall Report upon it without Delay, and I hope agreeable to Justice and Equity which I know is the Extent of your wishes upon this and Every other Matter.⁶

I have the honor to be with the most Lively Sentiments of Esteem and Respect

Dear General Your most obedt Servt

JNO. SULLIVAN

529. PROCEEDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF FINANCE,
NOVEMBER 1780.¹

Proposition by Mr. Mathews.² That Congress Immediately call upon the Inhabitants of these States for all the Coined Silver and Gold and all the plate they can possibly Spare to be Lent to the united States on Security, with interest. agreed.

agreed That a Resolution be Draughted for Calling in the old Bills and Supporting the Credit of the New See The resolution by Mr Clark and Colo Bland on File.

proposition by Mr Sullivan for Draughting an address to the People to Induce them to lend their Coin and Bullion and also an address to the respective Legislatures requesting them to Encourage the loan agreed

Proposition by Mr Clark that the address be to the Legislatures of the States and the Supply recd through them agreed³

⁶ The reference is to Washington's letter to Congress Nov. 26, read in Congress Nov. 30. It is printed, in part, in *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 40 n.

[529]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., Sullivan Papers, Misc. This manuscript (34 pp., 6 by 8 inches) bears the title here used. Except as noted below (note 7) it is in the writing of John Sullivan.

² The committee from whom these proceedings and observations emanated was that appointed Nov. 7 "to prepare and lay before Congress a plan for arranging the finances, paying the debts and oeconomising the revenue of the United States". See no. 514, note 6, *ante*, 623-626, *post*. For some account of the committee of ways and means, a preceding committee which was largely concerned with the same subject and which in point of service overlapped this committee on finance, see no. 469, note 6, *ante*. After the proceedings and observations here recorded the committee further matured its conclusions and presented, Dec. 18, a report, with which these observations should be compared. The report was discussed Dec. 22, taken up again Jan. 18 and discussed for some two weeks, the outcome being a brief resolution Feb. 3. The discussion continued however, principally in committee of the whole, through much of the next five months. Mar. 6 it was resolved "that Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday in every week be assigned for the subject of finance, until the United States in Congress assembled, shall have come to a final decision on that subject"; and for some weeks Congress appears to have kept its resolve, with only occasional lapses. In the meanwhile a department of finance was created (Feb. 7) and Robert Morris placed at the head of it as superintendent (Feb. 20). Thereafter much but by no means all the discussion of financial measures had that department in view. Meanwhile also this committee on finance appears to have melted away or lost its leadership, other committees on special phases of the financial problem being created, and individual members pushing their own particular financial ideas to the fore.

³ This paragraph appears to have been erased.

Proposition by Colo Bland that the Several Legislatures be Directed to call in their State Emissions and not Issue any more Bills of Credit but by advice of Congress agreed

Question by Mr Sullivan whether is the money if obtained to be Deposited in the General Treasury or in a Bank agreed to a Bank

Proposition by Mr Sullivan That The Manager of the Bank or [] Strike and Sign a number of notes from a hundred pounds to an eighth of a Dollar, a quarter of which to be payable in one year one Qr in two years another in 3 years and The Last Quarter in 4 years on Interest of six per cent Without Date. That the State Treasurers be Authorized to receive Coin and Bullion and Date and give out notes in Exchange.

agreed That Congress recommend to the Several States to pass Laws Enabling them to Lay Imposts on Importations for raising a revenue to Defray the Expence of the war and for paying the Debts of the united States and to take every possible measure for encouraging exportations

That the State of Maryland be Called upon immediately to accede to the Confederation and in Case of Neglect to Call upon the other twelve States to Confederate

That the States be called upon Respectively to pass Laws Establishing Funds for Redemption of the Bills Emitted by virtue of the resolution of the 18th of March Last and also for authorizing Congress to Lay Embargoes in Time of War.

That a manager of the Bank be appointed by Congress

That the Bank be Regulated in the following manner.⁴

agreed That some Mode must be adopted to establish the Credit of Congress.

agreed by messrs Bland Clark and Sullivan that this can only be done by calling in Bullion.

Said by Mr Matlock, this is not the only way: a Tax founded on Established Faith, will answer the same Purpose.

Questions

How can Bullion be called in and in what time

How can a Tax founded on established Faith be made and collected and in what time.

Mr Bland

Proposes a Bank (or rather Several different Banks under the same Regulations)

That Subscriptions be immediately opened in the United States and a Letter Draughted addressed to the feelings of the People requesting them to bring in their Silver gold and Copper coined and uncoined for establishing a Bank for Supporting the Credit of paper notes to be Issued thereon in the following manner *viz*

Every man who will bring in ninety five Dollars shall be credited on the Books one hundred and shall be entituled to receive an Interest of six per Cent in half-yearly Payments which stock shall be Transferrable by Power or Letter of attorney.

⁴ A page and a half is here left blank, evidently with the intention of inserting the regulations.

That notes shall be issued from the Bank for nine tenths of the money received payable in 7 years without Interest to pass as a Circulating medium. The remaining tenth is to be reserved for Drawing and redrawing.

That all the Plate shall be coined into pieces of particular sorts as well as the Copper and the whole Deposited in the Bank as a Security for redemption of the Bills at the Days of payment.

That an Annual Tax in Specie shall be Collected Deposited in the Bank and appropriated as a sinking fund for paying the Interest due on stocks received and for redemption of the notes issued.

That when the sum accumulated by Tax amounts to a certain given part of the sum in Stock (say one half) notes are to be exchanged for Specie at the Bank.

Questions by Mr. Matlack

If the money is to be Deposited in Bank and nine tenths of it only to be represented by paper notes where is the advantage of keeping your money in Bank and representing it with paper?

Answer ⁵

Question If your Notes are Truly to represent Coin and to pass as such why shall the man who holds a note payable in 7 years and for which he has paid a valuable Consideration receive no interest while he who Deposits money in the Bank draws an Interest of six per Cent besides a Douceur, and will not this tend to Depreciate the notes and Inhance the Prices of Articles? ⁶

Question will not the publick Suffer a loss by the coining of plate.

Mr. Matlack

In order to Show the Improbability of our Deriving any advantages from a Bank Consider the origin of Banks: he says they originated among Gold Smiths whose real property and Respectable Characters added to their being in the visible Possession of Large Quantities of the precious Metals gave them an unlimited Credit.

He therefore Concludes that a Bank must be founded on a Credit already Established and Cannot in its nature be the means for Establishing a Credit in the first Instance, or for Restoring a Lost Confidence.

He Says that Congress have Lost their Credit and the first Steps must be to Re-establish it which if Done will answer every purpose and even make paper Bills answer us every purpose of Gold and Silver. To prove which he mentions an Emission of paper in Pensylvania Issued by an assembly in whom the People had the most unlimited Confidence founded on Land Security which passed as Specie though it Drew an Interest of Six per Cent for the use of the State

He allows that Congress have not either this Confidence or the property to Pledge for redemption of their Bills

Therefore recommends an immediate ratification of the association with an additional Clause obliging the States to pass Laws for funding

⁵ Half a page is here left blank.

⁶ Both at this point and after the next question large blank spaces are left, doubtless with a view to inserting the answers.

the Bills emitted by Congress not to be repeated But by consent or Direction of Congress to this Mr. Bland agrees.

He then Shows that in young Countries where the Increasing wealth appears by additional Cultivation only must have a Ballance against them which will Draw off their Specie to other and older nations with whom they have Commercial Connections whose wealth cannot appe[a]r by additional Culture of Lands but by Specie in possession

To turn this Ballance of Trade in our favor he Deems essential and proposes Every Encouragement to Exportation and Large Duties on the importation of all the Luxuries of Life He also Recommends Sumptuary Laws but allows them to be attended with many difficulties in the execution.

Mr Matthews agrees with Mr Matlack on the Necessity of Sumptuary Laws.

Mr Clark agrees with Mr Matlack in the addition to the Confederation and proposes that Congress Shall in addition have the absolute Controul of all the Ports in America.

Mr. Sullivan

Suppose that the obstruction of our Commerce by the war has not only prevented our paying in Specie The Debt due from America to Britain but has Layd us under a necessity of relying more on the manufactures of our own Country and prevented in great measure the Consumption of those Luxuries with which we once abounded, and for which Large Sums of money were drawn from this Continent.

That the obstruction of the Custom House Channel which Drew immense Treasures from America and the variety of Channels opened by the French and British Army for Supplying the Farmers and others with Specie must prove that there is a much greater Quantity of the precious metals in America than at the Commencement of the War; That the reason why this Specie does not appear is because the Introduction of a fluctuating paper Currency Daily Depreciating in value operated as a prohibition To The holders of Specie to Throw it into Circulation Especially as Tender acts were attempted in almost every state and proved exceedingly injurious to those who had ventured their hard money into Circulation. But should he be mistaken in this Conjecture he says it will not be denied that The Coin and Plate in America will amount to a Large Sum in value and that this if procured will be of great advantage to these States, provided Specie can be introduced as an auxiliary to the Bills emitted on the 18th of March without proving injurious or Destructive to them.

He therefore proposes the following Plan, *viz.* That an address be sent to the Several states to be communicated to the People informing them of the true state of our Finances and the situation of our Publick affairs and requesting them to Furnish to the Publick Treasury Through the Treasurers of the respective states all Coined Silver and gold and all Plate which they can possibly be induced to part with and with this Requisition to Send the plan for repayment that they may be assured of payment in Specie with the Annual Interest.

He says that as the Circumstances of this Country will not admit of establishing a Bank on the Principles of that of England or Amsterdam he Chuses to Consider the whole as a Transaction between Congress The Continental Treasurer and Individuals, and Conducted in the following manner *viz.*

That Notes be given by the Treasurer to Each person for the Sum he shall furnish in four equal annual payments with Interest of six per Cent. That the plate and Copper be Coined and Deposited in the Treasury for payment of the notes with the Interest as they may become Due.

That Congress in no Case draw more than half the Specie out of the Treasury and not This till They have previously forwarded to the States an Estimate with a Requisition of a Tax in Specie for the money so Drawn out with a Years Interest of the whole Sum in Bank which is to be Deposited there for the purposes aforesaid.

That there be Annually an estimate of the expenditures of the ensuing year and Collected one half in the New Bills and the other half in Specie in Case the Specie will amount to a Sufficiency to pay The Sum Drawn from the Treasury with the Interest of the Sum in Bank and if not: then the Specie Tax is to be augmented to make that Sum and the paper Tax Diminished and for all the Surplus (if any should be) the Treasurer may Issue his notes payable in one year in Specie first deducting a years Interest That there may be no failure of payment or Defect of Credit.

That in all payments Bills of the 18th of March be Considered as Specie and received as such and an allowance made for the Interest Due thereon, but that no person shall be Compelled to receive more than half his Demand in those Bills the other half is to be made in Specie and every Tax is to be paid Equally in Specie and paper Except as Shall be found necessary to augment the Specie for the Reasons aforesaid.

That all notes be redeemable on Sight at the Treasury after the time of payment is elapsed with the Interest Due at the time they are presented, and that the Interest on all notes be paid annually if requested.

That in receiving paper Bills of the aforesd Emission by the respective Collectors of Taxes the Interest due thereon be allowed up to the time of their being received and that Congress may if they find it necessary re-Issue such Bills for Defraying the publick expences or may hold them out of Circulation if they think proper.

That for a present Supply of Specie all the Continental vessels of war and all the Publick Stables and the Barracks at Cambridge and all Naval Stores be sold for Specie and Deposited in the Treasury Subject to the order of Congress to be Drawn out in Specie or by notes without Interest payable in one Year and in Case notes are Issued thereon Congress may Draw one half the Specie so deposited by them provided they first make a requisition for a Tax in Specie for the amount so Drawn with the Interest of the whole payable in one Year

This will not be Liable to the objections made to Mr Blands Plan, Because Congress will ever have it in their power after the whole sum is Deposited to obtain the Loan of one half in Specie for a Year and of Course one third more money is represented than is really in Stock with-

out injury or Danger to the Lender as to the Residue remaining inactive in Bank while we are paying Interest for it two answers can be given 1st that we never need pay Interest for more than two thirds of what is really in Circulation and that the money kept out of Circulation serves to uphold our Credit and by remaining out of Circulation will Lower the prices of articles and in the natural Course of Commerce Draw money from other nations to fill up the vacuum and Introduce that Level of money which must take place among all Commercial Nations.

2dly that should the money itself be Thrown into Circulation you can only have two thirds as much in Circulation as upon the Plan proposed and This Instead of revolving round the Bank as a Centre will fly to those nations with whom we have Commercial Connections under the Disadvantages of a Ballance of trade against us, which would soon Leave us in as great want of Specie as at present, for which reason I recommend all foreign Loans that may be obtained to be Deposited in the Treasury under the foregoing regulations

The 2d objection to Mr Blands proposal can have no force against this plan.

He recommends that all Treasurers Notes of which the time for payment is Elapsed be received by the Collectors in Lieu of Specie allowing Interest thereon up to the Day of payment provided they be paid in one month after the Collectors warrants are Signed but in no Case to allow more than a months Interest after the Date of such warrant.

He also Recommends that Every Person Interested in the Bills may have Liberty to Examine the Treasury and Inspect the Books to Satisfy himself of the State of it and the Treasurer is to Show him the Draughts of Congress and their requisition for a Tax in Specie to replace what may have been Drawn out.

Upon This Plan Let us Suppose two Millions to be Collected on the first Day of May 1781 notes being Issued payable to the Bearer with Interest the whole will be represented by notes Congress then Draw out a Million in Specie and put it in Circulation There will then be Three millions in Circulation when in fact only two millions have been received and Congress only pay Interest for Two millions.

To this it may be objected that Congress only have the Disposal of one million and asked why it would not be best for Congress to put the Two millions of Specie in Circulation at once? To this he answers that though this objection might have weight between Individuals yet it cannot have the Same force in a State. The Business of Congress is to provide and support a proper Circulating medium for the State out of which they have a right to Demand from the States as much as will answer to Defray the publick Expences and where there is not a Sufficiency of money to answer the Demands of the State Increasing it by representation on payment founded on a fixed and Certain plan for paper is essentially necessary, besides if you were to throw the whole into Circulation the Specie would Soon make its way to nations with whom we are Connected and which hold the Ballance of Trade against us. But on the present plan the Bank will be the vortex for Drawing all the money from persons who

wish to Live on the Interest of their money and will Serve as a Centre to attract the notes and hold the Specie from flying to Distant nations.

But another objection may be raised *viz* what Security will Individuals have for the repayment of their money

Answer one half will Ever be in Stock which will be Sufficient for two years payment and if we Suppose that in two years the States will not or cannot furnish the Sums Drawn out we must have no faith in the virtue of the people or prospect of Supporting the war. To Illustrate this I will Suppose that Congress Sell their Armed vessels etc. for two million Sterling but this is not Sufficient by one million to Defray the Expence of the war for the year, and cannot hire sums for the purpose. what is to be Done? Why upon the foregoing plan the whole is to be Lodged in Bank and notes issued and then a million drawn out in Specie This will put three million into Circulation and by Loosing the Interest of the million in Bank the Credit of your Bills is Supported while the Hoarding up that million Serves to Lessen the prices of articles and Consequently will if your paper is not too much Increased attract Specie from the neighbouring nations to fill the vacuum which this makes for However Paradoxical it may appear the only way to bring Large Quantities of Specie into a State is to Hoard up Large Treasures.

If ⁷ common Reason and the Observation of Mankind did not evince the Truth of this Proposition the Reasoning of Mr. Hume on the Subject must convince every unprejudiced Mind. He after treating the Idea of the Balance of Trade as rather Chimerical says,

“Suppose the four fifths of the Money in Britain to be annihilated in one Night and the Nation reduced to the Condition with regard to Specie as in the Reigns of the Harrys and Edwards what would be the Consequence! Must not the Price of all Labor and Commodities sink in Proportion and every Thing be sold as cheap as they were in those Ages? What Nation then could dispute with Us in any Foreign Market or pretend to Navigate or to sell Manufactures at the same Price which to us would afford sufficient Profit? In little Time therefore must this bring back the Money which we had lost and raise Us to the level of all the Neighbouring Nations? Where after We have Arriv'd We immediately lose the Advantage of the Cheapness of Labor and Commodities; and the farther flowing in of Money is stoped by Our fullness and Repletion [. . .]

“The only expedient by which We can raise Money above its proper level is the gathering up of large Sums into a Publick Treasury locking them up and absolutely preventing their Circulation this Fluid not communicating with the Neighbouring Elements may by such an Artifice be raised to what height We please the immediate Consequence of such an Event would be the attraction of an Equal Sum from all the Neighbouring Nations.

⁷ From this point three pages of the manuscript (26, 27, and 28), that is, to the end of the quotation from Hume (“all the Neighbouring Kingdoms”), are in a writing other than Sullivan's, except that in the fourth paragraph Sullivan himself interpolated the words “wt of Silver”. The text has only “pounds”.

"So little are we commonly acquainted with this Principle that tho all Historians agree in relating uniformly so recent an Event as the immense Treasure amassd by Harry the seventh which they make amount to 1,700,000 £ wt of Silver We rather reject their concurring testimony that admit[s] of a fact which agrees so ill with our inveterate Prejudices.

"Tis indeed probable that Sum might be three fourths of all the Money in England.

"But where is the Difficulty that Such a Sum might be amassed in twenty Years by a cunning rapacious Frugal and almost Arbitrary Monarch? Nor is it Probable, that the Diminution of Circulating Money was ever Sensibly felt by the People or ever did them any Prejudice. The sinking of the Prices of all Commodities would immediately replace it by giving England the advantage in its Commerce with all the Neighbouring Kingdoms."⁸

By the foregoing Calculation we may readily Discover the State of money while in Bank and How Easy it is to Increase Either the Quantity of the paper or the Specie without those violent Shocks which States generally feel on Such Changes.

STATE OF 2 MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN BANK WITH A TAX OF 2 MILLIONS OF DOLLARS
ANNUALLY TO BE PAID EQUALLY IN SPECIE AND PAPER BILLS

Time	Specie in Stock	Specie drawn out	Notes For Circulation	Specie in Circulation	Paper Bills Drawn out of Circulation by Tax Increasing the Paper as the Specie Tax is Diminished.
1st May 1781.....	2 000 000	1 000 000	2 000 000	1 000 000	
May 1782 after paying the first notes...	1 500 000	750 000	1 500 000	1 750 000	1, 000 000
May 1783 after paying the 2d notes...	1 000 000	500, 000	1 000 000	2 250 000	1, 250 000
May 1784 after paying the 3d notes...	500 000	250 000	500 000	2 500 000	1 500 000
May 1785 after paying the 4[th] notes.	250 000	250 000	000 000	2 750 000	1 750 000
		2 750 000			5 400 000 ⁹

⁸ The quotation is from Hume's essay on "Balance of Trade", which first appeared in 1752. Between the first and second paragraphs there is an omission of several pages; indeed the second paragraph is a compression of Hume's text. That the contributor of these pages to Sullivan's "Observations" had before him an edition earlier than that of 1770 is evidenced by the use, in the second paragraph, of the figures "1,700,000" pounds, which, in the edition mentioned, were changed to "2,700,000 pounds". See *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, by David Hume, two volumes, edited, with preliminary dissertations and notes, by T. H. Green and T. H. Grose (London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1875), vol. I., pp. 330-345.

⁹ The total should be 5,500,000; nevertheless the erroneous total is used in a paragraph below.

There cannot be a possibility of This Plan Depreciating the paper Bills as the Demand for those Bills by Tax will be Annually Increasing while that of the Specie is Diminishing beside which Some auxillary acts may Easily be Devised to keep up its value.

The foregoing plan proves that 2 million Dollars with a Tax Diminishing annually in Specie and Augmenting in paper will in four years Sink 5 400 000 Dollars of your New Bill[s] pay all your Bank notes and Leave 2 milln. 7 hundred and fifty Thousd Dollars in Circulation and that the Interest will annually Decrease and that you at no time pay Interest for more than two-thirds of the Sum in Circulation and after the Second year not even a quarter of what Specie Congress Draw and Issue.

Let us Suppose¹⁰ that Two million in Specie and Plate is held out of Circulation by Individuals on account of the Incertainty of a repayment in case of its being thrown into Circulation. Congress want immediately to pay away one million and a half and also to furnish an Additional Sum of Two million as a circulating medium upon the foregoing plan Suppose 2 million is furnishd: Congress represent this in the hands of the Lenders by notes to that amount Then Borrow one half which they represent by notes payable in a year without Interest and then Issue half of the Sum represented Calling for a tax to replace it This furnishes Congress with 1 m and a half and the publick with a Circulating medium of two millions more.

530. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO JOHN LAWRENCE.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Decem'r 1st, 1780.

Sir,

Your letter of the 11th ulto. hath been duly receiv'd and laid before Congress, and by them refer'd to the Board of Treasury who have not yet made their report.²

As I find myself under a necessity to remaining in Congress much longer than I expected, for it was my wish and full expectation to have returned home in Octo'r last, I am under the necessity of requesting that one hundred pounds in hard money may be sent me, and must desire your kind assistance to obtain an order from the Committee of pay table, or from whom else it may be necessary to procure the order, for that purpose, and send me the money by Brown, or the first safe opportunity.

Be assured, Sir, I should not make this request if I could with decency or comfort subsist without the money; let the money be charged to my

¹⁰ Preceding this paragraph the following tentative lines are erased: "Let us suppose further that Congress want to obtain two million Sterling in Specie to furnish a Circulating medium of Three million and a half and That".

[530]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 161.

² The *Journals* do not record the reading of Lawrence's letter or its reference to the board of treasury, but the board made a report Dec. 14, giving the date of the letter as Nov. 10 and that of the reference to the board of treasury as Nov. 24. The letter was a resignation of his office as commissioner of the loan office for the state of Connecticut, an office which he had held since October, 1776 (see the *Journals*, Nov. 6, 1776). Lawrence was also treasurer of the state of Connecticut, and it is in the latter capacity that Huntington addresses him concerning money for himself.

account. I hope this request may be granted as I have never yet receiv'd for my services a sum equal to pay my necessary expences while attending in Congress. . . .

531. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Decemr. 3, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Since I Last wrote you nothing has turned up worth your notice except General Leslie's having evacuated Virginia and was seen going off by Water; I am apprehensive he is gone to join Lord Cornwallis at Carolina

Congress are employed in making new Arrangements and rectifying Errors.² Party Spirit is kept Down with some Difficulty. Vermont affair Sleeps at Present; I apprehend it will revive in a Short Time³

The merchants of Philadelphia have given The most Striking Proofs of their Patriotisme: when the Exchange took a Sudden Rise from 75 to 125 they were called upon by the assembly and Entered into an association to fix the Exchange at 75 and published it in the Gazette. This satisfied the assembly and Congress for a Season. they went Home Doubled the Specie prices of their Articles and receive 75 paper Dollars for one Silver one and of Course receive near Double the value for their Articles which they would have done had Congress and the assembly been Silent upon the Subject. I hope this kind of Patriotism will not extend itself to New Hampshire⁴

I have the honor to be with the most perfect Esteem D'r Sir
your most obedient Servant
JNO. SULLIVAN

532. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Decr. 4 1780.

When I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency last, I expected before this to have been on my way home. I impatiently wait Genl. Varnums arrival. the money and bills of exchange would have been sent forward this day had it not been for a blunder of the Inspectors of the press, which was not discovered until more than half the bills were Struck, which must all be laid aside, the press set anew, and all the work done over againe by which means it will not be ready to go forward till Monday next. However strange it may appear, that the money and bills of exchange are not yet sent forward, I can assure you it cannot Justly be charged to my inattention to public business, and particularly what con-

[531]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, IX. 22.

² See nos. 512, 514, 528, *ante*.

³ See nos. 513, 514, *ante*. The Vermont question was revived in July, 1781, through a letter from President Weare dated June 20, read in Congress July 9. See the *Journals*, July 20, 1781, *et seq.*

⁴ *Cf.* no. 525, *ante*.

[532]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 10; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 321.

cerns the State.² this I believe will be allowed by the greatest Enemies I have in this place.

Calunny and detraction runs high in this torified City, but I hope much good will come out of this Modern Nazareth, the General Assembly of the State, it seems, are now sitting, and have been for several weeks past, and appear to be determined to adopt vigorous measures, by filling their Continental line of the Army, furnishing the supplies recommended by Congress, together with many other good things among which is a spirited resolution for putting the new bills into circulation. In a word, they appear to be disposed to do whatever is incumbent on them, for the public good.

The enemy left Virginia last Week, and it is supposed they are gone farther southward, perhaps to reinforce Cornwallis, as it appears by some late accounts from that Quarter, that the Militia, make themselves more familiar in the neighborhood of his Lordship than he would wish.

I beg your Excellency will excuse me for not being more particular, as I can assure you, it is not for want of inclination, but merely upon principles of prudence, as I know not whose hands this letter will fall into, and as I expect soon to have the honor of an interview with you, when I flatter myself no man will be more happy than I shall in giving you every necessary information in my power; and I hope it will be so far satisfactory as to convince you that I have not been inattentive to the Duties of the appointment with which I was honored.

I have the Honor to be

your Excellency's Most obedt. Humb. Servt.

EZEK. CORNELL.

533. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

PHILA'A 5th Decr. 1780.

Dear Sir,

I had yours of the 25th Ult. by yesterday's post. I congratulate you on the deliverance of our Country from the distresses of actual invasion.

...

We had letters yesterday from Mr. Jay and Mr. Carmichael as late as the 4 and 9th of September. Mr. Jay informs us that it is absolutely necessary to cease drawing bills on him; that 150,000 d'rs, to be rep'd in three years with some aid in cloathing etc. is all that the Court will advan[ce] for us.² . . . However unfavorable many of these particulars may appear, it is the concurrent representation of the above ministers that our disappointment of pecuniary succour at Madrid is to be imputed

² See no. 520, *ante*.

[533]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 110; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 69; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 60.

² The letters of Carmichael (Aug. 22, Sept. 6, 9) and that of Jay (Sept. 16), mentioned in the *Journals*, Dec. 4, are in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 38, 51, 59. Carmichael's letter of Sept. 6 does not appear under that date, but it is evidently the continuation of the letter of Aug. 22 as there printed. A summary by Madison of the situation of American affairs in Spain, as set forth by Carmichael and Jay, is here omitted. A letter from Madison to Edmund Pendleton, Dec. 5, of much the same purport as this to Jones, is in *Writings*, I. 107.

to the want of ability and not of inclination to supply us, that the steadiness of His Catholic Majesty is entirely confided in by the French Ambassador, and that the mysterious conduct of Mr. Cumberland and of the Court of Spain towards him, seems to excite no uneasiness in the Ambassador. The letters add, that, on the pressing remonstrances of France and Spain Portugal had agreed to shut her ports against English prizes, but that she persisted in her refusal to accede to the armed neutrality.

The receipt of the foregoing intelligence has awakened the attention of the Georgia Delegates to their motion of which I informed you particularly by Col. Grayson.³ it has lain, ever since it was made undisturbed on the table. This morning is assigned for the consideration of it, and I expect it will without fail be taken up. I do not believe Congress will adopt it without the express concurrence of all the States immediately interested. Both my principles and my instructions will determine me to oppose it. Vir'a and the United States in general are too deeply interested in the subject of controversy to give it up as long as there is a possibility of retaining it. And I have ever considered the mysterious and reserved behaviour of Spain, particularly her backwardness in the article of money as intended to alarm us into concessions rather than as the effect of a real indifference to our fate or to any alliance with us. I am very anxious, notwithstanding, to have an answer to my letter by Grayson.

.....

534. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL HOLTEN.¹

Decr. 5 1780.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of Nov. 16th with a Gazette reached me yesterday. You suffered so much in your mind and Body when here that I will not send you any of the ill pictures which with various Signatures come daily on to our Table. I hope you will find much Satisfaction in the short Letter from Genl. Gates. Wemyss was a very valuable officer to the Enemy.

You may amuse yourself also as one of the medical Class by reading the Epistle of Rush to Shippen in which you will find the Writer has *relieved* himself a little upon me. Shenstone's Benevolence made him *wish* that he could *afford* to have his Pockets picked frequently. I feel a portion of his Spirit operating upon me at this Time; When I see poor Rush swelled near unto Bursting, I cannot doubt but that he finds some Relief by throwing about his Slaver and Froth, therefore when it falls upon my Cloaths I slight the Injury because he finds so much Ease in his terrible Case.²

³ This was the letter of Nov. 25, no. 522, *ante*. Concerning the controversy between himself and Bland over the Mississippi question, discussed in the letter of Nov. 25 and alluded to in the close of this letter of Dec. 5, see also no. 521, *ante*, and nos. 540, 543, 548, 629, *post*.

[534]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XIII. 220.

² The *Pennsylvania Packet* is much occupied during the last four months of 1780 with the triangular controversy among the medical chieftains, Morgan, Shippen, and Rush. First (beginning in the issue of Sept. 2) comes Dr. Morgan's "Appeal", which runs through numerous issues, then Dr. Shippen's "Vindication", even more voluminous,

I have said to some of you my Friends last Week that Mr. Adams had in a masterly and Independent stile defended the Resolves of March 18 against the opinions of Count de Vergennes. . . .

That he (Mr. A.) cannot attempt to persuade Congress to alter a Resolve the Wisdom and Justice of which has the fullest Approbation of his own Judgment and his most cordial Wishes for its Success; That as a plain and candid answer to a Question, he must say he thinks *such Proceedings* the *only* Way to gain and preserve Credit abroad because they discover Wisdom Justice and also Vigor in the American Governments.³

I have injured his long Letter by these Extracts, but I give you and other friends *some* Satisfaction.

535. JAMES LOVELL TO JAMES WARREN.¹

Decr. 5, 1780.

Dear Sir,

In your Letter of Sepr. 28 you make the most just Remarks upon the manner in which our naval Affairs have been fostered here; I think it not becoming my Situation to say *starved*.

Some days ago the Salaries given Sepr. 13 and 23 were made to have retrospect to Nov 2d 1778, but, yesterday, to Sepr. 1 1777.²

By Letters from Spain recd. yesterday I find that our Friend Jos. Gar-doqui will be here to succeed Don Mirailles. Spain is slow towards alliance, well disposed as to Money for our Use, but, be assured, she wants it herself *there*. She may help us nearer home. She was upon a Scheme of getting some in France which Necker found out and stopped by his Influence.³

I shall not be able to hint these Things to Mr. Gerry. In short, I believe I shall soon be obliged to omit taking Pen in hand except on Committees;⁴ I shall otherwise neither serve the public nor my friends with propriety. Your Friend and humb Servt.

[P. S.] . . .

with occasional controversial letters of Morgan and Rush interjected. The letter of Dr. Rush referred to by Lovell is in the *Packet* of Dec. 2, addressed "To doctor William Shippen, jun.". The passage to which Lovell particularly alludes is the following:

"The honourable Mr. Lovell is entitled to your warmest gratitude for the zeal with which he screened you from justice. When I told him that you had transported the wine which you claimed as your own, in public waggons, I well remember that he said, that 'this was practiced by all the staff officers of the army'; and added, that 'men who handled public money, from the beginning of the world to the present day, were constantly envied'."

³ Lovell summarizes Adams's arguments in his letter to Vergennes June 22, 1780, in defense of the resolution of Congress Mar. 18, 1780, authorizing the redemption of old bills with new at the ratio of 40 to 1. The matter came before Congress through a letter of Adams June 26, read Nov. 30, and referred to a committee of which Lovell was chairman. A report was brought in Dec. 6 and adopted Dec. 12. The whole correspondence is found in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 805-808, 809, 818, 827, 828, 829, 844, See no. 155, *ante*, and nos. 537, 547, 557, 572, *post*.

[535]¹ *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 153.

² See the *Journals*, Nov. 15, Dec. 4.

³ In the margin Lovell wrote, "No printing". Cf. no. 533, *ante*.

⁴ Lovell doubtless alludes to the fact that some of his recent letters had been intercepted and published in Rivington's *Gazette*. See no. 518, *ante*, and no. 604, *post*.

536. THE MARYLAND DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF MARYLAND.¹

December 5, 1780.

Gentlemen,

Your Letter of the 22d last relative to the Cattle at the Head of Elk did not come to our Hands 'till the 2d inst.—and yesterday we laid it before the Congress—they have refered it to the Board of War with Directions to take immediate Order.²

537. JAMES DUANE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

Confidential.

PHILADELPHIA 9th December 1780.

My dear General,

I shou'd not so long have restrained the Expressions of a Heart flowing with the most affectionate and respectful attachment if Care had not been taken to communicate our Intelligence officially. In the mean time I have never found it so necessary to devote my attention to the publick business. Amidst pressing distresses it will give your Excellency pleasure to be assured that Congress have deliberated with unanimity, and decided with firmness; and that every thing within their power is nearly accomplished for vigorous Efforts in the Course of the next year. If the States will draw forth their Resources: if our Ally will seriously coöperate by assuming a naval superiority in the American Seas: if we are seasonably furnished with the Clothing Arms and Ammunition which we have reason to expect; and obtain the aid of money which we have once more attempted to borrow: if these Circumstances in any tolerable degree Combine, your Excellency will at last see a prospect, under the divine blessing of finishing the war with Glory.

But it is obvious that we have many difficulties to encounter. Government instead of possessing the Confidence and the Dignity necessary to enforce it's Counsels, is surrounded by clamorous Creditors and insidious speculators, and what is worse the Intemperance of our Friends conspires with the malice of our Enemies to render it odious. Congress may err: they are not exempt from State and personal prejudices; they are liable to be deceived; But nothing is more certain than that in the common Cause their Intentions are pure, their Zeal, their Cares, their pains, unbounded;

[536]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 88; *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 195. The letter is signed by Plater and Hanson.

² The council's letter of Nov. 22 is in *Arch. of Md.*, XLV. 221. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 184, 192, 196, 202, 217, 218. This little episode goes far to explain why the army was so often without meat. Sept. 21 Congress sent an urgent request to Maryland for an immediate supply of 500 head of cattle (see nos. 447, 449, *ante*). The governor ordered them purchased, in so far as procurable, and sent to the Head of Elk, the place designated by General Washington for the deposit of other supplies to be furnished by the state. When the cattle were driven to that place the Continental officers stationed there refused to receive them or forward them to the army, alleging not only a lack of money, but that it was no part of their business. The immediate consequence was that it was necessary to sell a part of the cattle to buy feed for the remainder. What action was taken by the board of war has not been discovered.

[537]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 169.

and the Time will come, when if their measures are not admired they will be approved. Indeed, Sir, an honest and disinterested Patriot requires uncommon Fortitude to render himself responsible in an hour of such intollerable Licentiousness: Those who place their Happiness in Reputation retire from a Theatre where, while they are tortured by publick distresses, they are in danger of disgrace. The Intreagues of Speculators are more and more alarming. Our paper money lately suffered a Convulsion, without any apparent Cause, which threatened its total dissolution.

Not contented with the infinite Evils which they have entailed on their Country; they have practised their arts on the Cabinet of France; and with such success that one of our ministers received a formal Intimation that the Chevalier de la Luzerne wou'd be instructed to remonstrate against the Act of the 18th of March as a violation of publick faith, and an Injury to the trading part of that nation which ought to be repaired. Mr. Adams has acquired Applause by a Memorial to Count de Vergennes on this subject full of Good sence and dignity.² The necessity and the Justice of that memorable system are vindicated by Reasons and Facts which force Conviction. The Capital Figure which the french factors made in drawing on the Depreciation and their Avarice in striving to exact specie for the nominal sums of the Bills, when it is notorious that they raised the price of their Commodities in proportion to the current Exchange are exposed; and it is demonstrated that instead of suffering they greatly profited by that national Calamity. Nor is the proper Inference neglected that a Government capable, in a free Country, of executing a plan so disgusting to the self interested, must possess unlimited Confidence, and be established on the firmest Basis. I am perswaded that this seasonable Representation will remove every prejudice, and prevent the Effects of an attempt big with Ruin!

Another great difficulty which embarrasses us is the absolute Dependence which we are compelled to place on the Exertions of the States *individually*. A failure in *one* may draw upon us insupportable distress. If the supplies of provisions should be punctually furnished the transportation alone is an Expence of such magnitude that I never think of it but with anxiety, especially when we consider how deeply pecuniary Taxes are anticipated by Certificates in the hands of the Farmers. There is a remedy but whether we have a sufficient degree of public spirit to apply it can only be known by Experiment. Why shou'd not the opulent contribute, the whole or a large proportion of their plate? Why shou'd not the Farmer break in upon his Capital if his annual produce is incompetent? Nothing is clearer than that this wou'd be the truest Oeconomy, as a foundation wou'd be laid to terminate the war by a great and decisive Effort. These are Resources in the power of every Legislature, and I shall think them inexcusable if, seeing the necessity to be so urgent, they shrink from the Burthen. A Duty on Imports Exports and prizes will be strongly recommended by Congress; and if approved by the States, it must produce a considerable Revenue.³

² See no. 534, *ante*, and nos. 547, 557, 572, *post*.

³ See no. 529, *ante*, and the *Journals*, Dec. 18.

We have made an Estimate of the national Expense for a year from next January.⁴ Except the Quarter master's branch it is tolerably accurate. I shou'd be happy if our means to defray it were certain and adequate: but this is not to be relied on, unless we are effectually roused by a sense of our common danger, and the necessity of concluding with Glory and Expedition, a War of devastation. Every liberal hand must be opened; every patriotic heart must be animated, every publick and private effort must be exerted to strengthen and support our Army, to give weight to our national Councils, and secure them obedience at home and reputation abroad. Without the first the Courage Perseverance and military Accomplishments of our General must be frustrated: without the last it wou'd be madness to hope for Credit alliance or Respect from foreign powers.

After a studied Contempt of the Power of our Enemy which has marked the progress of our Contest, too great a dependence on foreign succour claims a Rank in our political Errors. I speak of the publick opinion, exempting Congress as I ought from a share in this Folly. Charmed with a Revolution so friendly to the rights of human nature, and so humbling to the Insolence of Brittain, the People were too apt to imagine that the Coffers of Europe wou'd be emptied into our Lap without reserve. But to say nothing of the Dutch; experience has shewn that the Spaniards on whom we principally relied, are not to be moved by disinterested Considerations. That Cabinet does not imitate the French in liberality. They view the Contiguity of those States to the Source of their Treasures, and their rising greatness, with a sufficient degree of Jealousy. They are cautious of our alliance unless they can acquire solid advantages. They are courted by England and tempted by offers which tho' they cannot accept without sacrificing their Honour, their family compact, and the Esteem of the northern powers; they yet seem to countenance as a mean to lead us to concessions of which we cannot think without Reluctance. On no other principle are Cumberland's residence at Madrid, or the dilatoriness which has accompanied the Treaty to be reconciled. With respect to a Loan, if their Inclination was ever so prompt, it appears to me either that their Funds are not productive; or that their Oeconomy is even worse than our own. They might however interpose their Responsibility as they have already done for the bills which we have drawn, and for the Cloathing which they have supplied, and it wou'd afford us essential Relief. These Hints will open another Field of Embarrassment, the Extent of which your Excellency will fully perceive.

I shall only add to the Catalogue that we have advice that Sir Henry Clinton has written to his Court for a strong Reënforcement, or leave to retire from his command: that he has received an approbation of his Conduct in flatering terms, and a promise of support, and that orders are accordingly issued for raising a Regiment of Cavalry and nine of Infantry.

I have drawn this Letter to an immoderate Length: ascribe it to a desire of possessing you of my own View of our publick affairs as far as I am at Liberty

⁴ See no. 469, note 6, and no. 514, *ante*.

I will only add that the Visit of the French noblemen has given pleasure. The Chevalier Chateliux particularly recommends himself by his agreeable manners and literary Accomplishments.⁵ Be pleased to pay my most respectful Compliments to Mrs. Washington. I was greatly mortified at her passing thro' this Town without my Knowledge as I wished to have done myself the Honour of attending her to Trenton.

P. S. Your Excellency has remarked that the Communications with which you Honored me on the arrangement of the army hospitals, etc. have had their Effect.

538. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA December 9, 1780.

Sir,

I do myself the Honor to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Extract of a Letter from Europe. What Reinforcement Great Brittain may be able to send to America, is with us uncertain

The partial Successes against Lord Cornwallis, and the rising Spirit of the Militia in that Quarter it is to be hoped will much disconcert the British in their intended Operations. Above all, should we be able to form a respectable Army of regular Troops to the Southward, their Hopes must end in Disappointment

Should the Intelligence from Holland and Portugal prove true respecting the armed Neutrality, it cannot fail to have a powerful Influence in our Favour.²

539. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Decemr. 11th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I am honored with your two favors of the 20th Ultio. with the Inclosures they came to hand this morning the one respecting Mr. De La Tour was immediately referred to a Committee of which I am a member we shall immediately wait on the French Minister Examine the Laws re-

⁵ This was the Chevalier de Chastellux, major-general in the French army. The other French noblemen mentioned in Washington's letter to Rochambeau, Dec. 10 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, IX. 47, ed. Sparks, VII. 318), as having visited him were: the Viscomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, aide to Rochambeau, the Comte de Custine, and the Marquis de Laval. These, together with the Chevalier Du Plessis, were given letters of introduction (Nov. 27, Dec. 7) from Washington to the President of Congress. Dec. 17 Theodorick Bland wrote to Governor Jefferson to introduce to him "the Marquis de La Valle and the Count de Guistine", who had been introduced to him by the minister of France and the Marquis de Lafayette. (Copy, from the original, in possession of the Carnegie Institution.)

[538]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² The extract enclosed was from the letter of Jonathan Williams, read in Congress Dec. 11. December 9 was Saturday, and doubtless the letter arrived too late to be read in Congress that day. See nos. 541, 542, *post*.

[539]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, IX. 25.

ferred to Settle the Point with him and immediately report to Congress the Result shall be communicated to you without Loss of time ²

I am Sorry that General Bayley ³ should Suffer himself to believe a Report which has no foundation in Truth. I never opposed a Decision of the vermont Dispute, I opposed the mode urged by the New York Delegates which was for Congress to give Judgment without the Intervention of Commissioners I urged that this was against the Confederation and That the Judgment would be invalid but I urged the appointing Commissioners to Decide the Claim I was Ever of Opinion that the time Chosen was very improper and feared those Consequences which by Allens procedure Seam but too likely to follow I knew That it was not a Time for America to Court New Enemies or add to the Number of the Disaffected. I did mention this in Congress and however Strong my Particular Attachments may be I must Ever keep the good of the whole in view as the primary object and I Sincerely wish the Gentlemen from New York had been Influenced by the same motive. Should those People Join the Enemy They would prove very Dangerous Foes and I am Sorry that the impatience of New York furnished them with a pretext but whatever may be [the] Event the Moderate Conduct of New Hampshire must Secure that State from Reflections I will as Soon as possible bring Congress into Some Decisive measures for if the present Suspicions are well founded vigorous and Decisive Exertions only can atone for The precipitate and imprudent Steps which Congress have been Driven into by the Delegates of new york

General Baileys reasoning is Truly ridiculous he thinks that a People who could Join the Enemy upon a mere Suspicion that Congress might give Judgment against them would at once Loose both the power and Inclination by its being reduced to a Certainty and Judgment proclaimed against them this kind of reasoning is too Trifling to merit a Serious Answer, and I am Sensible of the Disadvantages you mention which have Long been felt by our State and am happy that under all those Disadvantages New Hampshire has preferred the publick good to Every other Consideration. This as well as the whole of her Political Conduct must do her the highest Honor ⁴

I Lament Exceedingly the Deranged State of our Finances and the Distresses of the People and have the pleasure to assure you that Measures are now adopted which I am Convinced will afford the necessary relief but as order cannot Succeed Confusion in a moment, Patience and perseverance must still be kept in Action an Envoy Extraordinary is appointed to proceed to france for Supplies of money Cloathing etc. back[ed] by the French Embassadors and all the French Gentlemens Interest and I doubt

² De la Tour, a French citizen residing in Portsmouth, had had a controversy with the town over a question of taxation which involved the treaty with France. See, further, nos. 559, 624, 635, *post*. It was not until Feb. 5, 1781, that action was taken on the case.

³ Brig.-Gen. Jacob Bayley.

⁴ Cf. nos. 438, 461, *ante*, and no. 635, *post*.

not of its being obtained ⁵ we have another Plan of Finance nearly Completed which in my opinion will give great and Speedy relief.⁶ I trust the whole will be soon Communicated to you officially and I Trust will receive your approbation My Time or Paper will not permit me to give you a proper Idea of it in this Letter I expect Hourly Cloathing to Arrive Sufficient for the whole Army which will relieve you from Some of your present Embarrassments.

The present is a time for the tryal of [Pub]lick virtue and am happy in thinking wit[h you] that the Patriotic Sons of New Hampshire [will] not be behind hand with any; nay that they will According to Custom be the most forward in their Exertions for the Publick good

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem and regard

Dear Sir your most obedt. Servt.

JNO. SULLIVAN

540. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

PHILADA. D'r 12th 1780.

Dear Sir,

Agreeably to your favor of the 2d inst't which came to hand yesterday, I shall send this to Fredericksb'g. I am sorry that either your own health or that of your lady should oblige you to leave the Legislature before the principal business of the session is finished. I shall be still more sorry if either of these causes should disappoint my hopes of your return to Philada. at the promised time. I am the more anxious for your return because I suppose it will supersede the proposed measure of sending an envoy to Congress on the business you mention.² If the facts are trans-

⁵ The proposition to send a special envoy to France to solicit aid appears to have been first brought before Congress in the resolutions offered by the Georgia delegates Nov. 18, which were taken under consideration Dec. 5. Dec. 8, on a motion by Sullivan and Bee, Congress resolved upon the appointment of an envoy extraordinary to the court of Versailles to solicit, in conjunction with the minister plenipotentiary at that court, the aids which Congress was requesting in a memorial adopted Nov. 22 (see no. 540, note 3, *post*). Congress had likewise already resolved to send a consul to France, principally for the purpose of facilitating the forwarding of these supplies (see no. 546, note 3, *post*). Nominations for the mission (Alexander Hamilton, John Laurens, Alexander McDougall, and Jonathan Trumbull, jr.) were offered Dec. 9, and Dec. 11 John Laurens was unanimously chosen. Preceding the election on Dec. 11 Witherspoon, who had taken his seat only on the 9th, endeavored, with the aid of his colleague William Burnet, to bring about a reconsideration of the resolution of Dec. 8, presumably with a view to altering the language of the resolution, as was later done. The motion failed at this time, but on Dec. 21 a reconsideration was obtained and, upon a motion by Duane and Madison, the title was changed to "minister", and the qualifying clause, "in conjunction with our minister plenipotentiary at that court", was eliminated. These alterations were made by Secretary Thomson not only in the resolution of Dec. 8 and in the record of the election, but also in Witherspoon's motion, Dec. 11. Laurens's commission, instructions, and letter of credence were adopted Dec. 23, and additional instructions Dec. 27. On Dec. 28 the board of admiralty was ordered to fit out the *Alliance* to convey him to France. See nos. 540, 546, 547, 553, 562, 563, 567, 572, 600, *post*. An account of the mission is in Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens* (Appendix I.), pp. 478-487.

⁶ See no. 529, note 2, *ante*, and the *Journals*, Dec. 18.

[540]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Writings of Madison* (ed. Hunt), I. 112; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 72.

² With regard to the proposed special envoy to Congress, see Jones's letter of Dec. 2 (*Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 57), and nos. 610, 647, 649, 660, 661, *post*.

mitted by the Speaker of the Assembly or the Executive, may they not be laid before Congress with as much efficacy by the established representatives of the State as by a special messenger? And will not the latter mode in some measure imply a distrust in the former one, and lower us in the eyes of Congress and the public? The application to the C't of France has been anticipated.³ Congress have even gone so far as to appoint an Envoy Extraordinary to solicit the necessary aids. Col. Laurens was invested yesterday with that office. I leave the measure to your own reflection.⁴ How far it may be expedient to urge Spain to assist us before she is convinced of the reasonableness of our pretensions, ought to be well weighed before it be tried. The liberty we took in drawing on her for money excited no small astonishment, and probably gave an idea of our distress, which confirmed her hopes of concession on our part. Accts. re'd since my last repeat her inflexibility with reg'd to the object in question between us. It is indispensable that we should in some way or other know the *Ultimate* sense of our constituents on this important matter.⁵ Mr. Laurens is certainly in captivity. An Irish paper tells us he was committed to the Tower on the sixth of Octr. under a warrant from the three Secretaries of State.⁶ . . .

³ As early as Oct. 7, on motion of Sullivan, seconded by Mathews, a committee (Howly, Van Dyke, Ingersoll, and Henry) was appointed to draft a memorial to the court of Versailles for the purpose of securing aids and supplies. Nov. 1 the committee brought in a report, which was recommitted, and Nov. 11 another draft was presented, which was taken into consideration Nov. 17, in connection with a report of the committee of estimates and ways and means (presumably the report found in the *Journals*, Nov. 8). The result of that day's deliberations was a resolution to ask France for a loan of twenty-five million livres. The report of the committee of ways and means was further considered Nov. 21 and 22 and agreed to, although no resolutions as coming from that committee are there recorded. The next entry is:

"Ordered, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare instructions to accompany the letter agreed to."

The proposed letter to the king of France, "On the report of a committee", which follows, after some intervening matter, ought no doubt to precede the order above quoted. The fact that the draft of this letter is in the writing of James Duane, who was not a member of the committee appointed to draw up the memorial but was a member of the committee of ways and means, suggests that either, after the failure of the former committee to meet the requirements, Duane was called upon to draw up the letter for the committee, or else he drew it as a member of the committee of ways and means. Duane was also of the committee (with Madison and Houston) to draw up the instructions to Franklin which were to accompany the letter and himself drew those instructions, which were, however, somewhat amended in Congress. See the *Journals*, Nov. 25, 28.

⁴ See no. 539, note 5, *ante*.

⁵ That is, the free navigation of the Mississippi. See nos. 522, 533, *ante*, and nos. 543, 548, 629, 661, *post*.

⁶ In a letter to Pendleton (*Writings*, ed. Hunt, I. 109), dated "Decemr. 1780", but evidently written Dec. 12, Madison says: "An Irish paper informs us that Mr. Laurens was committed to the Tower on the 6th of Octr. by the three Secretaries of State on suspicion of high treason. As the warrant with the names of the Secretaries subscribed with some other particulars is inserted, no hope remains of the fact being a forgery."

541. THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

[December 12 ?, 1780.]

Sir,

We have the honor to enclose your Excellency a Resolution of Congress of the 6th instant, relating to the Convention troops,² also a copy of a letter from G. Anderson found among the dead letters in the post office and communicated to Congress by the Post Master. If there should be occasion for the original of the latter, it shall be transmitted on the first intimation.³

An Irish paper informs us that Henry Laurens Esqr. was committed to the Tower on the 6th of October by a warrant from the Secretary of State, on suspicion of High Treason. All the despatches entrusted to the same conveyance unfortunately fell into the hands of the Enemy at the same time.

A letter from Mr. Jonathan Williams dated at Nantz Oct: 17th confirms an account received several days ago of the *Ariel* commanded by P. Jones Esqr. and containing cloathing etc for the Army, being dismantled and obliged to return into port. The effect of this delay will be severely felt by the troops, who have already but too much reason to complain of the sufferings they have been exposed to from a want of these necessities.⁴

The same letter from Mr. Williams, as well as some others received within a few days give us reason to believe that Portugal has at length yielded to the solicitations of the Neutral Powers and to the remonstrances of France and Spain, so far as to accede to the general object of the former, and to exclude the English from the privileges which their vessels of War have heretofore enjoyed into their ports. . . .

542. JOHN MATHEWS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Decr. 12th, 1780.

Sir,

The inclosed extracts appear as sufficiently interesting, to induce us to forward them to you. The reiterated information we have lately received from different quarters leave little room to doubt, that the Southern States will be the grand theatre of war this ensuing winter and spring.

The Waggons with stores for the army under your command, with two Companies of Artificers, are now on their way to join you.

[541]¹ *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 395 (where the signers are given as Madison and Bland).

² See Jefferson to the speaker of the House of Delegates (Benjamin Harrison), Dec. 29, to the President of Congress, Jan. 15, and to the governor of Maryland the same day, in *Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 391, 413, 415; *Official Letters*, II. 253, 278.

³ Jefferson's reply, Jan. 15, 1781, is in *Official Letters*, II. 276. See also his letter to Benjamin Harrison, Jan. 29, *ibid.*, p. 304. Cf. no. 629, *post*.

⁴ Cf. no. 538, *ante*, and no. 542, *post*. The letter from Jonathan Williams was read Dec. 11.

[542]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

Nothing has been as yet done to supply your troops with cloathing. Capt. Jones had sailed with the cloathing, but being disabled a few days after he got to sea, was obliged to sail back to be refitted. By a letter recei[ved] yesterday from Mr. Williams at Nantz, he informs us, that the Vessels will be ready to sail again in a few days. They will have on board, made and materials sufficient for making, 20,000 suits of cloathes, with some hats, stockings, shirts, Overalls, Shoes, and Stocks and barrels and locks for 20,000 muskets, and 100 tons of saltpetre.²

The article of intelligence contained in the inclosed extracts, respecting Portugal seems to be pritty well [authen]ticated by subsequent advices.

We have received no late intelligence of the enemies movements at New York. They appear to be quiet at present.

We are Sir with much Respect and Esteem

Yr. most Obedt. Servts.

By Order of the Committee

JNO. MATHEWS Chairman ³

543. THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, December 13th 1780.

Sir,

The complexion of the intelligence received of late from Spain, with the manner of thinking which begins to prevail in Congress with regard to the claims to the navigation of the Mississippi, makes it our duty to apply to our constituents for their precise, full and ultimate sense on this point.

If Spain should make a relinquishment of the navigation of that river on the part of the United States an indispensable condition of an alliance with them, and the State of Virginia should adhere to their former determination to insist on the right of navigation, their delegates ought to be so instructed, not only for their own satisfaction, but that they may the more effectually obviate arguments drawn from a supposition that the change of circumstances, which has taken place since the former instructions were given, may have changed the opinion of Virginia with regard to the object of them. If, on the other side, any such change of opinion should have happened, and it is now the sense of the State that an alliance with Spain ought to be purchased even at the price of such a cession if it cannot be obtained on better terms, it is evidently necessary that we should be authorised to concur in it. It will also be expedient for the Legislature to instruct us in the most explicit terms whether any and what extent of

² Cf. nos. 538, 541, *ante*.

³ See no. 524, *ante*, and no. 544, *post*.

[543]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers (addressed: "James Madison Esqr. late President, Orange County Virginia", and with the following memorandum appended: "Richmond, Augt. 31st 1819. The foregoing is a true copy of a document communicated by Governor Jefferson to the General Assembly, filed in my office. Wm. Mumford, Keeper of the Rolls"); *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 74; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 102.

territory on the east side of the Mississippi and within the limits of Virginia, is in any event to be yielded to Spain as the price of an alliance with her. Lastly, it is our earnest wish to know what steps it is the pleasure of our Constituents we should take, in case we should be instructed in no event to concede the claims of Virginia either to territory or to the navigation of the abovementioned river, and Congress should without their concurrence agree to such concession.

We have made use of the return of the Honble. W. Jones to N. Carolina to transmit this to your Excellency, and we request that you will immediately communicate it to the General Assembly.²

We have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, yr. Excellency's most obt. and humble servants,

JAMES MADISON JUNR.
THEOK. BLAND.

544. JOHN MATHEWS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA Decr. 13th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I received your favor from Richmond some days ago, and should have replied to it sooner, but I had not time when the last opportunity offered.²

I am in hopes this will reach you at Headquarters, where I have been long anxious for your arrival, that we might have your opinion of the true state of our affairs there. I can almost anticipate it, that is, that it will be gloomy enough. The British fleet leaving Portsmouth, convinces me their destination is now for Chs Town, the consequence of which will be, Cornwallis will be so effectually reinforced, as to put it out of your power to do any thing important—however I shall defer any further remarks on this subject untill we hear from you after your arrival at the army.

² See nos. 521, 522, 533, *ante*. Jefferson replied Jan. 18, 1781 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 424; *Official Letters*, II. 285), transmitting a resolution of the Virginia assembly for the guidance of the delegates. See, further, the *Journals*, Jan. 29, Feb. 15, 1781, and nos. 548, 629, 661, *post*.

About this time Gouverneur Morris wrote to Robert R. Livingston, commenting on late proceedings of Congress: "Our politicks are, as usual, comprized under the short epithet with a long meaning—*s-l-o-w*. . . . The question of the Mississippi hath lately been again agitated in Congress. Virginia, it seems, disapproves of all Cession and concession there, and so instructs her Delegates. D—n— [Duane], I am told, voted against settling the matter *à l'ainable* with Spain. He spoke against it. He doubted, whether it was not of more consequence 'not to offend Virginia than Spain.' Is this a New York sentiment? Do not mention this to any body, for I would not injure him." Morris further advises Livingston to urge that Vermont be made sovereign, free, and independent; then "laugh at the world—Laugh loudly at the fools who court extensive unviendly Dominion" (N. Y. Pub. Lib., Bancroft Coll., Livingston Papers, copy). Livingston endorsed the letter as "Recd. Jan. 1781". He replied, Jan. 18, "Glad . . . you have at last come into my sentiments with respect to the Grants" (*ibid.*).

[544]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² It may not be amiss to explain to twentieth-century readers that this eighteenth-century phrase, as here used, does not mean an opportunity for writing, but an opportunity for having the letter conveyed to (at least toward) its destination. In this instance the opportunity was probably Willie Jones, delegate from North Carolina, who was taking his departure for home. See no. 543, *ante*.

The Committee of correspondence wrote to you yesterday,³ since writing which letter, we have accounts—not officially—that Arnold at the head of his motley crew together with considerable detachments from the line of the British Army are now embarked ready to sail. Their destination is not known. Arnold's having the command induces some to think that it is only a plundering party, but in my opinion, it is too formidable for such an errand. I rather think, they are bound to join the Southern army [and their (?)] whole views seem to be bent that way.

There is a flying report this morning that the *British Commissioners* for establishing peace etc. are arrived in N. York.

I wish you all health and happiness, success I shall at present say nothing about. And believe me to be my D'r Sir With the most sincere esteem

Yr. most Obedt. Servt.

JNO. MATHEWS

545. JOHN WITHERSPOON TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY
(WILLIAM LIVINGSTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 16th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have written twice to Mr Houston² since I came here, but I believe I have been unlucky in the manner of conveyance. The first was written a week ago to go by a private hand, and I am uncertain whether it has gone yet. The other I am told went yesterday by Mr Chalmers of Trenton. referring to it for what else it contains I shall send you a copy of a resolution recommended by a convention that met at Hartford consisting of the N. England States and New York; [“]resolved that the Commander in Chief of the army of the United States be authorized and empowered to take such measures as he may deem proper and the public service may render necessary to *induce* the several states to a punctual compliance with the regulations which have been or may be made by Congress for supplies for the years 1780 and 1781.[”] Though it is well known to you that few persons have a higher opinion of or confidence in Gen. Washington than myself or a greater desire of having vigorous executive powers put into the hands of persons at the head of affairs either in the military or civil department, yet that resolution is of such a nature that I should never give my voice for it unless you or my constituents should specifically direct it, perhaps *even not then*, and I have that opinion of Gen. Washington that I do not think he would accept or act in consequence of such powers.

³ See the committee's letter here referred to, no. 524, and note 5, *ante*. It is scarcely possible to discover a distinction between Mathews' letters as chairman of the committee and his personal letters to Greene. The only obvious distinction is the presence of the word “chairman” after his signature; but it is by no means certain that all his letters written on behalf of the committee are so signed.

[545]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 49, vol. III., p. 204.

² Houston was in attendance at least as late as Dec. 6 (see the *Journals*). He probably took his departure upon the arrival of Witherspoon, Dec. 9.

What could induce that Convention to recommend such a measure is a mystery to me, but I believe it will have few advocates.³ . . .

The distress of our finances is the most important and alarming circumstance in our situation. A committee have it under consideration but whether their measures will be radical and effectual it is impossible to say. My opinion is that relief must come from the particular states, and they must do it by giving up attachment to paper money and by loans and contracts being in the credit of individuals to assist the public. This is the case in England for all their taxes would be too late, if monied men did not step forth and advance in the mean time what was necessary.⁴ . . .

546. THOMAS MCKEAN TO JOHN ADAMS.¹

Dear Sir,

My letter of Novemr. 8th 1779 by John Lowell Esquire in answer to your favor of the 20th Septemr. preceding, did not, I fear, get to hand previous to your departure from Boston. However I hope you have received it.²

Congress have, a few days ago appointed Colo: Palfrey, late Paymaster General, to be Consul for the United States in France, with considerable powers over their commercial business in particular to forward all supplies for the army, which have been hitherto unaccountably delayed and neglected.³ Young Colo: Laurens is also just appointed Envoy Extraor-

³ The proceedings of the convention are in *Conn. State Recs.*, II, 562. See the *Journals*, Dec. 12, 1780, Feb. 16, 23, Mar. 6, 1781. Cf. no. 518, *ante*, and no. 564, *post*. See also William Bradford to Joseph Reed, Nov. 22, in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII, 616. James Warren wrote to Samuel Adams, Dec. 4:

"I suppose you have before this seen the doings and Resolutions of the Hartford Convention. if one of them does not astonish you I have forgot my political Catechism. surely History will not be Credited when it shall record that a Convention of Delegates from the four New England States and from the next to them met at Hartford in the Year 1780, and in the height of our Contest for public Liberty and Security solemnly Resolved to recommend it to their several States to Vest the Military with Civil Powers of an Extraordinary kind and, where their own Interest is Concerned, no less than a Compulsive power over deficient States to oblige them by the point of the Bayonet to furnish money and supplies for their own pay and support. this must have been done without recollecting political Maxims, without attending to Historical Admonitions and warnings, or the Principles on which our Opposition to Britain rests. General Washington is a Good and a Great Man. I Love and Reverence him. But he is only a Man and therefore should not be vested with such powers, and besides we do not know that his successor will be either Great or Good. much less can we tell what Influence this precedent may have half a Century hence. *sat Verbum sapienti*. I hope that the Resolution will at least shew Congress that something is necessary to be done." *Warren-Adams Letters*, II, 151. See no. 513, note 6, *ante*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Dec. 18, and no. 529, *ante*.

[546]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., McKean Papers, I, 38 (draft).

² McKean's letter to Adams Nov. 8, 1779, printed from the draft, is in vol. IV. of these *Letters*, p. 510.

³ The question of appointing one or more consuls to reside abroad appears to have been broached from time to time in Congress ever since the French treaty. Sept. 16, 1778, Richard Henry Lee felt confident that a consul for each European port of consequence would be appointed (vol. III., p. 414), and McKean, in the letter referred to above, says "some Consuls must be appointed". The movement took its rise at this time from a report of the committee of way and means, Oct. 25, unless an undated report of another committee, found in the *Journals* under the same date, may have been first with the suggestion. Arthur Lee intimates that the idea originated with him. See no. 547, note 3, *post*. At all events, it was decided Oct. 25 to send a consul to France, and William Palfrey, paymaster-general, was nominated for the office. He was elected

dinary to the Court of Versailles, with a view to solicit a loan of about a million sterling, and additional naval aids, from our great and good Ally His Most Christian Majesty. I wish them success, tho' I fear we have not fallen upon the most likely way of obtaining the loan; the appointment of an Envoy on this occasion seems to imply a want of confidence in our Minister's attention, abilities or something else; however I hope it may not be construed in that light, but rather considered as an evidence of our earnestness in the business.⁴

We seem now to be carrying on a war of finance; the States are therefore jointly and severally entering into it with great zeal, and I do not fear but we shall get the better of our enemies even in this sort of contest. We have a great plenty of every thing but specie, and military stores. We can readily furnish them with provisions and pay, and are pretty well stored with arms and ammunition; cloathing is our principal want. Our friends abroad must assist us with some money and clothes. . . .

PHILADELPHIA, Decemr. 18th 1780

[P. S.]

547. OLIVER WOLCOTT TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 18 Decr. 1780.

Sir,

The most material matters which have been transacted in Congress since my arrival has been an appointment of an envoy to the Court of France, and a vote to send a minister to the Court of Russia. The expediency of sending an envoy to the Court of France was much doubted of by a number of gentlemen, as nothing was proposed to be transacted of that particularity and importance but what might properly be done by our residuary ministers at that Court; that the measure might excite wrong and very improper apprehensions; that it might be understood by Dr. Franklin and the world in general as wearing an appearance unfavourable to his character, which while he was in so important an office prudence as well as justice obliged us to support; that instead of an envoy our minister in France ought to have the aid of an active intelligent secretary, an aid which every other minister in less important service had been furnished with. But upon a division it was carryed, and Col. Laurens, a gentleman, it is said, of real abilities, is charged with this commission.²

Nov. 4, accepted Nov. 10, and his commission and instructions adopted Dec. 9. He sailed shortly afterward (see no. 552, *post*), but was lost at sea.

⁴ See no. 539, note 5, *ante*.

[547]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III, 165.

² See no. 539, note 5, *ante*. In September, 1779, Congress had resolved to appoint a secretary for each of the foreign missions and had chosen (Sept. 28) John Laurens to be secretary to the minister at the court of Versailles (Franklin). Laurens declined however, and the post was not afterward filled, although there was an abortive effort to that end in December, 1779 (see vol. IV., pp. 454, 459, 460, 462, 463, 465, 466, 479, 491, 538-541, 546). The question must have been stirred again in April, 1780, for Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina was put in nomination for the office (Apr. 19). See no.

The vote to send a minister to Russia met but with little opposition upon the consideration of the influence of that Court upon the general affairs of Europe, and as paying a respect to a princess of the greatest dignity. Mr. Dana may probably be sent to that Court.³ Mr. J. Adams is charged with the commission which the late President Laurens was to execute.⁴

Mr. Williams writes from France, that the reason why no more of the cloathing has not been sent has been owing to a quarrel between Capt. Landais and some of our other officers. The occasion of this delay will be enquired into. The rest of the supplies may probably soon be in America.

Mr. Vergennes wrote to Mr. J. Adams then in Paris with regard to the measure adopted by Congress for cancelling their currency at a discount, and manifested some apprehensions he had that Congress might not be able to vindicate the justice of the measure. Mr. Adams, I think, returned a very convincing answer, in which in a particular manner he stated the true principles upon which Congress proceeded, and in my apprehension clearly shewed that justice dictated the measure. It is presumed that the

381, *ante*. The matter next came forward in October, 1780 (see the *Journals*, Oct. 25, p. 977 n.), when there was apparently a question whether to give Franklin a secretary or send a consul to France. The first decision was to send a consul (see no. 546, note 3, *ante*), although the idea of choosing a secretary to Franklin was not discarded, and Nov. 28 Congress assigned the following Saturday (Dec. 2) for the election. Meanwhile John Henry of Maryland had been nominated for the office (Nov. 22), the name of Thomas Pinckney had been withdrawn, and John Mathews put in nomination instead (Nov. 29). In the meantime also the idea of sending a special envoy had been brewing, and that doubtless led to the motion of Sullivan and Bee Dec. 1 to postpone the election of a secretary to Dec. 6. There is no record in the *Journals* of any action in the matter on that day, but Dec. 8 Sullivan and Bee made their motion for the appointment of an envoy extraordinary to the court of Versailles, and that ended the matter of the secretaryship. Cf. no. 572, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, Dec. 15, 18, 19, and no. 546, note 4, *ante*. Arthur Lee wrote to Governor Trumbull Dec. 25:

"We have prevaild with Congress, after much difficulty and I am afraid too great delay, to send a special Minister to the court of Versailles for the attainment of the aids we want. Since my arrival here, I have recommended three things to Congress as essentially necessary to the welfare of our country: The appointment of a Minister to support our cause with the Empress of Russia, who is the head of the neutral powers; the establishment of a Secretary of State for foreign affairs, who may conduct them with intelligence and regularity; and the recal of Dr. Franklin, whose conduct I consider as injurious to the honor and interests of these United States.

"The first has been adopted and carried into execution, Mr. Dana being appointed Chargé des Affaires at the Court of Petersburg. The other two are now under the consideration of Congress." Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 170.

On the same day Lee wrote to James Bowdoin of Massachusetts in similar terms (*ibid.*, sixth ser., IX. 448). See also his letter to James Warren the same day (*Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 158). The critics of Franklin appear to have been only so far successful as to eliminate from his instructions, Dec. 27, the expression, "having a high sense of your experience, wisdom, love of your country, and the esteem entertained for you by the Court at which you reside" (*Journals*, XVIII. 1198).

⁴ The resolution to this effect does not appear in the *Journals* until Dec. 29, although the committee that offered the resolution brought in its report Dec. 6 (cf. the *Journals*, Oct. 28, Nov. 23, Dec. 23). Adams's commission and instructions are in the *Journals*, Dec. 29, together with a "Plan of a Treaty of Amity and Commerce" (concerning the latter, see this editor's note in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVI. 579), and these were transmitted to him by President Huntington Jan. 1, 1781, with the further remark, "Proper letters of credence on the subject of your mission will be forwarded by the next conveyance; but it is thought inexpedient to delay the present despatches on that account" (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 224). The letters of credence were adopted Jan. 3 and are in the *Journals* under that date.

Minister will be satisfied with the propriety of the act. No unfavourable symptoms appear which indicate any want of cordiality in that Court.⁵

The doings of the Convention who met at Hartford are in the hands of a Committee.⁶ The object of finance will come under consideration. But the effect of these deliberations will probably be slow and perhaps unproductive. We have no money in the Continental chest, and have but a little prospect of having it supplied. As the post is going out of town shall only add that since writing the above some alteration has been made by Congress in the style of their new ministers, and Mr. Dana is appointed for Russia.

P. S. Before I close up my letter I cannot but express the chagrin that almost every man must feel in reflecting that the old bills, which are fit for little else but to make the tail of a paper kite with, at least their value may not be worth more than 500,000 lb. sterling, should so extremely embarrass our affairs, and that it seems to be an evil which will probably continue for a long time to oppress us in the way in which we are proceeding. Congress will consider the object of finance as a very delicate affair, as it truly is; every one is interested in the subject; and the opinions of mankind in regard to it are very different. To do justice to the possessors of the bills, to obviate the mischief which they occasion, and to maintain the honour and reputation of the publick in regard to those objects, are difficulties of a peculiar nature. Congress have been so much criminated for what they have already done upon this head that it appears to me they will depend upon the efficacy of the measures already adopted, the certainty of which is pritty precarious, when it is considered how little of the old money is cancelled. How farr individual States may proceed in this business I cannot say; at present the war is and must be supported by an exertion individually exerted. . . .

548. JAMES MADISON TO JOSEPH JONES.¹

PHILADELPHIA, December 19, 1780.

Dear Sir,

Yours of the eighth instant came to hand yesterday.² I was sorry to find the Assembly had not then taken up the recommendation of Congress on the subject of the western lands. Its being postponed so late will, I fear, prevent the result of their deliberations from being communicated to Maryland before the rising of their Legislature; in which case much time must be lost, unless their Delegates be authorized to accede to the Confederation, on a cession satisfactory to themselves—a liberality of proceeding hardly to be expected from that State, after the jealousy and reserve it has shown. I am no less sorry to find so little progress made

⁵ See nos. 534, 537, *ante*, and nos. 557, 572, *post*.

⁶ See no. 545, note 3, *ante*.

[548]¹ *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 115; *Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 76.

² This letter is in *Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 62.

in the plan for levying soldiers. The regular force for the southern department must be principally, it seems, contributed by Virginia, the North Carolina Assembly having broken up without making any effectual provision of that sort. One would have supposed that the fatiguing service exacted of the militia in that State, would have greatly facilitated such a measure, and yet that is assigned as the obstacle to its practicability.

I wish anxiously to hear from you on the subject stated in my letter by Grayson, and in my subsequent one by the post. Circumstances which I do not choose unnecessarily to hazard by the post, have made it expedient to lay the matter before the Assembly, that their former instructions may not be invalidated by a supposed effect of a change of situation, or may be rescinded if real. This went by W. Jones, Esquire, on his return to North Carolina, who, I suppose, will not be at Richmond till nearly Christmas. I wish it could have reached the Assembly before your leaving it.³

549. ABRAHAM CLARK TO ELIAS DAYTON.¹

PHILADA. Decr. 19, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I but lately recd. your favour of the 13th ulto. Am Sorry you should think any Neglect towards you hath ever appeared in my Conduct. Congress is impressed with the necessity of Observing Oeconomy in the public expenses and having been formerly too profuse in the promotion of officers determined to stop their hand. they say N. Jersey hath one Major Genl. and by the Reduction proposed we shall have but two Regim'ts what prospect have I then of obtaining another Genl. officer. before the reduction was agreed to I moved it, but found the subject disagreeable; since the rect. of your Letter I have Consulted such as I thought most in your favour and met with but little encouragement. We have had no recommendations for this measure either from the Genl., the Legislature, or even the brigade. You mention the promotion of Genl. Gist² and Morgan, but their appointments were in consequence of requests from Maryland and Virginia. this cannot be offered in your favour. I see the Embarrassment the Subject is under; If I move an Appointment at present I shall fail in obtaining it; And if you leave the Service in Col. Ogden's favour (which is a matter being a family affair I can say nothing about) you will afterwards be necessarily excluded. Genl. Sullivan hath Wrote to the Genl. desiring his Opinion in some general matters respecting promotions of general officers³ and desired me to postpone any proposals respecting you, till he recd. an answer, which not having recd. I am left

³ See nos. 521, 522, 533, 543, *ante*. The question was laid before the assembly in the joint letter of Madison and Bland Dec. 13. New instructions were transmitted to the delegates by Governor Jefferson Jan. 18, and new instructions to Jay were adopted by Congress Feb. 15. See nos. 629, 661, *post*.

[549]¹ From the collection of the late James H. Manning, of Albany.

² "Greene" was first written, then altered to "Gist".

³ See Sullivan's letter, Nov. 30, no. 528, *ante*, and Washington's reply, Dec. 17 (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 332., ed. Ford, IX. 63); also Washington to the President of Congress Dec. 20 (*ibid.*, p. 68). *Cf.* no. 571, *post*.

at uncertainties and tho' Time draws very near when some one of our three Colo's must leave the service, Mr. Houston some time ago went to Trenton and proposed to consult our Legislature and Obtain a request from them for a Brigade. I formerly wrote to them to the same purpose, but hear nothing from them or Mr. Houston on the subject. Thus stands the matter. I wish the arrangem't of our Brigade could be postponed a short season only from a possibility that some favourable Occurrence might offer in your favour.⁴

I am Dear Sir Your Obedt. Humble Servt.

ABRA. CLARK

550. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL HOLTEN.¹

Decr. 19, 1780.

I was unable on the last postday to thank you for yr. favor of Novr. 23d. then, thro' want of time, now, I am scarcely able thro' much Indisposition of Body to notice largely all the Points to which you expect my attention. As to Bermuda you seem to have conversed more with merchants who own Privateers than with Politicians who know the great Portion of our friends in Bermuda above our Enemies a Portion which ought not to *be driven* into the mode of fitting out Cruisers who would be as troublesome to us as they were to the french formerly. As to the Duck in the Agents hands orders have been given. As to the Resolve of Novr. 21 22 respecting our Delegation, Circumstances at this moment make Remarks very requisite.

I have been ill 4 days tho' I have had a pen in my hand all the Time in my Chamber. Genl. Ward is quite unwell, he has attended Congress and the Bd. of War while he ought to have been in his Bed Room. Mr. Adams is not out, I fear he is also unwell. It was to make up a Delegation that I have risked myself this very vile day. Questions on European important Concerns are agitating and single Voices serve several States, as always heretofore. I do not mention this because I am averse to the Rule of our State that 2 should be the least to give her Vote here especially when she directed 5 or 4 to attend "*upon the Duties of the Delegation*". Nay if she does not enjoin *that* upon more than 3. But when she makes 3 necessary "*to give the Voice of the State*" she puts a great hardship upon 3 when only 3 are *attending the Duties of their Delegation* and runs a treble Risque beyond several States of losing her Vote here daily. Mass. has been at extraordinary Expense beyond many states in furnishing heads and hands to perform Congress Drudgery, and her members have more of the Work of standing Boards and Committes than most others, because their Residence has been more usually permanent; This has exposed her

⁴ Dayton's promotion had been laboring since the summer of 1776 (see Clark to Dayton Mar. 7, 1777, in vol. II., p. 291) and was to labor yet two years longer. He was made brigadier-general Jan. 7, 1783. See the *Journals*, Aug. 14, 1780, Mar. 8, 1781, May 8, June 3 (p. 315 n.), 5, Nov. 25 (p. 753 n.), Dec. 12, 1781, and no. 571, *post*; also Clark to Dayton July 29, 1782, and Boudinot to Dayton Dec. 25, 1782, and Jan. 7, 1783, in succeeding volumes.

[550]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XIII. 222.

to lose a Vote when she has made *numbers* necessary to give it. One of her Delegates may often render tenfold Service on the Board or Com'tee of which he is a member by serving an entire day on it than by being in Congress merely as a *make-vote*. You well know these things by your past Sufferings, and Mr. Gerry has felt them at the Peril of his Life. Whatever may have been the Intention of a remarkable Variety in the Course of 4 years respecting the *Voice* of Mass; here, I do believe that in the present Case the Words do not speak the Intentions of the Movers of the Resolve. I am so persuaded of that as to determine not to present the latter Vote to Congress with the proceedings of Oct. 4, more especially if one of us here shall be unwell; till I hear more from you.² I am almost determined not to write any more to you for either my Letters must be quite insignificant or I must tell Tales to the Enemy. 10 or 11 of those I wrote Novr. 20 and 21 are gone into N. Yk. Among them those to Mr. Gerry³ (inclosing one I think from Mr. J. Adams), Doctr. Holten Doctor Whitwell Mrs. Adams (inclosing one certainly from her Husband) Govr. Hancock Mr. S. Gridley with my Rhode Island and Family Letters. I am told two mails from hence are laying at Fish-kill. There are some immense Genii in the Post office Department but I am told they say the Faults of Congress marr their Plans.

Yr. Friend and h. servt.

JAMES LOVELL.

551. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE
(THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE).¹

PHILADA. December 20, 1780.

Sir,

Convinced of your Zeal, unremitted attention and Endeavours to promote the mutual Interest of France and these United States, it is with Pleasure that I execute the Orders of Congress, in communicating to you that Congress find themselves under the Necessity of requesting the Aid of his most Christian Majesty to obtain a Loan of twenty five Millions of Livres; in Order to prosecute the next Campaign with Vigour²

I have also the Honor to inform you Sir, that Congress have been pleased to appoint the Honorable Francis Dana Esquire Minister to the Court of Petersburg, with full Powers to accede to the Plan of Neutrality proposed by her Imperial Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, for the Freedom and Protection of Commerce relating to neutral Powers, as also to form a Treaty of Alliance and Friendship with her Imperial Majesty, conformable to the Spirit and Meaning of the Treaties subsisting between France and these United States³

² The Massachusetts resolves of Oct. 4 are in the *Journals*, Jan. 2, 1781. See nos. 573, 604, 608, *post*.

³ No. 518, *ante*. Cf. no. 480, note 7, *ante*.

[551]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 189.

² See the *Journals*, Nov. 17, 22, 28.

³ The resolution to send a minister to Russia was adopted Dec. 15, the committee appointed to draw up his instructions reported Dec. 18, Dana was chosen Dec. 19, and his commission, instructions, and letter of credence were adopted the same day.

I am perswaded that your Wisdom, and the Desires you have manifested to promote the Happiness and Prosperity of these States will induce you to lend any Assistance in your Power to forward their Designs, consistent with the Honor and Interest of his most Christian Majesty.

552. JAMES LOVELL TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

PHILADELPHIA, December 21, 1780.

Sir:

The bearer, William Palfrey, our late paymaster general, has been appointed consul in France, with powers adequate to a general agency in our commercial concerns there. But while I take up my pen to introduce him to your patronage, I ought to use it rather, perhaps, by way of apologizing for myself, in the line of a member of the committee of foreign affairs, from whom you will find no letter. There was a prospect of much business being committed to you by this opportunity, but it was altogether depending upon the President and secretary to transmit it, which it seems they were prevented from doing by an arrangement being but partly accomplished which Congress has thought fit to connect with those affairs. The proceeding is of a nature not to admit of my enlarging upon it, because neither my head nor heart suggests anything of eulogium, and my conscience forbids me to pursue the usual style of minorities.²

The journals which I send you will show that we have had no letter from you since that of May last, except two short ones lately respecting the private concerns of two officers, Baron d'Arendt, and another, whose name is not now in my memory. Colonel Palfrey will be able to give you information additional to the gazettes.³

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,

For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

553. SAMUEL JOHNSTON TO JAMES IREDELL.¹

PHILADELPHIA, 21st Dec., 1780.

Dear Sir:

. . . . Congress seem to be very busy; but as I have not yet taken my seat in it, I am acquainted with but few particulars, and if I was acquainted with any thing interesting, I should be afraid to write it by the post, as there is reason to apprehend that, before this reaches you, the enemy may be in possession of some of the towns in Virginia through which the post passes, as we have certain advices that 4,000 troops, under the command of General Kniphausen, have been some time past embarked, though we have not yet any advice of their having sailed, and their destination is kept a profound secret in New York. Congress have sent a

[552]¹ Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 204.² Lovell appears to have been disgruntled over the proposed revolution in the department of foreign affairs. See no. 514, *ante*, and no. 621, *post*.³ Concerning Palfrey's appointment see no. 546, note 3, *ante*.[553]¹ McRee, *Life of James Iredell*, I. 479.

Colonel Palfray, formerly paymaster of the army, to France, in the character of consul from the United States. Colonel Laurens, son of the late President, is appointed a minister for a particular purpose to the court of France. This last appointment is much disapproved of by some of the members, apprehensive of its disgusting Dr. Franklin, and by that means impeding rather than promoting our interest at that court. Mr. Dana, secretary to Mr. Adams, is appointed minister to the Empress of Russia. it is uncertain how he may be received, but the general opinion is, that the old lady will not be displeased with the compliment.²

23d. I have just heard of a brother of Mr. Granbury's, who sets out in the morning for Carolina; I will therefore close this letter, and endeavor to send it by him; and can now venture to mention the distresses of Congress in regard to money matters. Nothing can be more alarming. The treasury quite empty, and no means of filling it, to answer the pressing demands which are daily made upon it. What adds to their distress: the supplies for the army are not yet laid in, and they have been disappointed in getting over a quantity of clothing, promised for the use of the army, in France. Expenses here exceed all conception: from the great number of prizes brought in, and large importations from Europe to this place the town is filled with all kinds of goods, and furnishes supplies to all the Southern States, and the State of New York; this draws all the circulating cash in these States to this town; this occasions such a profusion of money here, that every thing is enormously dear. . . .

554. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular,
Sir,

PHILADELPHIA December 22, 1780.

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of this Day, together with the Extract of a Letter from the Commander in Chief of the 15th Instant to which the Act refers

The Nature and Importance of the Subject is so fully stated in the Inclosures, and the Necessity of a Compliance with the Requisition so obvious, it would be superfluous to attempt any additional Motives to call forth the effectual Exertions of the respective States to compleat their Quotas of the federal Army with the necessary Supplies.

555. OLIVER WOLCOTT TO SAMUEL LYMAN.¹

PHILADELPHIA, 22 Decr. 1780.

Sir,

. . . The public papers will give you a general view of the complexion of the Times. The pride, chagrin, and lust of the revenge of G. Britain, will undoubtedly urge G. Britain to continue the war to obtain an end which is now, I apprehend, indubitably certain that every nation in Europe

² See no. 539, note 5, *ante*.

[554]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VII. 20; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 190.

[555]¹ The Pierpont Morgan Library, Declaration of Independence; Conn. Hist. Soc., MSS. of Oliver Wolcott Papers, vol. III. (copy).

is opposed to. The B. Administration consider themselves as playing a desperate game and therefore will probably risque every event. I think that we have not the least reason to apprehend that that nation will be able to contravene the wishes of all mankind. If she will madly persist, which I believe she will, the war will, I apprehend, be carried on by her opponents, with more energy than it has hitherto been. Necessity will oblige to this. We gain frequent advantages at the Southward. My best compliments to Mr. Ellsworth and Mrs. Ellsworth. I shall write to him by next post.

556. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, December 24, 1780.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive, herewith enclosed, a resolve of Congress of the 12th Instant, respecting the Garrison at Wyoming, which was adopted in Consequence of Difficulties that arose in supplying the present Garrison with Provisions.

I presume that the Commander in Chief will judge that Post necessary while the War continues, but perhaps your Excellency may think proper to advise him of the Necessity and Importance of the Post, not only to protect the Inhabitants in the Vicinity, but as a Barrier to the Frontier in general.²

[Endorsed:] "24th Decemr. 1780. Prest. Huntington *de* Wyoming recd. 7th Janry. 1781, per Brown."

557. JESSE ROOT TO OLIVER ELLSWORTH.¹

PHILADELPHIA Decemb'r 25th 1780.

D'r Sir,

The resolution of the 18th of march last was Improved by our Enemies in britain against us—was Complained of as unjust by Some Merchants in france who were interested in Speculation in america till at last the Minister of that Court wrote to Mr. John Adams upon the Subject, which drew from him a long letter Stating the principles upon which Congress adopted it and evincing in a Clear and pointed manner the Justice of the Measure with respect to both Citizens and foreigners. a Copy of the letter I have sent to Govr. Trumbull²

The affair of Vermont is postponed Generally. . . .

Mr. Dana is appointed to go to the Court of Russia. Col. Jno. Laurens is appointed to go to France to obtain the aid of money and other Supplies wanted for our army.

[556]¹ Conn. State Lib. (M.H.S.), XIII. 244; Library of Congress, Force Trans., Trumbull, XIII. 244.

² See the *Journals*, Nov. 28, Dec. 12; also Washington to Col. Zebulon Butler (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 345).

[557]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Gratz Coll., M. O. C.

² See nos. 534, 537, 547, *ante*, and no. 572, *post*.

Col. Palfry is gone to France in the Character of Consul and Commercial agent. Questions of Finance are still on the board—it behoves the States to exert themselves mightily and I believe they will not loose their reward.

D'r 27th P. S.

558. THOMAS MCKEAN TO JOHN DICKINSON.¹

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 11th instant did not come to hand 'till the 23d; it has been some how strangely delayed.

Laws for the amending the Acts making the continental money etc. a legal tender, have passed in most of the States to the Eastward, but they have fixed a ratio or scale in certain cases at forty for one, and enabled the courts in all others to determine according to their discretion, so that no great instruction can be obtained from any of them: however I shall endeavor to get some of their laws on this subject, as well as others, which I think may be of use to you, and if possible transmit them by this opportunity.

And now my dear Sir, permit me to say a few words respecting myself. I find that my health and fortune are impaired by my unremitted attention to public affairs; what I undertake to perform, I do with all my might; and having very little relief in attending Congress, I find that this, the discharging the duties of Chief Justice, a Trustee of the University, etc. etc. are more than I can perform to my own satisfaction. Besides, the Rank I am obliged to maintain is greater than comports with my finances. I must therefore beg of you to appoint some Gentlemen as Delegates, who will attend in Congress at all such times as I am obliged to be on the Circuit or in Courts, and who will also relieve me occasionally at other times, and permit that relaxation which is absolutely necessary for the mind as well as the Body; otherwise, that the General Assembly would be pleased to excuse me the Honor in future, which is my ardent wish.

I have never in any year received as a Delegate, as much money as would defray my personal expenses incurred in the service, and have not been offered a farthing since the first day of January 1779, now two years, wanting a few days. If an adequate allowance is made to your Delegates, you have Gentlemen enough qualified for the Station, who I am certain will cheerfully undertake it.

You will herewith receive printed copies of Acts passed here respecting the Embargo (which ought to have permitted *Bread* as well as flour to be exported) the Pennsylvania troops, Duties on Imports etc., etc., most of which I should think it the interest of our State to adopt.

PHILADELPHIA, Decem'r 25th, 1780.

[558]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., McKean Papers, I. 39 (draft).

559. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Decm'r 25th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I expected to have the pleasure by to Morrows Post of transmitting to You the Result of Congress respecting the dispute between the Town of Portsmouth and M'r De latour but Congress has been so immersed in the Business of Finance that I was not able to obtain a Determination but hope you will receive it by next Weeks Mail.² . . .

560. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA 25th Decemr. 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have the Honor to Inclose you a number of Queries made to me by the Secretary of the French Embassy with Copies of my answers. This Gentleman is one of those usefull Geniuses who is Constantly in Search of knowledge, he is about to write the History of America or rather to give a Geographical Description of it. As much advantage will arise from our Commerce and Constitutions being well known: As Mr. Adams has wrote from Holland to Congress pressing upon them the necessity of Taking measures for this purpose I wish you to Lay these papers before the assembly and request a Committee to furnish Such answers as they may find I have omitted and to Correct Such mistakes as I may have made and I wish a Sample of our Glass may be forwarded²

I have so much writing to do as The Commander in Chief the principal officers of the Army and others Keep up a Constant Correspondence with me and in addition to this I have so many Reports to frame, Copy and prepare for Congress That I am Compelled to keep Mr. Smith almost wholly Employed with the Pen. I must now Employ him to Copy all the papers respecting Vermont and make a Brief. This will be a voluminous work and take much time—He thinks that he merits Some Consideration

[559]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, IX. 31.

² See no. 539, *ante*, nos. 624, 635, *post*, and the *Journals*, Feb. 5, 1781. The remainder of the letter is a discussion of the terms *droit d'aubaine* and *droit de detraction* used in the treaty of amity and commerce with France (in the *Journals*, under May 4, 1778).

[560]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., Sullivan Papers; N. H. Hist. Soc., Sullivan Papers (copy).

² The secretary of the French embassy was François de Marbois, later known as Barbé-Marbois. For a sketch of him see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 725. The most noteworthy outcome of these queries, which were propounded to leading men in each of the states, was Jefferson's famous *Notes on Virginia*. See Paul Leicester Ford's introduction to the reprint of the *Notes*, in Jefferson's *Writings*, vol. III., p. 68 *et seq.*

The letter of John Adams to which reference is made is probably that of Sept. 25 in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 67. Adams's suggestion bore fruit speedily, for on Dec. 29, immediately after the adoption of his commission and instructions as commissioner to the Netherlands, a resolve, introduced by James Lovell, was adopted that a committee be appointed to collect and publish 200 copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the constitutions of the several states. The collection was printed by Francis Bailey (Philadelphia) in 1781. See the Bibliographical Notes in the *Journals* for 1781 (vol. XXI.), pp. 1200-1203; also Evans, *Am. Bibliog.*, VI. 149.

for these Services and asks no more than his Expences which are Indeed but Small. I wish the assembly to pass a resolve to allow them and to Let me know whether they will or will not That I may Direct him Accordingly—I know that a Delegate Less acquainted with publick Business would not be under the Same necessity but as I apprehend it was the Design of the assembly that I should Exert Every Talent Nature has furnished me with to Serve the Common Cause and as I now assure them that it is not possible for me to do it without an assistant to Copy my Letters reports etc., etc., I cannot persuade myself that the Honble. assembly of New Hampshire will refuse to allow him his Bare Expences for so Essential a Service.

561. WILLIAM FLOYD TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

Dear Sir,

PHILADELPHIA, December 26th, 1780.

Since my arrival here Congress have been mostly Employed about the foreign affairs and nothing material has happened that relates to our State.

The Letters from Europe which we have Lately Recd. give us little hope of peace, altho' all the powers of that Country are taking measures which are Evidently against the Interest of Great Britain.

The armed neutrality which has been so much talked of, is come into by all the neutral powers, and which will undoubtedly make very much in our favour.²

562. THOMAS BURKE TO JOHN LAURENS.¹

1 Qu: What Methods have been taken for raising men and what prospect of Success? ²

Ans. A Law is in force for raising men on a bounty of One prime Slave and a Tract of (I believe) 200 acres of Land to every Soldier for the War who shall compleat the term of Service, and to the family or representative of Such as may die in Service. besides this a bounty of money was appointed, but the depreciation has made it Inconsiderable.

This Act has had little or no Success, nor do I expect any from that or any other Expedient for raising regular Troops so long as the Circumstances of the war require so many of our Militia in the field. very few can at any time be found to enlist voluntarily, because landed property is very easily acquired, the Climate is mild, and the Soil either fruitful for agriculture, fit for raising Stock, or for producing Naval Stores. the War has exhausted all or most of the men who might be calculated upon for voluntary enlistments

2 Qu: What methods for procuring Supplies?

Ans. A specific Tax is laid, which, on the lowest computation, will yield 500,000 bushels of Indian Corn, or other provisions Equivalent.

[561]¹ *Clinton Papers*, VI. 524.

² Floyd mentions receipt of news of the defeat of Tarleton.

[562]¹ Library of Congress, U. S. R.

² See the note to Laurens appended to this document.

besides this the Commissioners are authorised and required, if necessary, to take, for public use, one half of all the provisions which can be found in the State above what may be necessary for the Support of the Inhabitants. Powers are given for calling forth Teams etc. for transportation but this is a very difficult business, and destructive to the agriculture of the State. So many of our Wagons and Horses have been destroyed, disabled, or lost in the late affair near Camden, and, before that, in the distant Service to which the Militia were called, that the Country retains but a very scanty Supply for its agriculture for which they are Essentially requisite. Teams, however, and carriages have been supplied for the movements both of Militia and regulars, but in Consequence thereof the agriculture has been very much Neglected.

Commissioners are appointed with ample powers for employing the resources of the State in the purchase of some amunition cloathing and other foreign Supplies. I cannot say I expect much from their Efforts, but rather wish these Supplies might be sent from abroad. A money Tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the gross value of property valued at 7 for 1 on the specie price.

3d Qu. What towards relinquishing Vacant Lands for the use of the United States?

Ans. This has never yet been submitted to the Legisla[tur]e nor indeed do I know upon what principle it is requ[est]ed. I believe it will be difficult to Convince the State that a [large] part of her property should be made Common Stock w[hile] others retain all their more Valuable property entire and unaffected by such a Contribution. This is Conjecture. the Question cannot be pointedly answered.

Sir,

In the foregoing you will find all that at present Occurs to me on the Questions propounded to me by Mr. Mathews on your behalf. I wish my answers could be more agreeable, but the truth must be told to you, and your prudence will best point out the use you may be able to make of it. If I can give you any farther Satisfaction I will do it with great pleasure.³

I am S'r with Regard and Esteem

Your very obd. S't

THOS. BURKE

PHILA. 26th de'r 1780.

³ Concerning the mission of John Laurens, see no. 539, note 5, *ante*. John Mathews, who propounded these questions to Burke respecting conditions in North Carolina and the measures pursued in that state in matters of special interest for Laurens's mission, was chairman of a committee (Mathews, Madison, Duane) appointed Dec. 23 to confer with Laurens on the subject of his mission. For the response to his questions relative to Connecticut see no. 513, *post*. Burke was chairman of a committee appointed Dec. 26 to prepare additional instructions to Franklin on the subject of this mission and himself drew those instructions (see the *Journals*, Dec. 27). Still another committee was appointed the same day to confer with the minister of France on the subject. Laurens was also instructed by Congress to confer with the commander-in-chief, the outcome of which was a series of observations which Washington drew up for his information and guidance. These (Jan. 15) are found in Washington's *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX, 102, (ed. Sparks), VII, 368. See also Washington to Franklin Jan. 15 (*ibid.*, p. 378), and an extract from a letter of Vergennes there quoted. With some modifications Washington's observations were embodied by Laurens in his memorial to Vergennes (Whar-

563. OLIVER WOLCOTT TO JOHN LAURENS.¹

The Hon. Mr. Mathews has desired me to inform Col. Laurens²—

Whether Connecticut will have for the next Campaign, their Line in the Army compleat, according to the Requisition of Congress?

Whether that State will furnish the Provisions for the Army, required?

Whether that State has or will Cede the Unlocated Territory which they Claim, to the United States?

My Answer to the first Question is, That the State has offered a large Bounty to every Recruit who shall enlist in the State Line for three years or during the War. Besides this, by an Act of Government, each Town in the State is divided according to it's Taxables into as many Classes as they are deficient in their Quotas, which Towns and Classes are obliged under a severe Penalty to furnish their respective Recruits by the first of February.

I am of Opinion that Connecticut will have their Line in the Army the next Campaign, as full as it has usually been.

My Answer respecting Provisions is, That the State has by Law Obligated their Towns to furnish for the Army for the next Campaign, Salted Beef, Salted Pork and Flour to the amount of about Six Thousand Barrells. These Provisions will be chiefly collected in Flesh—The Law ordaining this Supply passed but a little Time before I left the State. I am credibly informed that this Measure is carrying into the most cheerful and Vigorous execution.

The large Demands for Provisions for the French Fleet and Army at Newport, and the alluring Pay which they make induce great Quantity, of live Beef, to be sent there. This Circumstance I apprehend will render it more Difficult for the State to furnish this Article to the amount required than it would otherwise be. But Notwithstanding I am of Opinion the Zeal and Vigor of the State will Surmount this Difficulty—and I am perswaded that shall the other States exert the same Vigor to furnish Men and Provisions for the next Campaign that Connecticut will, That even if no Successfull efforts shall be made the next Campaign by our Ally; either by Cooperating with us to Suppress the Foe in America,

ton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 318). See also Laurens to the President of Congress Jan. 3, Feb. 4. 7, *ibid.*, pp. 225, 249, 252, and no. 611, *post*.

In a letter to John Adams, Dec. 20, Burke commented upon the situation in the South after Gates's defeat and remarked: "Nothing can be a stronger proof of that determined, unconquerable Spirit which animates all America than what appeared in the State of North Carolina immediately on the defeat of Gen. Gates near Camden. . . . But under all those circumstances the People, then laboring under all the distresses inseparable from an unprovided Soldiery, flew to arms with the greatest alacrity, resolving that the Enemy should not find their Country an easy prey, if even they should not be able finally to withstand them. They had the success that such spirit in a people will always command. . . . The war may impoverish and distress us, we may be many times unsuccessful, our Armies may be dispersed, our finances deranged, but a people pervaded by such a spirit as animates all America never can be conquered. I refer you to some other correspondents for details. The Spirit of the people appears to me, and I am persuaded to you also, of far more interesting consequence." *N. C. State Recs.*, XV. 375.

[563]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 643.

² See no. 562, *ante*.

or by diverting more effectually the War from this Country, But that the Main Weight of it must still be sustained by Us, That even in this Case upon similar exertions it will not be in the Power of the enemy to gain any material Advantages over the Northern and middle states more than they casually did before the Alliance.

As to the third Question, Connecticut has ceded to the united States all their unlocated Territory West of what they call their Susquehannah Purchase, which if I rightly remember extends Two Degrees West of the Delaware. This Cession is made upon condition that the other states claiming unlocated Territory shall Cede proportionably according to their Claims. Connecticut are very sincere in Wishing that the unlocated Territory, (except such Lands as are yet within their Susquehannah Purchase unlocated which they think it reasonable for them [to] retain) might become a common Interest. The State are disposed to have these Cessions made not from any apprehension that they cannot as well and even better support their Claims than any other State, when they consider that their Purchase can be well ascertained—and that the same Act of the Crown which constituted the once Colony of Connecticut with the Powers of Government Vested the Colony with the Fee of the Land which the State now Claims. But what influences the Conduct of the State in this particular is a Desire to Adopt a Measure which might cement our Union, and Constitute an Estate for the Publick Seperior to what any other Nation possesses—and which if rightly managed, might be used for the Introduction of Millions of industrious Forreigners to become Purchasers and Sellers. The Avails of which Purchases made by Forraign Property would within a few years be more than sufficient to pay the whole Debt incurred by the War.

As Col. Laurens will go to Boston or Newport in either Case it will be Very convenient for him to see Govr. Trumbull, from whom he can obtain more particular and perfect Information than it is possible for me to give him.

OLIVER WOLCOTT

PHILADELPHIA 27 Decr. 1780.

564. JESSE ROOT TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

Please your Excellency, PHILADELPHIA, Decemb'r 27th, 1780.

. . . . Mr. H. Laurence is committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Mr. Adams is impowered to negotiate the business in Holland which Mr. Laurence was to have done. Mr. Francis Dana is appointed our Minister at the Court of Petersburg to accede to the neutrality and to negotiate other business which may be beneficial to these States. Col. John Laurence is appointed to go to France to enforce the reasons for granting us the aid solicited from thence and to send over the supplies so much wanted for our army.²

[564]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 171.

² See nos. 546, 547, *ante*.

The system of government over these States as at present exercised is extremely defective. The sovereign power of war and peace, having no permanent funds in its possession, nor the means of establishing any, must feel itself weak and prevent or defeat almost every measure however necessary and render the execution languid, tardy and oft times wholly abortive. The wealth of the States constitutes the great fund on which we must depend for credit abroad and for resources at home; and while these are drawn forth at the volition of each State, by recommendatory requisitions only, it is in the power of any State to defeat the most important measure. The union of these thirteen States for their mutual interest and safety constitutes a republic of States or political persons, of which great republic each State constitutes one member or subject, over which Congress is appointed to preside, and it is as necessary that Congress should exercise the powers of coercion over the particular States for the general purposes of the confederacy, as it is that the confederacy should continue in its present form, or that each State should exercise such power over its particular citizens for the weal of the State; and this power is so far from infringing upon the rights or sovereignty of the particular States that it is as necessary for the preservation of them as the union itself.³

The result of the Convention at Hartford has been laid before Congress and is committed. I flatter myself it will serve to facilitate some usefull and necessary regulations. The business of finance in the present scituation is distressing and extremely embarassed. Had all the States punctually complied with the resolution of the 18th of March, with respect to sinking the old bills and issuing the new, and had the new issued in the time, quantity and credit proposed, four tenths only is to go into the Continental chest which would be a very inadequate supplie. But few of the States have issued any of the money, some have not taken resolutions even to comply,⁴ and the new bills issue with an evident depreciation; besides I dont see how it will be practicable to sink the old bills by taxes on account of the unequal manner in which they are distributed in the States. Some have a great surplus, while others lack of their quota. To stop the circulation by a resolve of Congress is a stroke of power which has been already but too often repeated for the credit of public bodies. It is easy to see how such an exertion of power must disagreeably effect the credit of the new money, for individuals will distrust the faith of that body which in any instance makes use of its power to alter or rescind its engagements to their prejudice. By the system ten million of dollars only was to be put into circulation, one sixth to be sunk annually; beside this the States must be taxed annually to raise the current supplies, the year is very far elapsed, the measure but partially executed in any and not even attempted in some. Query, will it be possible for the States now to carry this system into execution and at the same time raise the necessary supplies for the next year? The pay of the army which is in arrear eight months will swallow up the $\frac{4}{10}$.

³ Cf. nos. 513, note 6, 518, 545, *ante*.

⁴ Cf. nos. 264, 272, 288, 314, 331, 396, 397, *ante*.

The resources of a country are to be estimated by the wealth of its citizens and the means established for drawing that wealth into public use. The ordinary method of doing this is by taxation; and as this must be laid on by general rules in equal proportion scarce any State is able by this means to raise more than one half of what its inhabitants are able to pay, because while one part is oppressed the other scarcely feels the burden. Recourse ought therefore to be had to other means to relieve the necessities of the public by more equal exactions; and this, I think, may be done by duties and imposts in the Continental way, if judiciously laid and carefully collected; for if they are laid by the particular States for their particular benefit, it is easy to see that the collection will be vastly unequal. For one State may import for many others who consume the articles and of consequence pay the duties which the State that imports takes the benefit of, whereas if laid in a Continental way and for Continental use no State will pay for more than it consumes and none share in the profits beyond its just quota. Again if these duties are laid indiscriminately on all the necessities of life it must distress the poorer sort which ought to be relieved: but if they are laid upon luxuries and superfluities which are consumed only by the rich and opulent an amazing sum might be raised without distressing any body. But why do I trouble your Excellency with reasoning upon a measure which is evidently out [of] our power to put in to practice.⁵

I have inclosed to your Excellency the *Journals of Congress* for Sept. and Oct., being all that are printed, and the vol. of 1778, which Mr. Sherman desired me to send by Brown, and several of the latest papers. I must ask your Excellency's pardon for troubling you with so long a scroll and which I had not time to copy.

P. S. Genl. Clinton has wrote home to be recalled or reinforced with ten thousand men.

565. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

Sir,

PHILADELPHIA, December 29, 1780.

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From the situation and disposition of the powers in Europe, Russia in particular, by the latest intelligence, Congress have thought it expedient immediately to send a Minister to the Court of Petersburg, and for the sake of despatch, among other considerations, have appointed the Hon'ble Francis Dana, Esquire, (now in Europe and Secretary to Mr. J. Adams) to that important mission. The appointment ought not to be published at present, for obvious reasons.

From my present situation and engagements necessity obliges me to depend upon my colleagues to give your Excellency more particular and frequent intelligence than I can possibly do, which I have no doubt they will faithfully perform.

⁵ See no. 529, note 2, *ante*, and no. 572, 608, 622, 638, *post*.
[565]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 176.

566. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Decem'r 30th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I had the Honour to receive your Excellency's favors of the 22d ult. and 7th inst. by the last post. The President is informed that you had not received the Resolution recommending the six million Tax. But he says it went by the way of Boston, and thinks you have received it before this.

In my last I informed you, of my intentions to return home, immediately upon being relieved. But you will see by the enclosed Resolution of Congress, that I am elected as Commissioner of the Board of War.² I confess I do not think myself fully justifiable in accepting the Appointment without the Approbation of the State; whose directions I conceive myself bound to observe. As I did not solicit the appointment I flatter myself I shall be pardoned by my Constituents, and I have undertaken the task upon no other principle than that of serving my Country with honesty and faithfulness to the extent of my small Abilities.

As no more expense will accrue to the State on account of my delegation, I have enclosed an account of my Expenses, and of the Moneys I have received, and will send the Vouchers by the first safe Conveyance.

. . . .

As I am now out of Congress, it is not in my power to give you a particular detail of the transactions of that honorable Body. But I make no doubt you will receive the fullest information from Genl. Varnum whose pen is more able than mine. At the same time I shall continue to embrace every Opportunity in giving you every information that shall be for the Interest of the State, so far as shall come to my knowledge. . . .

567. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO JOHN LAURENS.¹

PHILADA. January 1, 1781.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed, a special Commission as Minister to the Court of Versailles, as also two letters under Seal addressed to his most Christian Majesty, with Copies of both Letters for your Information.

[566]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 14; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 322.

² Cornell was appointed on the board of war as a member of Congress Nov. 21 and was made a commissioner of the board (that is, as a non-member of Congress) Dec. 29. In October James M. Varnum was chosen to relieve Cornell as a delegate and took his seat Dec. 19. Although Cornell's seat was thereby automatically vacated, nevertheless he was appointed by Congress on a committee the same day. He does not, however, appear to have attended Congress thereafter, although it was Varnum's desire, and apparently also that of Congress, that he should resume his seat upon the completion of the Confederation, in order that the state might not be left unrepresented. See no. 625, *post*. He continued, however, to write with such knowledge of the proceedings of Congress that extensive extracts from his letters during the next three months are included, although they have, with the exception of that of Jan. 7 (no. 577, *post*) been placed in foot-notes.

[567]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 193.

Likewise Instructions for your Government on the Subject of your Mission of the 23d and 27th of December last, with Copies of Instructions to Doctor Franklin of the 28th of November and 27th of December Ult. on the same Subject for your Information, and an Estimate of the Aids requested from his most Christian Majesty.

My warmest Wishes for your Safety, Prosperity and Success attend you²

568. THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 1st 1781.

S'r,

. . . . We have the Honor of transmitting to Yr. Excellency a Proposal from a Baron D'Arendt. He Speaks of a Commission with which he is charged but we have not yet seen his Commission or powers, we have seen Mr. Wm. Lees written request to him to endeavor to negotiate the Sending of Arms, Linen, etc. with Mr. Wm. Lee's promise to him in writing that if he Succeeded he sh'd be handsomely rewarded by the State of Virginia, but if not he shd. be Entitled to receive from that State twenty five *Louis D'ors* for his trouble; all these things we offer to Yr. Excellency at his request—(being ourselves Ignorant of the whole transaction except as stated above) and wait your Orders thereon.²

569. JAMES MADISON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.¹

PHILADA. Jany. 2d, 1781.

Dear Sir,

. . . . We had it yesterday from under Genl. Washingtons hand that another embarkation is actually departed from N. York, amou[nting by best accounts] to abt. 2500 troops. There is little d[oubt] that they will steer the same course with the preceding detachments. Congress are under great anxiety for the States agst. which this accumulating force is to be directed, and the more so as the principal means of their defence is so little in their power. It is not so much the want of men as the want of subsistence arms and cloathing, which results from the want of money that gives the greatest alarm. A disposition appears to do every thing practicable for their relief and defence.

² See the *Journals*, Nov. 18, Dec. 5, 8, 11, 21, 23, 27, 28, nos. 539, note 5, 540, 546, 547, 553, 563, *ante*, 572, 600, *post*.

[568]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers (signed by Madison and Bland); *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 408 (part).

² Baron d'Arendt's proposals, addressed "A L'Assemblée du L'Etat de Virginie", are in the Virginia State Library, Executive Papers, and are printed in *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 408. Jefferson's reply to the delegates, Jan. 26, is in *Official Letters*, II. 302. See vol. II. of these *Letters*, pp. 23, 25. Concerning the Baron's controversy with Congress over a related question, and also over the question of his pay as an officer, see no. 599, *post*.

[569]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 118.

570. JAMES MADISON TO AMBROSE MADISON.¹

PHILADA. Jany. 2, 1781.

Dear brother,

. . . . The inclosed papers will give you the late proceedings of Cong's more fully tho' often very incorrectly, than could be done in a letter. The excise on spirits distilled in the Country will probably take place. In fact, considering the aversion to direct taxes and that the imports are already loaded, I see nothing else that can be done. Besides the duty on imported rum, requires a proportional one on Country rum, and this a duty on other spirits. The tax will I presume be so guarded as to operate on stills according to the quantity really distilled.²

Tell Capt: Dade that Gen. Knox has not yet reported on his case and that I will let him know the event of his claim as soon as it happens.³ Adieu.

Yrs. aff'y

571. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA January 2d 1780 [1781].

Dear General,

. . . . Since Rivingtons publication I feel some reluctance at venturing my Letters by the Post.

Your Excellencys Letter of the 27th Ult. was Yesterday read in Congress and Referred to General Varnum myself and I think Colo. Bland. I shall call the Committee together as Soon as I receive the papers and Endeavor to have Some Rule adopted respecting promotions which will avoid the Difficulties Your Exc'y has been pleased to mention. I will Endeavor to Avail myself of Your Sentiments upon the Subject²

I am much mortified that I could do nothing respecting the Jersey Line. the Jealosity of the States prevented any thing being done though often attempted by Mr. Clerk and myself. I could not Avail myself of Your Exc'y's Sentiments upon the matter as I had no right to Communicate any part of a Confidential Letter which Your Exc'y had honored me with.³ I had much Difficulty to Save Colo. Smith who I know Your Ex'y would reluctantly part with. Mr. Duane was Indisposed and did not tend Congress Yesterday but a resolution for his being Continued was obtained by

[570]¹ *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 119.

² See the report of the committee for regulating the finances, Dec. 18, 1780, and the report of the committee of the whole Jan. 31, 1781. The subject can be followed in the *Journals* by means of the index reference "Impost".

³ Presumably Capt. Francis Dade. See Heitman, *Hist. Reg.*

[571]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² Two letters from Washington were read in Congress Jan. 1, one dated Dec. 20, respecting promotions of officers, the other dated Dec. 27, announcing the embarkation of the British fleet. It was that of Dec. 20 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, IX. 68) that is here referred to. The committee was Sullivan, Varnum, and Bland. See, further, the *Journals*, Mar. 8, 9, May 25, and no. 669, *post*; also Sullivan's letters of Mar. 9, May 17, 28, in the next volume.

³ See Washington to Sullivan Dec. 17 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, IX. 63, ed. Sparks, VII. 332): *cf.* no. 549, *ante*. "Mr. Clerk", above, was of course Abraham Clark of New Jersey, but the name is clearly so written.

a very great Majority. a Motion was made this Day and warmly urged for reconsideration but did not prevail so a valuable Officer is Saved to the Army⁴

I am not Certain but Dayton may yet be Saved by our Report on Your Exc'ys Letter of the 27th. . . .

572. OLIVER WOLCOTT TO OLIVER ELLSWORTH.¹

PHILADELPHIA Jan'y 2nd 1781.

Sir,

Probably you have heard that Mr. Dana is appointed minister to the court of Russia, Mr. J Adams, M P. to that of Holland, Col. J. Laurens, Minister for special purposes—*viz* to obtain supplies etc. to that of France. Instead of this last appointment, it was the opinion of a number of gentlemen, that our minister at the French Court ought to have been furnished with the aid of an active intelligent secretary, which would not occasion such disagreeable apprehensions, which a measure of this kind would probably excite.²

Mr. Williams has wrote that the reason why the clothing has not been sent, has been owing to a quarrel between Capt. Landais and some of our other officers. This account is not at present satisfactory. Mr. Williams says, that the supplies to the full amount expected will be soon here. Mr. Vergennes wrote to Mr. J Adams in regard to the act of Congress of the 12th [18th] of March, and seemed to apprehend, that the act could not be justified; and supposed that the subjects of France, possessors of bills ought not to be affected by the act. Mr. Adams made a particular answer to this letter, and very justly stated the grounds on which Congress proceeded. We have not since heard any more of this matter, and probably never shall.³

The present French Minister at the head of the Maratime department, is said to be a gentleman, active and very friendly to the American interests. A Mr. Cumberland secretary to Ld. G Germain, has lately been at Madrid. This is supposed to be a manoeuvre only, on both sides, for different purposes; and no great uneasiness is excited thereby.⁴ The Spanish Finances, are at present a little deranged: so that no more bills at present will be drawn upon Mr. Jay. Not any very particular information has been lately recd. from him. Sir Harry Clinton has wrote for 10,000 additional troops, to be sent over, this, the B. Court it is said, have agreed to. The object of future military operations will be, the Southern States.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Jan. 1. The motion Jan. 2 to reconsider is not recorded in the *Journals*. This was Lieut.-Col. William Stephens Smith, who in July was made aide-de-camp to General Washington. See Heitman, *Hist. Reg.*

[572]¹ Conn. Hist. Soc., Oliver Wolcott Papers, vol. III (copy).

² See no. 567, *ante*, and no. 600, *post*; also Jenifer to Franklin July 6, 1781, in the next volume.

³ See no. 534, *ante*.

⁴ See no. 564, *ante*, and nos. 608, 622, 638, *post*. M. de Sartine, minister of marine (if it is he that is here referred to), is not usually characterized as "active". Cf. Perkins, *France in the American Revolution*, p. 301.

G. Britain may not think it probable, that she will be able to prosecute the war much longer, and may hope, if she shall be successful, to settle the terms of peace upon an *uti Possidetis*. But this will not do. The terms upon which the war is to be carried on, or peace established, stand as they did. . . .

As to the condition of the money here, the apparent discount is seventy five for one; according to the town agreement. This Convention occasioned an immediate rise upon the hard money price—the practical discount is 100 for 1. This has been principally produced by the vast influx of money from the Southward. This State has not only made their State[']s late emission, which had been reluctantly recd., of 40 for 1, a tender, equal in value to specie, but have put the new bills, issued, according to act of Congress, upon the same footing. None of the New bills have yet been issued by this State, and they are not yet current here. The new bills have been brought from the Jerseys, who have also made them a tender, as Pennsylvania has done. But the bills have not, or but in a sparing manner been recd. here. No new bills have been issued at the Southward from hence, that I know of. NC. have not adopted the money system. They have issued a large quantity of state bills, which pass cent per cent, below the old continental bills, although they are at a great discount. There is none of the 4/10s of the new bills been recd. by the Treasurer. Pennsylvania are now collecting in due old bills, with a tolerable degree of industry.

Bills upon France, drawn by Congress, sell at 75 per cent in currency, according to the stated rate of depreciation. They do not feel under any apprehension that they will not be answer'd. Congress have had it in contemplation upon a report of a committee which was long since appointed, to provide some means, extra to what has been already done, for supplying the treasury. The principal expedient proposed is an impost to be obtained of the States for 12 years, The duties previously to be ascertained by Congress. Nothing on this head is yet done, and it is easy to see, should Congress and the States adopt the measure it would be for a long time unproductive of any thing considerable.⁵ It must give a considerate whig, deep chagrin, to know that a Country so fertile, as to furnish the Philadelphia market weekly with provisions, collected within a small district, sufficient to support G Washingtons army upon their full establishment, and possessing almost endless resources, shall not adopt measures adequate to supply our wants. But I will make no observations. My letter is already too long. I will only say that we are embarrassed by the currency, not of more value than half a million sterling, which it seems as though we could neither use nor get rid of. Will it not be necessary to put a period to the existence of these bills, by the first of next May, and that what shall not then be collected the possessors shall be paid specie for within a limited time after the war.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Dec. 18 and Jan. 19 to Feb. 3; also nos. 514, 529, *ante*, and nos. 622, 623, 625-628, 633, 636, 638, 641, 642, *post*.

573. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL HOLTEN.¹

Janry. 2d, 1781.

Sir,

Some days ago I got Sight of one of my Letters to Mr. Gerry published by Jemmy Rivington, but tho' I wrote to you on the same Novr. 20th I do not find thro' the same Chanel what was the nature of the Scrawl. I have, at some time, told you that I should aim to persuade my Colleagues to keep back the last Rule laid down by the Assembly for the Government of the Delegates of Mass: in Congress because from the very wording of the Resolve as well as from your Letter of a Date which I cannot now recollect, I am convinced that the intent was to *oblige not more than 3* to attend on the *Duties of the Delegation*. I have so far prevailed as to get the Gentlemen to wait for some Explanation, but we have agreed to be all together punctual in attending to give our Voice, that we may not become culpable if such was the real intent on the Resolve; but this very day proves what I before wrote, that I could be much more usefully employed in my Chamber than here in Congress, a packet boat being under absolute order for Sailing to France.²

The Paper of Dunlap is not a *news* Paper Today.

Yours affectionately

J. L.

574. JOSEPH JONES TO THEODORICK BLAND.¹

VIRGINIA, Jan. 2d, 1781.

Dear sir,

My ill state of health, and particularly a relapse that I was so unfortunate as to experience just after the receipt of your last favor, will I hope excuse me for not answering yours of the fifth ultimo.

The subject of our claim to the free navigation of the river Mississippi is, in my opinion, a very important one to America, and ought not to be relinquished upon any consideration but absolute necessity, which alone can justify the sacrificing the clear and evident convenience and interest of a part of the states, for the advantage of the whole. The navigation of the Mississippi is of the first consequence to all the southern states, Virginia inclusive, and will be more so to those new states congress may hereafter carve out of the lands proposed to be ceded; these are to be resigned for an assurance of independence and subsidy; while Spain continues to aid France, she as effectually aids us, as she would do, were we allied with her. If she is really in the condition with respect to her finances that she represents, what hope have we of obtaining a subsidy that will be regularly paid during the war? and it is during that period our wants require her assistance. I have no apprehensions of the neutral powers

[573]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XIII. 224.

² See no. 550, *ante*; also the Massachusetts resolve of Oct. 4, in the *Journals*, Jan. 2, and nos. 604, 668, *post*.

[574]¹ Bland Papers, II. 43.

interfering in our dispute, unless France shall appear disposed they shall do so; their professed object is very different, and the armed neutrality has been brought about more by French than by British politics. But why should Spain exact cessions from us, in our distress, or expect that we should sacrifice to her unwarrantable demands, essential interests, which, if yielded, can only lay the foundation of discontent, distrust, and unavoidable quarrel in future? Let her act upon the same liberal footing with France, and treat upon principles of reciprocity. I like not, I confess, this buying her friendship. If it be done, it will be of short duration, and may in the future quarrel involve us in a disagreeable predicament with France. Those people who will settle on and near the waters of the Mississippi, in the United States, will use the river, and a rupture must inevitably follow; better it would be for them and America, to settle the terms of this use now, so as to prevent future contest about it; and harmony may thereby subsist between the natives a long time. If we give up our pretensions, nothing but power can regain them, and this struggle should if possible be avoided by the treaty now to be formed. Our appearing to relax in this claim serves to confirm and strengthen Spain in her hopes of success, so that we shall at last yield to her wishes. What may be the sense of the legislature, on this business, in its present state with Spain, I cannot say; but doubtless they will give their delegates their opinion for their conduct, if the question remains for determination. I have hopes that the assembly will take up the question of the back lands before they rise; they promised to do so, if the members could be kept together, and I hear they had not broken up on Saturday.²

Our new levies I fear will be late in the field from the delay that the bill met with in the house. I have secured for the delegation a sum of money that will I hope serve them at least half the year, and shall when I come forward bring the bills with me.

I hope to be able to do so about the 12th or middle of this month.

575. JOHN MATHEWS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 4th 1781.

Sir,

The inclosed extracts, from Genl. Washingtons letters of the 13th and 27th Ult. and from Mr. Houston's of the 30th Ult. and news papers will give you all the information from this quarter, worth communicating, except that, the fleet from New York is sailed; what its destination is, we are at present uninformed, 'tis said Portsmouth in Virginia.²

There are now 1500 coats, some vests, and overalls, making up for the Southern army, and blankets are also procured for them: all of which will be forwarded without loss of time. And we hope with more care than has hitherto been done so as they may arrive safe.

² See no. 629, note 3, *post*.

[575]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² See no. 595, *post*.

The resolve of Congress of the 1st inst. is only the foundation of what is to be done for your department. the result, we will as early as possible inform you of.

We are Sir with much Esteem and Regard

Yr. most obedt. Servts.

By Order of the Committee

JNO. MATHEWS Chairman

P. S. We will thank you for a copy of our last letter, having forgot to keep one ³

576. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

BRISTOL, January 6, 1781.

Sir,

The Committee of Congress being informed that the troops are about to march to Trenton this night have concluded to remain at this place until they receive some intelligence from your Excellency; should you think it best we will set off immediately on the return of this express, or should it appear most adviseable we will remain here till we receive further information from his Excellency.²

577. EZEKIEL CORNELL TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 7th 1781.

Dear Sir,

I observe in your Excellency[']s letter of the 22d of November you mention that Mr. Howel had broke gaol etc. I can only say I never saw him or the other person you mention, And that I opposed the permit that was given him. the scim milk letters of last winter were too recent in my memory not to have my doubts on Mr. Howels honesty.²

We have undoubted intelligence from N. York that the Infamous Arnold saild from that place on the 22nd Ulto. with sixteen Hundred men under his Command his destination unknown but it is generally beleived to be to the southard. The southern part bring intelligence that there was between 40 and 50 sail of Vessels in Hampton Road or rather the mouth

³ The last letter from the committee which has been found is that of Dec. 12 (no. 542, *ante*).

[576]¹ Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, II. 166 (signed, "by order of the Committee", by Sullivan).

² Late in the afternoon of Wednesday, Jan. 3, information was brought to Congress of the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line, and a committee, consisting of Sullivan, Witherspoon, and Mathews, was appointed to confer with the executive council of Pennsylvania "on the subject matter of the intelligence received this day". Jan. 5 Atlee and Bland were added to the committee. It does not appear that Mathews ever took any part in the proceedings of the committee. See the *Journals*, Jan. 3, 5, 8, 10-12, 18, 24, Feb. 2, and nos. 576-593, 596-598, 601-603, 605, 607, 609, 610, 614, *post*.

[577]¹ Manuscripts of the late William D. Ely of Providence, R. I.; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., LIX. 289.

² See nos. 404, 409-412, *ante*.

of James River, it is conjectured the above fleet is the one that Arnold sailed with.

The Pennsylvania Line of the Army Mutinied this day week at their Hutts near Morristown.³ The officers attempted to quell the Mutiny but in vain, two of them a Major and a Capt. were killed in the affair. the Troops obliged all their officers to quit them and then Marched of[f] the ground taking with them the Artillery and Commissary stores And arrived at Princetown on Thursday last where they still remain. they have promoted Two Sergt. Majors to B. gens. and other sergts. to other subordinate stations to whose government they submit and the greatest order is kept up among them, it is said not a single Inhabitant hath been plundered. On Saturday last the mutineers sent to General Wane Two spys they found in their Camp, which it seems Mr. Clinton had sent from N. York upon hearing of the Mutiny with proposals of their joyning him or at least to lay down their Arms and that he Mr. Clinton would pay all that Congress had promised, which Congress was neither willing or able to pay, all which they despised. The soldiers have many Complaints such as want of Cloathing pay etc. But one complaint that is singular to the line of Pennsylvania is that Many of them were Inlisted to serve *Three years or during the War*. the Officers determined they should serve during the War. I suppose these greaveances must be relieved before the Troops will return to their duty. The President of the State and a Committee of Congress consisting of five members are gone to princetown. I expect the affair will be accommodated and after discharging all those whose Inlistments come under the description I have mention[ed] the remainder will return to their duty. I fear the same disposition will soon appear among the Other Troops if they are not soon paid. where the Money is to come from I must leave. there is none at this place that Congress can command for that or any other purpose.

A few days past the Noted Majr. Rogers was brought prisoner to this place having been taken on his passage from N York to S Carolina.⁴

578. JOHN WITHERSPOON TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

TRENTON, Jany. 7th, 1781.

The Committe of Congress now at Trenton have received authentic information that Commissioners are sent to Amboy from N. York to treat with Pennsylvania Troops, (we suppose tis South Amboy that is meant but it would be prudent to have both the Amboys in View). the Committe are of opinion you shd. take such measures as appear most prudent and practicable, to get possession of those Commissioners.²

P. S. The above is submitted to your Judgment according to the Situation of Affairs and the other Intelligence you may have received.

³ See no. 576, *ante*.

⁴ Maj. Robert Rogers. See vol. I. of these *Letters*, pp. 201, 205, vol. II., pp. 6, 12. [578]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia (signed, "In behalf of the Committee"; by Witherspoon); Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 188.

² See no. 576, *ante*, and no. 579, *post*.

579. JOHN WITHERSPOON TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

TRENTON, Jany. 7th, 1781.

Sir,

The Committee of Congress are obliged to your Excellencys Communications by Col. Shield, we esteem it as a happy prelude to a return of the Troops to their Allegiance. We doubt not your Excellencys improving so favourable a Symptom to bring the matter to as speedy, safe and honorable an Issue as possible. The Committee will wait here for your further Communications of the progress you make and prepare themselves for every Event, to aid your Endeavours and to give them all the success, that the Powers vested in them by Congress can enable them to do.² In name of the Committee in Genl. Sullivan's Absence

JNO. WITHERSPOON.

580. JOHN WITHERSPOON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

TRENTON Jany. 7, 1781. 10 oClock.

Sir,

The Committee arrived here last night and met with Mr. President Reed who had been near Princeton and sent a Letter to General Wayne by two of his light horse.² They were suffered to proceed to the Genl. with the Letter unopened. He at the Request of the Sergeants showed it to them and it was to be read to the whole this Morning. There were Symptoms that they would be content with the Proposals and make the Matter up. It appears from all Accounts that they have behaved with surprising Regularity in all Respects (their Revolt excepted) and seemed disappointed that Mr. Reed did not proceed and trust himself to them. He is this Morning gone back and we are happy to inform you that Dr. Shields is just come in and says that a person from Gen. Clinton with another for his Guide had come to their Encampment and made them the Proposals of which the inclosed is A copy.³ They received it with so much firmness and

[579]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia; Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 188.

² The communications from Reed referred to in the beginning of the letter have not been found. See however Reed's letter written from Bristol Jan. 5, in Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 160 ("Direction lost", but probably to the committee); his letter written from Trenton Jan. 6, "3 o'clock", and addressed to the committee (*ibid.*, II. 164); and his letter of the same day, "Past 11 o'clock at night", supposed to have been to Mr. Barclay, at whose house the committee were lodging (*ibid.*, II. 165). The letter to the committee bears the note: "N. B. This letter was designed for the committee, but as they came over the river, I send it to you to save repetition"; and the letter to Barclay begins: "The enclosed letter to the Committee of Congress, which was [made] unnecessary by their arrival at this place, will inform you of my proceeding till 12 o'clock." This letter is also found in Henkels, *Catalogue*, no. 1280 (p. 31), where extracts from a number of other letters pertaining to the mutiny are printed. All three letters are in Reed, *Life of Reed*, II. 319-323. See nos. 576, note 2, 578, 579, *ante*, and nos. 580-584, 589-591, *post*.

[580]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 152, vol. IX., f. 447; *Cal. Va. State Papers*, II. 149.

² See no. 579, *ante*. Two letters from Reed to Wayne, Jan. 7, are in Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 166, 167, and Reed, *Life of Reed*, II. 323-325.

³ The document referred to was Clinton's proposals to the mutineers. A copy, in Witherspoon's writing, is in Papers Cont. Cong., no. 152, vol. IX., f. 449. A copy was

Indignation that they not only rejected the Proposals but seized the two Agents and delivered them to General Wayne who sent them under a Guard and delivered them to Blair McLanachan and Alexr. Nisbet two of the Light Horse who have them now in Custody. The Committee are immediately to write to Gen. Reed and expect a speedy and happy Issue of this Affair.

I am ⁴ in name of the Committee Genl. Sullivan being absent Sir your most obedt. humble Servant

JOHN WITHERSPOON.

P. S. That you may not think the above is only Reports Genl. Reed saw and read the Paper and sent it on to us and kept the Prisoners with himself. Dr. Shields ⁵ saw them in Custody.

581. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

TRENTON, January 7th, 1781.

Sir,

The Committee appointed by Congress to quiet the disturbances of the Pennsylvania Line, etc., think it proper to inform your Excellency that they arrived at this place last night after dark; And that President Reed who acts in concert with us has proceeded to the neighbourhood of Princeton at which place those Troops are now posted. We are happy to inform your Excellency that some favourable appearances of a speedy and honorable, as well as a safe accommodation, has appeared in their Conduct this Morning; as they have given an earnest of Their sincerity and intentions by no means equivocal; by seizing a Negotiator sent to them from New York, together with his Conductor, both of whom they delivered up to Genl. Wayne, and have sent them out under a Guard with their Papers. They are actually now in the Hands of President Reed, and we do ourselves the Honor of sending your Excellency a Copy of the Terms offered them in writing by those Emissaries. Shou'd your Excellency have any Communications to make to Congress relative to the present State and Temper of the Army, we request that you will be pleased to make them through us, and direct them to this place.²

enclosed in Madison's letter to Jefferson Jan. 9, and is printed in *Cal. Va. State Papers*, p. 149. It is also printed in Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 167. Various documents relating to the mutiny are *ibid.*, II. 137-139, 158-160, 164-168, 188-190, 204-206, 218-219. See nos. 581-584, 589-591, 596-598, 601-603, 605, 614, *post*.

⁴ The words "I am" are written over "We are". The Virginia copy is "Signed in behalf of the Committee".

⁵ This was doubtless Dr. Hugh Shiell, a recent emigrant from Ireland, whose letter to the board of war (June 19, 1780) resulted in the resolution of June 30, 1780, in behalf of Lieut. Connolly Coan. The board refers to him as "Doctr. Shields", but his letter is signed "Hu: Shiell". The question had first been referred to Washington, who had stated that the decision must rest with Congress (letter of June 25). Aug. 10 Shiell wrote to the President of Congress desiring permission to purchase a vessel in which to have his property conveyed from Ireland to the United States, and asked for an order of protection to the vessel and property. See the *Journals*, Aug. 10. In the *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXXIX. 483, among some notes on "Pennsylvanians in Kentucky", is an abstract of his will, dated Aug. 24, 1782.

[581]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (in the writing of Samuel J. Atlee, but signed by Sullivan); *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 194.

² See nos. 576, 578-580, note 3, *ante*.

582. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 8th 1781.

Sir,

The Committee of Congress not having heard from your Excellency Since yesterday noon Despatch an Express to obtain Intelligence where you are and what Success you have had. They wish to know whether any thing appears necessary for them to do respecting the affairs as they wish to do Every thing in their power to bring this unhappy Dispute to a favorable Issue.²

583. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

TRENTON, Jan. 8, 1780 [1781].

Sir,

The Committee of Congress have recd. yr. Excellencys favor of this Date with its Inclosures ² and Send you herewith the Result of their Deliberation upon the Terms which they are of opinion ought to be held out to the Soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line.³

[582]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Coll., Generals of the American Revolution, I. 21 (signed "by order of the Committee" by Sullivan); Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 189.

² See nos. 578-581, *ante*, and nos. 583, 584, 589-591, 596-598, *post*.

[583]¹ Henkels, *Catalogue*, no. 1280, p. 33; Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 189 (signed "By order of the Committee, Jno. Sullivan").

² Reed appears to have written three letters to the committee Jan. 8. The one here referred to, evidently written in the morning of the 8th, is in the Library of Congress (Cont. Cong., Misc.), printed in *Bland Papers*, II. 46, and *Life of Reed*, II. 327. With regard to the other two see nos. 589, 591, *post*. Still another letter of the 8th, probably to the executive council, is in Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 189.

³ A text of the proposed resolutions follows the letter in Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, but that given below, varying only in some minor particulars, is taken from the copy in the Washington Papers, transmitted by the committee with their letter to Washington Jan. 9 (no. 590, *post*). To the text in Hazard is appended the following: "Note in Gov. Reed's writing. 'Received after my proposals were made and accepted and therefore not offered'."

"IN COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, TRENTON Jany 8, 1781

"*Resolved*, That all Soldiers who have voluntarily enlisted for the War or have received the hundred Dollars Bounty ordered by Congress shall be held during the War and entitled to receive the same Bounty as the New Recruits from the respective States only deducting therefrom the hundred Dollars at the real Value when received; But as it may so happen that some Soldiers may be detained in the Service who have received the hundred Dollars contrary to their Inclinations all such who can make it clearly appear to Persons appointed for that Purpose as herein aftermentioned that they have been so detained shall be immediately discharged.

"*Resolved*, That all Soldiers who are now held by Inlistments expressing the Term of Service to be for three Years or during the War and have not voluntarily reinlisted and received the hundred Dollars bounty shall be immediately discharged

"The Committee trusting in the Sincerity and Attachment of the Pennsylvania Line to the american Cause and (notwithstanding the unwarrantable Steps they have taken) from the Moderation and Conduct in the Discipline and good Order they have observed and being convinced that their assembly was for the Redress of Grievances have further resolved that on producing Lists regimentally of those non commissioned Officers and Soldiers who fall within the different Classes of Grievances complained of with Regard to the Terms of Enlistment, Pay Bounty and Clothing that they will immediately

P. S. It is the Decision of the Committee that you make use of the foregoing Resolutions only as you shall find them Necessary to answer the purposes in View.

584. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

TRENTON, Jany. 8th, 1781.

Sir,

By Direction of the Committee I have the Honor to Inform your Excellency That we waited at this place Yesterday in Expectation of hearing from President Read but received no Intelligence till This Day at noon, when he Informed us by Letter that upon his going into Town The Troops of the Pensylvanian Line Treated him with every mark of Respect. That after a Long conference with the Board of Sergeants he offered them Such proposals as he thought Reasonable and about Midnight returned to Maidenhead that he had been Informed by Straglers this morning that his proposals were in general agreeable to the Troops—he requested the opinion of your Committee respecting the Terms which was immediately communicated and we flatter ourselves the Dispute will Soon be happily Terminated. The British Emissaries mentioned in our Letter of Yesterday were Delivered on Condition of being returned upon their Demand. This was a Circumstance not known to us when we wrote yesterday. They Demanded them Last evening but agreed that they should be forth Coming to the order of President Read. The Emissaries are now in Close Confinement. Another Invitation from the British was this morning found before the Colledge wrapt in Sheet Lead which they immediately Delivered to General Waine.

They have in Every Instance Shown a Disposition to return to Duty upon receiving Compensation for their past Services and Justice being done to them respecting the term of their Inlistment and by no means to Join the British but upon a Conviction that Justice could not be obtained.

But from the Positions they have taken, their Demanding a return of the emisaries and many other Circumstances it is evident they mean this as a *Dernier Resort* in case of their not obtaining Reasonable Terms.

The Jersey Brigade and a Large number of the Jersey Militia are posted so as to prevent their Joining the Enemy in case Lenient Measures should not have the desired Effect.

Since writing the above we have rec'd further Dispatches from president Read Copies of which are Inclosed which with General Waines Let-

appoint Commissioners to examine and report thereon that full and ample Justice shall be done to the Claimants by discharging such as are entitled to their Discharge giving them Certificates of Pay and Clothing due to such as have Claims

"The foregoing Terms being accepted the Committee resolved that upon the Soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line delivering up the british Emissaries sent to corrupt them and submitting to their proper Officers they will publish a free and general Pardon for all Offence committed by the non commissioned Officers, and Soldiers of the said Line from the 31st of Decr last to this time"

[584]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 152, vol. IX., f. 455.

ter and the papers Inclosed will give you Every Information which we can give.²

I have the Honor to be by order of the Committee Most respectfully
Yr. Exc'y's most obedt. Servt.

JNO. SULLIVAN

² See nos. 576, 578-583, *ante*, 589-591, 596-598, 601-603, 605, 614, *post*. In the Washington Papers are two copies (broadside) of the proposals of President Reed and Brig.-Gen. James Potter to the mutineers (printed in Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 138). They are as follows:

"PROPOSALS

"Made to the non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the *Pennsylvania* Line, at Princeton, January 7, 1781.

"His Excellency *Joseph Reed*, Esquire, President, and the Honourable Brigadier-General *Potter*, of the Council of *Pennsylvania*, having heard the Complaints of the Soldiers, as represented by the Sergeants, inform them, that they are fully authorized to redress reasonable Grievances, and they have the fullest Disposition to make them as easy as possible; for which End they propose,

"*First*. That no non-commissioned Officer or Soldier shall be detained beyond the Time for which he freely and voluntarily engaged, but where they appear to have been in any Respect compelled to enter or sign, such Enlistment to be deemed void, and the Soldier discharged.

"*Secondly*. To settle who are and who are not bound to stay, three Persons to be appointed by the President and the Council, who are to examine into the Terms of Enlistment;—where the original Enlistments cannot be found, the Soldier's Oath to be admitted to prove the Time and Terms of Enlistment, and the Soldier to be discharged upon his Oath of the Condition of the Enlistment.

"*Thirdly*. Where-ever any Soldier has enlisted for three Years or during the War, he is to be discharged, unless he shall appear afterwards to have re-enlisted voluntarily and freely.—The Gratuity of *One Hundred Dollars* given by Congress, not to be reckoned as a Bounty, or any Men detained in Consequence of that Gratuity.—The Commissioners to be appointed by the President and Council, to adjust any Difficulties which may arise on this Article also.

"*Fourthly*. The Auditors to attend as soon as possible, to settle the Depreciation with the Soldiers and give them Certificates.—Their Arrearages of Pay to be made up as soon as Circumstances will admit.

"*Fifthly*. A Pair of Shoes, Overalls and Shirt will be delivered to each Soldier in a few Days, as they are already purchased and ready to be sent forward, whenever the Line shall be settled.—Those who are discharged to receive the above Articles at *Trenton*, producing the General's Discharge.

"The President hopes that no Soldier of the *Pennsylvania* Line will break his Bargain, or go from the Contract made with the Public—and they may depend upon it, that the utmost Care will be taken to furnish them with every Necessary fitting for a Soldier.

"The President will recommend to the State to take some favourable Notice of those who engaged for the War.

"The Commissioners will attend at *Trenton*, where the Clothing and the Stores will be immediately brought, and the Regiments to be settled with in their Order. A Field-Officer of each Regiment to attend during the Settlement of his Regiment.

"Pursuant to General Wayne's Orders of the 2d Instant, no Man to be brought to any Trial or Censure for what has happened on or since New-Year's Day, but all Matters to be buried in Oblivion.

JOS. REED,
JAMES POTTER."

As printed the broadside, from which the text is taken, had "*Trenton*" in the date-line and "*Governor*" in the two paragraphs following the fifth article, but these words were corrected by pen to *Princeton* and *President*, respectively. See the propositions of the committee of Congress (no. 583, note 3, *ante*), also the committee's final report (*Journals*, Jan. 24).

585. JESSE ROOT TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 8th, 1781.

Please your Excellency,

About 8 o'clock last Monday night the Pennsylvania line mutinied, the 1st and 5th regiments remained on the ground, but were forced by the others to join, two Captains were killed, several subalterns and privates wounded in attempting to suppress them. They marched in a body to Prince Town, in spite of every effort (of?) their officers to reduce them to order, where they remain under the command of the sergeants with guards posted, Genl. Waine, Cols. Steward and Buttler are at Princetown, to whom the mutineers have sent a guard. President Reed went to Princetown last Friday and a Committee from Congress are at Trentown.

Their grievances are, 1st, that many of them enlisted for three years or during the war, and are held in service over the three years by virtue of such enlistment; 2nd, that they have not received their pay or cloathing; but what had great influence in raising the mutiny was, recruiting officers coming among them with hard money to enlist the seven months men who had received large sums for the seven months service. This was too much for them to bear. Last Saturday a spy with a guide from Genl. Clinton came into their camp with proposals a copy of which is enclosed; they took them both and sent them with the proposals to Genl. Wayne, who sent them to Trenton where they are safely lodged in goal.²

The time for paying the army is arrived; the plan of the 18th of March last is productive of very little money yet, and appears more and more dubious. I think there must be a total reform of the system. Congress must exercise the proper powers and establish all the necessary executive boards and offices; and as the wealth of a nation is the aggregate wealth of its citizens, the spring of industry, and economy the prospect of advantage, which prospect will be more or less operative according to the opinion the people have of the justice of the government under which they live, the security it affords to property, and the liberty it gives to every one to make the most of what they have to put off in an honest way; to remove therefore all fetters and embarrasments on trade, except with the enemy, omit to force upon any person paper bills for money, and to take measures to encourage industry and economy, and to revive the confidence of the people in the justice of their rulers, I think is the only natural and wise method to extricate ourselves from our present embarrasments into which we are bro't in some measure by unnatural expedients.

This will lay a foundation to enable the citizens to pay largely for the public use, and give government firmness and support; but every expedient must be attempted before we will consent to adopt those plain, easy and natural methods which are the only paths to wealth, peace and safety.

. . . .

[585]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 179.

² See nos. 576-585, *ante*, and nos. 587, 589-593, 596-598, 601, 602, 605, 607, 609, 610, 614, *post*.

Congress have passed a resolution directing retaliation to be made on the British troops in our hands for the barbarities exercised by them towards our people.³

Also have called upon the States to raise by the 1st of March next 80,000 dollars in specie for the support of the prisoners the quota assigned to Connecticut is 9,855 do's.⁴

This was done upon a representation that they were much in debt and suffered exceedingly for want of money. The Journals of Novr. are not out.

586. JAMES LOVELL TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

Jan. 8th, 1781.

Dear Sir,

. . . . I see Jemmy Rivington has catched you. He is a Telltale Scoundrel, is he not. You would smile to hear what Work Interpreters make here of my References to some Salt Mackrel which Gerry promised to send to Mrs. Clymar. And they make my Abreviation of Massachusetts, relate to romish Mass. Genl. Warren's Account with the Commercial Com'tee is mistaken for Something against Religion because his name was gutted Genl. W——²

587. JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND (WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA 8th Jan. 1780 [1781].

Sir,

Was I to give you my Sentiments at large upon the Political situation of the United States, it would lead me into a Labyrinth of Deductions, too tedious for my present Leisure and too complicated for your Amusement. Without entering therefore into the Infinity of Circumstances which at present form the Embarrassments of our Systems, it will be sufficient to observe, that the want of Money and Credit involve Congress in Perplexities which cannot be fully removed, 'till the Operations of New Plans, shall be equally felt throughout the Union. The want of a fixed Consideration frustrates almost every Measure, and the dull inergetic Mode of Procedure, resulting from the long Habits of insipid Formality, render our Efforts too feeble and dilatory to effect the greatest Objects. Party Intrigues have some Share in our Councils, but they are far from influencing in Matters of General utility. Whenever they are attempted, they appear rather under the Garb of expiring Struggles than in the Expectation of Success.

The Army have been without pay for a Long Time, which added to some other Causes, produced on the 1st Instant, a general mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line. Two Officers were killed and two wounded, About

³ See the *Journals*, Jan. 5, and no. 588, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Jan. 8, and no. 588, *post*.

[586]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., Pickering Papers, XVIII. 68.

² See nos. 518, 550, *ante*, and no. 634, *post*.

[587]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 105; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 324.

six Privates were Slain, and the Insurrection is not yet quelled. Sir Henry Clinton sent an Emissary among the Mal Contents, with mighty Promises of Money, Protection, etc., etc. But the Lads, so far from being disaffected with the American Cause, received his offers with Indignation, and sent the Spy with his conductor and a Copy of his Proposals to Genl. Wayne. The President of this State is with them, and a Committee from Congress in the Vicinity. The Militia of Jersey are in the Field, and I trust the matter will terminate happily in a short Time.² We have Accounts this Day that Arnold, with about sixteen hundred Men, is in Chesapeake Bay; and that the Inhabitants of Georgia have returned to their Allegiance, by opposing the British Government, under Governor Wright. We have been very successful to the Southward under Genl. Sumpter and others, but our situation in that Quarter is far from promising much to our Advantage. This Winter is big with Serious Events. Our resources are great, but we must exercise much wisdom and resolution to manage them with Propriety. General Cornell is elected into the Board of War, and therefore will not return this winter. Your Tickets, etc., are safe.

I have the Honor of being Sir, with greatest Respect,
your Excellency's most obedt. servt.

J. M. VARNUM.

588. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 9, 1781.

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed Copies of two Acts of Congress of the 5th and 8th Instant.² . . .

It is presumed the Necessities of those Officers, the Distresses they have already suffered and the more disagreeable Situation they must yet be reduced to for Want of the Means of Subsistence unless those Supplies are obtained, will be sufficient to induce a Compliance with this requisition as speedy as possible.

589. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

TRENTON, Jany. 9th, 1781.

Sir,

Since our Last Dispatch by Mr. Duer forwarded this morning we have received further Intelligence from President Read Informing that the Pen-

² See no. 585, note 2, *ante*.

[588]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 203; Mass. Arch., CCIII. 204; Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, IX. 115; copy from original to New Hampshire, in possession of the Carnegie Institution; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 702.

² The act of the 5th respecting proposed retaliation and that of the 8th respecting quotas for the benefit of officers in captivity at New York are summarized. See no. 585, *ante*. To the Virginia letter is added a postscript, "I have been honored with your Letter of the 25th of November". The *Journals* record, under Dec. 4, 1780, the receipt of a letter of Jefferson dated Nov. 26, but no letter of that date or of the 25th has been found.

[589]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 152, vol. IX., f. 461 (signed "by order of the Committee, Jno. Sullivan").

sylvania Line had in consequence of a requisition for that purpose and the Terms offered them [agreed]² to March to this Town. They are now *viz* 2 o'Clock within two miles of Town and Some of them are already arrived. We flatter ourselves that they will here receive their officers and that The unhappy Dispute will be brought to a favorable Issue. Should we be Disappointed in our hopes Yet the bringing forward the Troops to this place will be gaining a great point in Case other than Lenient Measures should become necessary³

590. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

TRENTON, Jany. 9th 1781.

Dear General,

I have the Honor to Inclose Your Exc'y by Direction of the Committee a Copy of a Letter from Govr. Read with Copy of the proposals made by the Committee to the Mutineers of the Pennsylvania Line by which first it appears that they are Determined to Accept of the Terms offered and we flatter ourselves That this unhappy Dispute will Soon be brought to a favorable Issue²

I have the Honor to be

Most Respectfully, Yr Excys most obedt. Servt.

JNO SULLIVAN

591. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

TRENTON, Jan. 9, 1781.

Sir,

The Committee was last evening honoured with your Excellency's favour and its inclosures dated at Maidenhead 7 o'clock P. M. copies of which have been sent to Congress,² We now dispatch a Light horseman to know the present appearance of affairs at Princeton and whether the Troops are about to march for Trenton this morning.

We do not understand the propositions of the serjeants to be that any of their body were to sit with the commissioners; but they requested a voice in the appointment only. To this we have no objections.

We wish matters may be brought to an issue as soon as possible, and that your Excellency will inform us by return of this express what prospects you have of bringing them to a conclusion from present appearances.

² The word "agreed" was first written between "had" and "in consequence", above, then erased, evidently with the intention of inserting it at this point.

³ The intelligence from President Reed was doubtless the second and third letters of Jan. 8, that written at "half past 2 o'clock", in *Bland Papers*, II. 44, *Life of Reed*, II. 326, and that mentioned in nos. 590, 591, *post*. See no. 583, note 2, *ante*.

[590]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² See nos. 583, 589, *ante*, and no. 591, *post*.

[591]¹ Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 189.

² Reed's letter of Jan. 8 referred to is in Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 189, *Bland Papers*, II. 45, and Reed, *Life of Reed*, II. 327. See nos. 583, 589, *ante*.

592. JAMES MADISON TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

[PHILADELPHIA, January 9, 1781.]

Sir,

The inclosed extract of a letter from Genl. Washington, No 1, will give your Excellency a more particular account of the late embarkation from N. York, than has been before obtained.²

On Thursday³ last Congress were informed by General Potter and Col: Johnston who came Expresses for the purpose, that a general mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line stationed near Morris Town, apart from the rest of the Army, had broken out on the morning of New Year's day. Every effort was made by the Officers to stifle it on its first appearance, but without effect. Several of them fell victims to the mutineers. The next information came from Genl. Wayne who wrote from Princeton, whither the troops had marched in regular order on their way to Philada., as they gave out not to lay down their arms nor return to their obedience 'till their grievances should be redressed. They did not suffer any of their officers to remain with them except Genl: Wayne, and Cols: Stewart and Butler, and these they kept under a close guard, but in every other respect, treated with the utmost decorum. The greivances complained of were principally a detention of many in service, beyond the term of enlistment, and the sufferings of all from a deficient supply of cloathing and subsistence, and long arrearage of pay. Several propositions and replies on the subject of redress passed between a deputation of Sergeants on the part of the Troops and General Wayne, but without any certain tendency to a favorable issue. The affair at length took a very serious aspect, and as a great proportion of that line are foreigners and not a few deserters from the British Army, and as they showed a disposition to continue at Prin[c]eton from whence a refuge with the Enemy, who it was said were coming out in force to avail themselves of the situation of things, was very practicable, it was thought necessary to depute a Committee of Congress with powers to employ every expedient for putting a speedy end to it. The President of the State with a number of Gentlemen from this place also, went up to interpose their influence. The inclosed Copy of a Letter from the Committee No 2, with the paper No 3, referred to in it, are the last accounts received of the matter.⁴ The manner in which the offers and emissary of Clinton were received and treated, is a very auspicious circumstance, and will probably in its impression on the Enemy fully balance the joy and encouragement which this event tended to give them.

Col: Bland being one of the Committee does not join me in this.

[592]¹ *Cal. Va. State Papers*, II. 148.

² The extract is from Washington's letter of Jan. 2, read in Congress Jan. 8 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, IX. 85, ed. Sparks, VII. 346).

³ Evidently Wednesday; a special session of Congress was convened at six o'clock to consider the matter of "the intelligence received this day". See no. 576, note 2, *ante*.

⁴ The committee's letter is no. 580, *ante*; the enclosure No. 3 was Clinton's proposals, there cited.

593. JAMES MADISON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.¹

PHILADA. Jany. 9th, 1781.

D'r S'r,

. . . .² By a letter from the Committee who had proceeded as far as Trenton recd. the evening before last, it appears that the President who was ahead and had written on to Genl. Wayne was likely to have a confidential reception. The Committee write that an Emissary of Clinton had appeared among the soldiers with a paper setting forth the folly and danger of adhering to a cause which had already brought so much misery upon them, promising a protection under the British Govt., a body of troops to cover their escape, and payment of all arrears due from Congress, was siesed and given up to Genl. Way[n]e who handed him with his guide over to the President of this State, who placed them under the custody of his light horse. This circumstance not only presages a fortunate issue to the Mutiny, but is such a proof of attachment to the Country in the most trying situation as must effectually repress the joy and encouragement which the Enemy had taken from this threatening event. The late detachm't from N. York which a letter from Fred'ks[burg] says is in the Chesapeek is abt. 1600 strong and commanded by Arnold.

594. OLIVER WOLCOTT TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPH'A, 9th Jany. 1781.

Sir,

I enclose to your Excellency an order of Congress for printing the civil constitutions of the several States. . . .

I will observe to your Excellency that this present measure has been at this time adopted, upon the recommendation of Mr. J. Adams, for foreign information, and that most of the constitutions of the States are now ready for publication, and that therefore unless the acco. of the constitution of Connecticut is soon had it will occasion a delay.

The condition of the money here continues much as it was when I did myself the honour to write last to your Excellency. None of the new bills of the 18th of March have been yet issued in this State. By Act of government the bills which shall issue upon the credit of this State are made a tender at 75 for one. The old currency which has yet been brought into the Treasury of this State has issued to procure supplies. The new bills cannot be said to have a currency in this city. A clothier from Jersey a few days ago brought a large sum of the new bills of that State here to lay them out to procure supplies, but could not purchase with them the supplies wanted. A very few of the new bills have issued in Maryland. That State gave liberty to any person to exchange the old bills for the new at

[593]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 77; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 120.

² To this point the letter is nearly identical in language with the letter to Governor Jefferson, no. 592, *ante*.

[594]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 183.

33⅓ for one. This Act is said now to be altered and the exchange is at 40 for one. I shall make no observations upon these facts, only observe that unless the United States as such can establish a fund, and possess the sole power of regulating whatever can be called money within all the United States, I do not see how any kind of publick credit can be supported. A superintending power destitute of any estate, any funds, any power to establish such, or to controul or regulate the money of a country, is perhaps a novelty in the history of mankind. Congress have been frequently considering the subject of their finances. They have adverted lately to the subject, and this perplexing affair will be probably farther reviewed. To obtain a cession from the States to regulate all foreign commerce, to impose such dutys on trade as Congress shall think proper *pro bono publico*, to call upon the States for their plate, and an unequivocal cession of their unlocated territory, will probably be the principal objects of deliberation; and in the mean time to devise some expedient for the immediate pay of the army. At present we have no certain prospect of being able to answer this last most pressing demand so soon as we wish for, as the calls of the army are very urgent. . . .

595. JOHN MATHEWS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 9th 1780 [1781.]

Sir,

We are desired by Congress to transmit you the inclosed resolutions.

Nothing new has transpired since we last wrote, informing you of the departure of the British fleet from New York, except that in less than forty eight hours after their sailing, there was a most violent storm, which we have the best reasons to imagine they had to encounter. This circumstance we flatter ourselves, will be attended with many advantages, as it will necessarily cause delay on their part, and give the longer time for your reinforcements coming in. And further, that our Express will reach you before they can, and although the notice of their approach may be short, yet it will be of consequence.²

We are Sir with much Esteem and regard

Yr. most Obedt. Servts.

In behalf of the Committee

JN. MATHEWS Chairman

596. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

BARCLEYS HOUSE Jany. 10th, 1781.

Sir,

I have the Honor to Inform Your Exc'y by Direction of the Committee That the Insurgents marched into Trenton Yesterday and are now in Conference with President Read who has the proposals of Your Committee

[595]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Gratz Coll., M. O. C.

² See no. 575, *ante*. It is not certain what were the resolutions enclosed.

[596]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 152, vol. IX., f. 465.

to Communicate. and there Seems Some Prospect of bringing the Dispute to a happy Issue. Every measure has been pursued by the Committee to Accomplish the Business Intrusted to them²

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem

Yr. Exc'ys Most obedt. Servt.

JNO. SULLIVAN

597. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

BARCLAY'S HOUSE (NEAR TRENTON) Jany. 10th 1781.

8 o'Clock, Even'g.

D'r S'r,

We are Happy to inform Your Excellency that the terms offerd to the Pennsylvania troops are at length finally and as we believe cordially and satisfactorily agreed on, and to morrow we expect the Pennsylvania line will be arranged in its former order. Constitutionally, no Concession has been granted them that the critical Situation of our affairs did not Warrant and Justice dictate.²

As an earnest of their Sincerity they have this night sent to us under a strong guard, the two spies sent out by S'r Harry Clinton with offers of terms to them, who are now in this House under a Guard of the Philadelphia Light Horse, and a Court, Consisting of Genls. Wayne and Irwin, Cols. Butler and Stewart and Majr. Fishburn at this Moment determining their fate. Several other Emissaries have been sent out by S'r Harry, who have more prudently delivered their Credentials to us; whether more Honestly time will determine. In short the whole progress of this affair except the first Tumult has been conducted on their part with a consistency, firmness and a degree of Policy mixed with candor that must astonish every theorist on the nature of the American soldiery; and cover S'r Harry with Shame and Confusion, if not stigmatize him with the appellation of the Prince of Blunderers, for having so illy succeeded in essays of this kind.

Commissioners appointed by the Committee of Congress Consisting of Colo. Atlee, Genl: Potter, Mr. Blair McClanaghan, and Capt. Morris, of the Philadelphia Li't Horse will proceed tomorrow to adjust their Claims.

Jany. 11th, 8 of Clock, A. M. The British Emissaries are condemned, and will be executed this morning at nine. The Commissioners are now Setting to Determine which of the Troops ought to be Discharged and which to remain and we Trust this Day will Complete the Business.³

² See Reed's letter to the committee Jan. 9, in *Bland Papers*, II. 49, *Life of Reed*, II. 329. Letters of Reed to others than the committee, Jan. 10-13, are in Hazard, *Reg. of Pa.*, II. 204, 206, 218-219. See nos. 580, 583, 589, *ante*, 597, 598, 601, 602, 605, 614, *post*.

[597]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers (signed, "by order of the Committee", by Sullivan); *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 198.

² See no. 596, *ante*, and no. 598, *post*.

³ The postscript is in Sullivan's writing, the body of the letter in another hand.

598. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

BARCLEYS HOUSE Jany 11th, 1781.

Sir,

I have the Honor to inform Your Excellency by Direction of the Committee That the Two British Emessaries who were yesterday Delivered up by the Pensylvania Troops have been Tryed and Condemned by a Board of officers and will be Executed This morning This Cuts off all Prospects of a reconciliation between the Troops and Sir Henry Clinton. The Commissioners appointed to Determine who ought to be Discharged are now Sitting. Genl. Wayne has gone to Penny Town to bring in the Commanding officers of the Respective Regiments to Take their Command and we flatter ourselves that This Day will Terminate the affair. They have not as yet Dissolved their Board of Serjeants Though it is probable they will do it upon the arival of their Officers.²

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem

Your Excell'ys most obedient Servant

JNO. SULLIVAN

599. THE SECRETARY OF CONGRESS (CHARLES THOMSON) TO RICHARD PETERS.¹

Sir,

Baron d'Arendt preferred a memorial to Congress, desiring to have an act passed approving the reasons of his absenting himself over the time allowed by his furlough. This was referred to the board of War. He now complains that the board has not reported on that matter and he desires to know whether Congress will continue him in service and employ him in negotiating between the United States and the court of Prussia or in the line of the Army or in both. As to the matter of negotiat'g the Baron having no letters of credence nor other documents to prove that he is authorized to act in behalf of his court I believe Congress will not deign to take any notice of his pretentions. As to his staying over his time and being employed in the Army they expect a report from your board. He claims to be paid for the time he was absent in silver or bills of exchange. You can easily judge whether the situation of our affairs and the justice due to the officers who have been exposing their lives in the service while he was absent will admit of a compliance with this demand.² . . .

Jany. 11, 1781.

[598]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 152, vol. IX., f. 469.

² See nos. 596, 597, *ante*, and nos. 601, 602, 605, 614, *post*.

[599]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Wayne Papers.

² Cf. no. 568, *ante*. Baron d'Arendt's memorial was read in Congress Dec. 5, 1780 (*cf.* Vergennes to Franklin May 11, 1780, and Franklin to Congress May 22, in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, III. 671, 697). There was a report Jan. 5, by the commercial committee, on another memorial, but it was not until Feb. 13 that the board of war brought in its report. Meanwhile other letters from the Baron had been laid before Congress (see the *Journals*, Jan. 10, 20, Feb. 5, 13). His problem had in fact several phases and it labored for a good many months. See, further, the *Journals*, Feb. 21, 27, Apr. 26, May 11, June 1, 26, July 7, 11, Sept. 11, 21, 28, 1781, Feb. 11, 18, 1782.

600. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS (JOHN HANCOCK).¹

PHILADELPHIA January 12, 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency will be informed by the enclosed Copy of the 26th Ultio. that Congress request the Assistance of the Executive of Massachusetts if necessary, in manning, and fitting for Sea the *Alliance*, without Loss of Time. It was supposed the Board of Admiralty had forwarded a Copy of the enclosed soon after the Date, which I find probably not to be the Case

It is proper to acquaint your Excellency, (though it should not be made public at present) that Col. John Laurens is going to France in the *Alliance*, and his Mission is of such Importance and requires such Despatch, that the Frigate ought to sail for that Purpose as soon as possible

I have taken the Liberty to trouble your Excellency with the enclosed Packet addressed to Mr. Laurens. It is expected he will be in Boston (*Via* Newport) by the Time, or soon after this reaches you²

601. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

TRENTON Jany. 13th, 1781.

Sir,

I have only time to Inform Your Exc'y by Colo. Smith that the British Spies have been Executed. The Commissioners are now Busy in adjusting the Claims and redressing the Grievances of the Pennsylvania Troops and we Trust That Every Danger of Defection is past.²

I have the honor to be Most respectfully

your Exc'ys most obedt. Servt.

By order of the Com'te

JNO. SULLIVAN C'mm

602. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE
(THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE).¹

TRENTON, January 13, 1780 [1781].

Sir,

The dispute with the Pennsylvania Line being happily terminated, I take the liberty of giving your Excellency a short account of the rise and progress of this unexpected and surprising revolt.

Many of the men were held by enlistments which expressed the time of service to be for three years or during the war. As the three years began to expire about the first of January they inquired of their officers whether they were to expect their discharges at the end of that period. The officers

[600]¹ Mass. Arch., CCIII. 206; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 208.

² See the *Journals*, Dec. 26, 1780; also no. 539, note 5, *ante*, and no. 610, *post*; also John Laurens's letters to Congress Feb. 4, 7, in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 249, 252.

[601]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² See nos. 596-598, *ante*, and nos. 602, 605, 614, *post*. "Colo. Smith" was presumably William Stephens Smith, aide to Washington.

[602]¹ Library of Congress, Force Trans., Sullivan.

in general supposed the term of enlistment was not to expire but with the war. This construction gave them much uneasiness which was increased by some arrearages of pay which they were to have received from the state not being furnished; and though the state had taken measures for paying these arrears unfortunately the intelligence had not reached them previous to the first of January. These were the real sources of the mutiny; for though there were some other grievances common to the American as well as other armies they have never mentioned these as having any weight in their proceedings. The two first affected a great part of the divisions, who used every art to induce others to support them in their intended revolt, which they were the more encouraged to attempt as they were sixty miles distant from the main army.

The affair was conducted with so much secrecy that the officers had not the most distant suspicion of it till the evening of the first of January, when hearing that the troops were in arms, they repaired to the parade and not supposing it was general exerted themselves to quell the mutiny. The soldiers showed no disposition to injure their officers, though some who were intoxicated with liquor discharged their muskets, killed one officer, and wounded three or four. Part of the divisions moved a few miles that evening and the remainder followed them. The next morning when the whole assumed a military order under the command of their sergeants and marched without offering the least insult to the inhabitants except in one instance, for which the culprit was immediately apprehended and delivered over to the court of civil power. The inhabitants say that on their march they never suffered the soldiers to enter their houses, even for water; nor was any article taken from them during their march. Upon their taking post at Princeton it began to be suspected that their intention was to join the enemy but they persevered in declaring their detestation of the British and their attachment to the cause of their country. They said they were only seeking a redress of grievances, which when obtained they would cheerfully return to their duty, and if the enemy appeared in the interim, they would fight them with desperation. This however was not fully credited until they seized and brought to Gen. Wayne who with Col. Butler and Stewart remained among them without command two British emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton with a written invitation promising them great rewards if they would march to South river about twenty miles distant from Princeton where he would cover them with a body of British troops. The spies were delivered over to General Wayne and after Governour Read's arrival, to him. But afterward at their request returned to them. The board of Sergeants who had assumed the command issued orders next morning, stating the facts and declaring that the Pennsylvania line despised a treachery and meanness like that of Benedict Arnold's—that their views were honourable and their attachment to the cause of their country unalienable and that they were only seeking redress of grievances from men of honour. When Governour Reed came to Princeton they received him with every mark of respect and esteem. They mentioned to him the ground of their complaints, which were principally the two first mentioned. He made them some proposals and com-

municated some from the Committee of Congress which were readily accepted. They were then requested to march to Trenton which they agreed to and delivered to the Committee of Congress the spies sent from [Sir] Henry Clinton who were tried by a board of officers, condemned and executed on the 11th instant. The committee of Congress have appointed Commissioners to determine respecting their enlistments, to discharge such as are entitled thereto and to give them the necessary certificates. This seems to be perfectly satisfactory to them and many of those discharged are now offering to reinlist upon having a furlough for a short time.

Thus sir has this surprising affair been brought to a happy issue. Perhaps history does not furnish an instance of so large a body of troops revolting from the command of their officers, marching in such exact order, without doing the least injury to individuals and remaining in this situation for such a length of time without division or confusion among themselves and then returning to their duty as soon as their reasonable demands were complied with.

This conduct ought to convince the British how much they mistake the disposition of the Americans at large when they assert that they would willingly join them if not overawed by their tyrannic rulers. Here was a large body composed as well of foreigners as natives, having no officer to command them and no force to prevent their joining the enemy for which they had repeated invitations; yet though they well knew they were liable to the severest punishment for their revolt, they disdained the British offers (with a firmness that would have done honour to the ancient Romans[]); and through the whole have shown the greatest respect to the Committee of Congress, to the Governour and members of the Council from the state of Pennsylvania and expressed the highest confidence in the justice of their civil rulers, and have not through the whole deviated from that order and regularity, which upon other occasions, must have done honour to military discipline.²

I have the honour to be with the most perfect esteem, your Excellency's most obedient servant.

JNO. SULLIVAN.

603. JAMES MADISON TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

[January 13, 1781.]

I enclose you an extract of a letter from General Washington of the 2d instant, giving a more precise account of the embarkation from New York on the 20th ulto. than has been before obtained. On the night of the 1st instant a mutinous spirit which had been for some time working in the Pennsylvania Line of the Army broke out with such violence that the utmost efforts of the Officers were insufficient to suppress it. Two of them unhappily fell victims to the fury of the Mutineers, after completely shaking of[f] all military authority they proceeded in an entire body and

² See nos. 576, 578-584, 589-591, 596-598, 601, *ante*, 605, 614, *post*. Cf. the report of the committee, in the *Journals*, Jan. 24.

[603]¹ Henkels, *Catalogue*, no. 988, item 699.

in regular order to Princeton with an intention as they gave out to come on to this city and with a determination neither to lay down their arms nor return to their obedience until their grievance should be redressed. These consisted principally in the detention of many in service beyond the term of enlistment, and the sufferings of all from deficient supplies of cloathing and provisions, and the long arrearage of pay, contrary to their first plan they declined coming to this place and established their encampment at Princeton, where they entered into negotiations with Genl. Wayne, Lt. Cols. Stuart and Butler (the only officers they suffered to remain among them and whom they kept under close confinement, although in every other respect they treated them with the utmost decorum) on the subject of redress. The nature of some of their demands and the manner of their proceeding gave at length a very serious countenance to the affairs, and as the proximity of Princeton to a place of junction with the Enemy was surmised to be the probable motive of their stopping at that place, as it was confidently alleged that the Enemy were coming out in force to avail themselves of the event, and as many of the troops were foreigners and not a few deserters from the British Army it was thought best to appoint a Committee with full powers to take the necessary steps for quieting the disturbance as speedily as possible. In consequence of the appointment the Committee judged it advisable to proceed immediately to meet the Troops. The President of the State with several other Gentlemen from this place had set out for the same purpose a little time before then. The information since received both from the former and the latter is, that the President had met with a confidential reception from the troops, that they had given up to him and Genl. Wayne, an emissary and guide from Clinton with a flattering invitation to them to take sanctuary from their miseries and the resentment of those who had usurped the public authority, under the British Government, that they had been prevailed on to come forward as far as Trenton where an accommodation on principles of equity was pretty far advanced and in a sure train of being soon completed, and that the emissary and guide were under sentence of death, and would be executed yesterday morning.²

604. JAMES LOVELL TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.¹

Jan. 15, 1781.

Dear Sir,

I take it for granted that Rivington's Publication of my Letter to you, with some explanitory notes of some virulent Refugee, will make not a little Talk. I feel no anxieties about the Consequences but I have a Curiosity to know the Operations generated by it in your Quarter.²

You can have little Idea of what we suffer here from Want of Money: it is immensely more than what you knew sometimes from the Sluggishness of the Press-Handle when it worked only at single Tides.

² See nos. 589-593, 596-598, 601, 602, *ante*, 605, 614, *post*.

[604]¹ Furnished by courtesy of Professor S. E. Morison, of Harvard University. The letter is addressed: "Honble Elbridge Gerry Esq: Boston By Mr. Braylesford."

² The reference is to his letter of Nov. 20 (no. 518, *ante*). See also no. 634, *post*.

You will be fully alarmed by the Letter of Genl. Washington to the Governor of Mass: Heaven prosper you on your Committee of Ways and Means.

To say nothing of the Hardship of 3 attending to *give a Voice* when only 3 attend on the *Duties of the Delegation*, the Vote of the State hangs on the Health of the Labourers too much. Mr. A—— is too unwell today to be abroad: and be assured that the Health of all of us is precarious indeed, if quiet minds are essential to the Soundness of our Constitutions.³

I wish to hear as often from you as possible and I promise a Return alike conditionally.

Yrs.

J L

605. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

TRENTON Jany. 15th 1781.

S'r,

We have hitherto given Your Excellency Intelligence from time to time of the state of things respecting the Pennsylvania line, and have now the pleasure to Inform you, that the terms agreed on by the Committe from the Executive Council of Pennsylvania with them are now carrying into Execution, in as peaceable and Quiet a manner as could possibly be expected. two Regts have been already settled with. with regard to their terms of Enlistments and for want of their Enlistments and attestations being produced a great proportion of them have had Certificates to be discharged. They on their part have delivered up the spies sent from S'r Harry Clinton, who have been both Executed, by the Sentence of a Board of officers composed of Genls. Wayne, Irwin, Cols. Butler, Stewart and Majr. Fishbourne

We Inclose Yr. Excellency a Copy of the terms which are the Grounds on which their Claims are to be adjusted, and we have remain'd here to Interpose the Authority or Judgment of Congress in case of necessity shd it have been found necessary in the Course of adjusting them, but have hitherto kept that Influence as much as possible in reserve altho by being on the spot we have shewn that it is the disposition of Congress to do them strict Justice. Their Board of Sergeants still Continue to sit and Issue orders, and absolutely refuse to give up their authority to their officers. untill the whole matter is finally settled indeed there seems to be an insuperable breach between the Men and their officers, and a Total want of Confidence in them²

We are Yr. Excellency's Most obedt. Sevts.

by order of the Committee

JNO SULLIVAN

³ See no. 550, 573, *ante*, and no. 668, *post*.

[605]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² See nos. 581, 590, 597, 601, *ante*.

606. SAMUEL ADAMS TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.¹

PHILADA. Jany. 15th 1781.

My dear Sir,

Your second Letter came to hand in due Season. My much Esteemed Friend Mr. Arthur Lee will take the Charge of this. I will say to you as I have said to my Boston Friends, who are solicitous to know what Treatment he meets with here, The more I have conversed with him, the more I have been confirmd in a good opinion of him, and lamented the Mistakes and Prejudices of some Men and the Wickedness of others. His Enemies, I think, dare not openly attack his Reputation or Conduct. But the Whispers of Envy and Malice, have sometimes Influence enough to prevent the Justice due to the virtuous Citizen. When this is the Case, it affords a Symptom of the Decay of publick Spirit, more threatning to the Liberties of a Common Wealth than Hosts of foreign Enemies. Monarchs have their Favorites who serve as Pimps on their honest Subjects. But Republicks should examine the Conduct of their Servants with an impartial Eye; and it discovers the Want of publick Virtue, as much, to withhold their Smiles from the wise and good as to bestow them on the wicked and unfaithful. Mr. Lee has as yet had neither Smiles nor Frowns. I am still in hopes, he will meet with the Rewards which I am sure he would have received if he had returnd a few years ago. He will have them, when the Trustees of the Publick shall have Fortitude enough, to be uninfluenced by great Names and Characters given to Men of base and depraved Minds. You will ask, when that will be. Perhaps not in this Age. But the Historian will in some future time draw forth the Proofs of his Patriotism, and unprejudiced Posterity will acknowledge that Arthur Lee has borne a great Share in defending and establishing the Liberties of America I say Posterity; for I believe that a wiser Generation will enjoy the Fruits of the Toil of Patriots and Heroes in the present Day.²

. . . .

607. WILLIAM FLOYD TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 16th, 1781.

Dear Sir,

I have no Doubt but that you have had an account of the Mutiny which has lately happened in the Pennsylvania line. We were at first under great apprehensions that their Designs were to go over and Joyn the Enemy, and that they had given other Reasons as austensible merely to cover their Real Design. But they have given Convinced proofs that their only aime was a Redress of grievances; for General Clinton from New York sent out two persons among them while they were at Princetown, with proposals and Invitation to come over to him; the terms which he offered were very plausible, and generous, and was sufficient to try the virtue of

[606]¹ *Writings* (ed. Cushing), IV. 239.² Arthur Lee's accounts had recently been before Congress for adjustment. See the *Journals*, Oct. 19, 30, Nov. 6, Dec. 2, 11, 15, 28, 1780, Jan. 2, 3, 8, 16, 1781.[607]¹ *Clinton Papers*, VI. 378.

Troops who had suffered much less than ours. But after Reading them to the line at large, they Rejected them with indignation, Siezed the Spies who brought them, and Delivered them over to General Wane to be Dealt with as should be proper, and who last week had an Enquiry on them and Executed them. I have not learned their names; the one we understand was a Sergeant in the New Levies. Congress sent a Committee with President Reed to hear their Complaints, and to Redress their Real grievances which I am happy to inform you they have Effectuated to the Satisfaction of the Soldiers who have Rec'd their officers and Returned to their duty.

By what I can understand the principle Reason that gave Rise to the mutiny was that many of the Soldiers of that line, who were Inlisted for three years or during the war, were detained in Service after they had served three years, which they Considered as unjust, not doubting but that they ought to be discharged at the end of either period which should first happen. The Exact terms upon [which] they have settled the matter I am not able to give you but one of them is that all those who were held under the above Circumstance are now discharged. But I understand that this State has Collected a sum of hard money which the president has on the spot, and that for a small Bounty in Specie many of them have Re-inlisted.²

Congress are Endeavouring to devise some mode to pay for the flour seized by virtue of your Excellency's warrant for that purpose to our state agent, and communicated to Congress by General Washington. However desirous they may be to make Compensation for the provisions thus obtained, yet they are put to difficulties to know from whence the money can be obtained for that purpose.³

By a Circular Letter from Congress which you will Receive about the time you'll receive this, your Excellency will discover the Embarrassed Circumstances of America, and it is to be hoped that the delinquent States when they see the danger which awaits them, and the Continent in general, by Reason of their neglect or inattention, that they will be Induced to Exertions beyond what they have yet made.⁴

Congress are fully sensible of the Exertions of the State of New York in this Contest, but as that Letter is Circular, it is proper that our State should receive one.

608. THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

Sir, PHILADELPHIA, 16 Jan'y, 1781.

Your Excellency will receive a circular letter from the President of Congress, the principal object of which is to obtain pay for the army. In

² See nos. 576, 577-585, 587, 589-593, 596-598, 601-603, 605, *ante*, and nos. 609, 610, 614, *post*.

³ The matter came before Congress Dec. 29, 1780, through a letter from Washington dated Dec. 22, enclosing an extract of a letter from Governor Clinton of Dec. 15.

⁴ The circular letter is in the *Journals*, under Jan. 15. Copies of it exist in a number of repositories.

[608]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 187 (signed by Wolcott and Root).

it also the States are requested to furnish provisions according to the former resolutions of Congress.² The disappointment of pay, together with the deficiency of the supplies of provision and cloathing, accompanied with some other unhappy circumstances, has produced such discontent in the Pennsylvania line as has finally occasioned a considerable number of them to be discharged from the service. Such an unhappy event, it is hoped, will not take place with regard to any other line, but we certainly ought as speedily as possible to remove every cause which has produced it. The provisions for the army are expected to be derived from the several States according to former requisitions. The reason why the cloathing has not been recd. which was to have been sent from France is not yet fully known, in all probability there must have been some great neglect in those charged with the shipping of it. But it is said that it may be soon expected. The pay of the army was expected to be made by the new bills, and which are now most urgently called for. But shall these bills seasonably issue and obtain all the credit expected from them they will probably be found very insufficient to defray the expences of the next campaign, including the large sums now due in arrears, even should the usual mode of taxation be augmented as farr as can be reasonably expected. In this view an application will be renewed for a foreign loan. But the success of this measure to us appears too precarious to be relied upon, and indeed the utility of the measure we apprehend may very justly be doubted, when we consider the vast resources of this country, which might be drawn forth adequate to our wants (except cloathing and military stores which we can obtain from abroad) in case our revenue was but proportionably increased. Wheither this cannot be effected we conceive demands the most serious attention, and likewise to consider wheither some funds for the use of the United States as such cannot be established. The last year has given us the most distressing experience that there are many national expences, which the States individually cannot discharge, nor, by reason of the uncertainty and deficiency of the sums paid into the Continental chest by the usual modes of taxation, can any confidence be placed upon their being paid. The existence of a power (if it can be called such) constituted for national purposes, especially for directing the affairs of a war, not possessing any constitutional authority to command the smallest portion of property, is scarcely conceivable. We apprehend that over and above such taxes as shall be collected from particular States, for general uses, grounded upon regular estimates, and which taxes granted for such purposes ought to be regularly paid and strictly appropriated, that there ought also to be a power vested in such as superintend national affairs to raise a revenue from such property as cannot with convenience nor advantage be subject to the controul of any particular State, and thereby extend the publick credit by establishing a revenue purely national.

We cannot say but that sentiments of this kind may be tho't improper. But when we find ourselves charged in our political capacity with the violations of ingagements, and feel the loss of national credit, these sentiments appear to us just. What has been principally talked of and expected

² The circular letter is in the *Journals*, Jan. 15.

to obtain this end has been a cession to the United States of their unlocated territory, and that the States vest Congress with exclusive powers to regulate foreign commerce and to lay reasonable duties upon imports and exports. This is a measure not yet agreed to, and we cannot say what will be done in regard to it.³

Before we close this letter we cannot but express our grief that a people who generally possess the most ardent desires to establish their liberties upon the fullest conviction of their high importance, that a country abounding with men and supplies, yet from a defect in their constitution or councils or both of them, should not seem to have it in their power to call them forth with more advantage. And altho our past experience has proved to us that our exertions have been aided by the Almighty, and that our cause is supported by two of the belligerent powers of Europe, and countenanced we believe by all the rest, except our open and professed enemys, yet we seem to be in a condition as if we did not possess those advantages. This strange situation can hardly be otherwise accounted for than that the national principles from whence union and force are to be derived are not properly established, and it may with equal propriety be said that proper arrangements to ascertain and check the publick expenditures have not yet been made, and that there is a general defect in the establishment of the civil executive departments acting immediately under Congress. These objects are likewise in contemplation and may possibly be put upon a more advantageous footing.⁴

We have no intelligence to communicate to your Excellency but what you will find in the publick papers.

609. OLIVER WOLCOTT TO TAPPING REEVE.¹

PHILADELPHIA 16 Jan'y 1781.

Sir,

The unhappy Disturbance in the Pennsylvania Line is quieted. Many of them are Discharged, especially such as claimed to be dismissed as they had enlisted for three years or during the War. This Ambiguous Enlistment has been the Occasion of much Difficulty—besides this the State hired Men lately at the Incampment of the Line to enlist during the War by a Bounty of Nine pounds in Specie. Those circumstances, attending such as have been common to the other Lines, *Viz.* the Want of Pay and proper supplies, seems to have been the principal causes of the late Disturbance. The Line discovered their abhorrence of entering into the British Service by their rejecting very alluring offers and by their delivering up to be executed the Emissarys Sent out by the British Commander to seduce them from their allegiance.²

Every Principle of Justice as well as Prudence dictates the Necessity of paying the Army. And Congress have called again upon the States to enable them to effect it. To Pay and Provide for the Army ought certainly to be the primary Objects in every Deliberative Council.

³ See nos. 564, 572, *ante*, 617, note 2, 622, 625, note 3, 626, 628, 633, 636, 638, *post*.

⁴ See no. 621, note 2, *post*.

[609]¹ Boston Public Library, Chamberlain Coll., Ch. E, 9, 53.

² See no. 607, note 2, *ante*.

You will Perceive by the enclosed Paper that the Enemy have begun to Ravage Virginia. We have no very late News Southward of that State But what you will probably see in your own Papers. The general state of affairs in Carolina and Georgia seems to be that the enemy are exercising the greatest severity upon the Inhabitants, and that the People especially in the Northern parts of those States are taking every opportunity in which they are frequently successful to repel the Violence.

We have no very late Intelligence from Europe.

The New Money of the State is but just coming out, so that it cannot yet be said, what will be the Degree of Credit which it will obtain. But it will soon be in Circulation, wheather the Tender act of this State will accelerate the circulation cannot now be ascertained. . . .

610. JAMES MADISON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.¹

PHILADA., Jany. 16th, 1781.

Dear Sir,

. . . Congress have yet received no official report of the result of the conciliatory measures taken with the revolted soldiers at Trenton. From oral and circumstantial evidence there is no doubt that they have been successful. A discharge of a part from the service and a supply of cloathing and money to the rest is the price of their submission. This much, considered in itself was required by justice and is consequently consistent with dignity. But considered with respect to the circumstances attending the negotiation, there is but too much ground to suspect that it will be attributed to our fears, and is therefore not a little mortifying. Happily the example, as we understand by a letter from Genl. Washington recd. yesterday had not infected the other parts of the Army. As the same causes however which engendered this malignant humour in the Pennsylvania line are known to exist in the other lines, we cannot be sure that the same effects will not yet take place in the latter unless they be speedily removed. As one step towards it Congress are endeavoring to profit by the Alarm which this event must have excited in the States by calling upon them for the means of immediately furnishing some pay to the troops of their respective lines.²

You ask me what I think of the Delegate Extraordinary to Congress? I wish you had told me what you think of such an appointment. It is pretty certain I believe that people in general will not consider it as a proof of confidence in the ordinary Delegation. As Mr. Jones who I believe possesses the confidence of his Country and I am sure will have as much weight in Congress as any man that will be sent on such an occasion, will come about the same time, and having attended the Legislature will be as well informed in every point of view I cannot deny that the appointment appears to me to be, at least a supernumerary one. I wish the good effects of it may show that I am mistaken.³

[610]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers, Ac. 1081; *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 79; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 122.

² See nos. 605, 607, note 2, *ante*, and no. 614, *post*.

³ Concerning the special envoy to Congress see no. 540, *ante*, and nos. 647, 649, 652, 660, 661, *post*. Joseph Jones, in attendance upon the Virginia assembly at Rich-

The trade of this City has just suffered a very severe blow. No less than [than] seven fine Vessels have been taken out of an Outward bound fleet and carried into N. York.

[P. S.] The Emissary from Clinton and his guide were executed on Saturday morning last.

611. THE NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES TO JOHN LAURENS.¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 16th 1781.

Sir,

A particular knowledge of the state of the country which we have the honor to represent in Congress being so necessary for enabling you to give a just Idea of the situation of the affairs of the united states to his most christian Majesty and his Ministers, and your own attention having been so much engaged in the business of the field as probably to have prevented your attending to the acquiring of such knowledge, we presume our Ideas will not be entirely useless and therefore we offer them to you.²

Thus Sir, you see we are in a very ill condition to oppose an enemy who can convey their supplies up the rivers of South Carolina near to the scene of action, while ours are at a prodigious distance, widely scattered, capable of transportation only by land, and the means of that transportation extremely deficient.

From this view you will clearly perceive how important an object it is to attack the enemy on the Sea coast in such force as to oblige them to withdraw their troops from the interior country, and this under the auspices of a naval superiority. The scene of war would then be removed to a country where positions could be taken with advantage and supplies furnished in abundance through the navigable rivers, bays an[d] sounds of Virginia, North and South Carolina.

mond (though temporarily absent on the occasion to which he refers), wrote to Madison Jan. 2:

"It seems there was a ballot for a person to repair to Congress and the General, in consequence of the resolution I before mentioned to you, the day Braxton wrote, and the House having divided between the Speaker and R. H. Lee, the question could not be decided. As the Speaker being the person in question could not [vote] in his own case, after much debate and perplexity Lee withdrew his pretensions, so that Harrison stood elected. Braxton says the old fellow was so disgusted with the vote that he believed he would resign his appointment. Should that be the case I question whether any one undertakes the embassy, especially as it is in great part superseded by Col. Laurens' appointment. No doubt but the delegates in Congress by proper instructions could have done everything this agent can do, but as he is to attend the governor and our delegation thin, it was thought best to appoint some person not of the delegation, as he would necessarily be absent for some time on the visit to Head Quarters. I told Mr. Henry, the father of the proposition, I had no doubt but every proper measure was already taken and that I did not believe any good would result from it, further than might be expected from the state the Commonwealth could give of its ability to comply with the requisitions of Congress; that if more was laid upon her than she could bear some other course might in time be taken to supply what she would likely fall short, but this could be done by a representation of the matter by the Executive to the Delegates as well as in any other way." *Letters of Joseph Jones*, p. 65.

[611]¹ N. C. Hist. Comm., Samuel Johnston Papers, 1763-1803. The letter is signed by Burke, Sharpe, and Johnston, and is endorsed, "Copy of Letter from No. Carolina Delegates to Colo. Laurens at Boston from whence he is soon to set sail for France".

² The unfavorable agricultural conditions in North Carolina are set forth with some particularity. See nos. 562, 563, *ante*.

612. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

Sir, PHILADELPHIA January 18, 1781.

Your Excellency will receive enclosed a Resolve of Congress of the 17th Instant, requesting the Executive of the State of Maryland to liquidate the Account of Mr Baker Johnston for fifty two Pair of Leather Breeches which he purchased for Lt Colo. Lee's Partizan Corps on Account of the United States²

613. THE SECRETARY OF CONGRESS (CHARLES THOMSON) TO THE
SECRETARY OF THE MARYLAND COUNCIL
(THOMAS JOHNSON).¹

SECRETARY'S OFFICE OF CONGRESS

Sir, Jany. 20th, 1881.

Yesterday a letter under your signature, directed to the Secy of the Board of Admiralty was put into my hands requesting a supply of Commissions etc. for armed Vessels; from which it appears that you have not yet been made acquainted with the alteration which Congress by their act of the 27 July last have been pleased to make as to the mode of issuing such commissions in future.²

In a letter which I had the honor of writing to his Excellency the Governor of your State on the 28th July last I enclosed the act of Congress above mentioned together with 15 blank Commissions and informed him that it was the Intention of Congress that all commissions and instructions in force on the 2nd of May last should be cancelled as soon as possible and the new ones substituted in place thereof. I have not yet been favor'd with an answer to my letter and as you seem to be Ignorant of its contents take the liberty of Enclosing a copy thereof, also 40 blank commissions etc. for armed Vessels. You will please to return the bonds when executed; when more are wanted for your State they shall on the first notice be forwarded by—

Sir your humble servant

CHA THOMSON Secy

614. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

Dear Sir, PHILADELPHIA Jany. 21st, 1781.

I did myself the Honor of writing you from Trenton Last week respecting the Revolt of the Pensylvania Troops and I now take the Liberty of

[612]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, IX. 125.

² The resolve of Jan. 17 is recorded in the *Journals* as offered by the board of war, except that the words "fifty two Pair of Leather breeches" are erased, and the word "cloathing" substituted therefor. The copy of the resolve certified by Secretary Thomson, which accompanied the President's letter, has nevertheless the original wording.

[613]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VIII. 46; Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 49, f. 535.

² Johnson's letter, dated Jan. 10, is in Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VIII. 45.

[614]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, IX. 52; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XXXV. 169.

Inclosing you Copy of my Letter to the Minister of France which Contain a Narrative of the whole affair.² I sent This State of Facts to him Lest a Rumour of this Mutiny should reach Europe and make some unfavorable Impression respecting America. I knew he would Send a Copy of it immediately to France which would be published and prevent any ill Effects which might arise from false or Exaggerated Accounts. I submit to your Judgment whether altering the First Paragraph and Publishing it as a Letter from me to you will not answer a good purpose. I have no objection to my name being put to it if you think it will have more weight than an Anonymous Letter would be Likely to have. my wish is to have the Facts Stated as they really were and this Event will not appear of that alarming kind as at first was apprehended. I have been particular in Stating facts as they really were and so as Every person must allow them to be without any false Coloring. . . .

I wrote you in Several Letters for money. Congress have resolved that members shall not Draw from the General Treasury³ and I must Live by borrowing or do worse. I have Drawn Some money from the Continental Treasury but can Draw no more. I have used every oeconomy in my power and can Truly Say that I never Lived so Sparingly in my Life Yet I am ashamed of the nominal Expence. that you may form Some Judgment I will give you the price of wood which is by far the Cheapest Article I know; this Costs Six hundred and thirty Dollars per Cord. I am Convinced that three hard Dollars would in the year 1775 purchase more than a Thousand Continental Dollars will now do.

The Southern Post has this moment arrived but brings no further Intelligence from the Southward.

615. JOHN SULLIVAN TO JOHN WENDELL.¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 21 1781.

Dear Sir,

I am honored with your favor of the 26 Ultio. . . .

I have but Small hopes of Gaining any Compensation from Congress respecting the Losses you mention.

Capt. Simpsons affair Shall be particularly attended to.² I have the Same opinion as you have respecting the Confederation and am as much Surprized as you can be that the Defects you mention and a number of others were not Discovered previous to its passing. I wish it was Consistent with your Interest to become a member of Congress. . . .

² No. 602, *ante*.

³ See the *Journals*, Sept. 29, 1780.

[615]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc. (copy; original in possession of Mrs. Barrett Wendell).

² Oct. 17, 1780, a memorial of Captains Abraham Whipple, John Peck Rathburne, Samuel Tucker, and Thomas Simpson had been laid before Congress and referred to the board of admiralty, and on Feb. 9, 1781, another memorial from the same men was laid before Congress and referred to a special committee. No report on either memorial appears of record in the *Journals*. The question was one pertaining to their pay.

616. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL HOLTEN.¹

Jan. 23d, 1781.

Dear Sir,

You will have found, on seeing Mr. Gerry that I endeavor to economize. I told him that "mr. Dana had a Commission" for Russia, and I referred him to my "Scrawl to you" for other Points. Maryland confederates,² Virginia *seems* to give away *Something* for the good of the Union and recommends to others to do the like.³ I will aim to get the Act long enough to find Time to copy it, if Mr. Otis does not leave this City today. The Com'tee of April 10th, 80 on Depreciation for the Staff was filled up Jany. 5th, 81 and the Instructions to the Delegates of Mass: were referred.⁴ Money is exceedingly scarce here yet Exchange is from 100 to 115 old for Silver. Loaf Sugar 2 s 6 or 36 dollars pr. lb. I pay 200 for Stockings and the same for Shoes. Compulsion is urged as a congressional measure by Jersey and Pensylva. but I think we are become too wise. Things appear to Mr. J. Adams Oct. 24 to indicate a malignant Continuance of War on the Part of Britain.

I should have mentioned that Maryland has limited the Time beyond which she will not receive the old money. I wish I could purchase up all your new. It will most assuredly be high in Credit soon, tho' it seemed a little while ago as if the other States meant not to act in concert upon the Plan of the 18 of March.

We are determined it shall have its Chance of Success; We, mighty Men, totally dependent upon 13 Legislatures different in Views, for Support in our smallest Endeavors to carry on the War. Indeed, my dear Sir, we are in a Condition as to payment of our Debts that is most tormenting. All our Creditors *must* loan to us, and I suppose most of them would willingly do it if they saw their interest certain against the due Day. I wish you wd. tell me upon what Resolve it is that our Court have acted in Regard to advances to Allen the Indian Agent. I can only find Jany. 8 and May 13 1777 which my Colleagues say is not what they have supposed to be at all. I will continue my Search.⁵ Mr. Gerry had a memorand'm of the secret

[616]¹ *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XIII. 225.

² The Maryland act authorizing the delegates of the state to subscribe to the Articles of Confederation was passed by the House of Delegates Jan. 30 and by the Senate Feb. 2. While it was of course possible that news of the contemplated action of the Maryland assembly might have reached Congress a week in advance, it is probable that the date of this letter is wrong, since there is no other mention of the Maryland decision until the 29th. See nos. 622-629, 633, *post*. Lovell's remark concerning the Virginia cession suggests that he was writing on the 29th, not the 23d, for it was on the 29th that Jefferson's letter of Jan. 17 (*Official Letters*, II. 284) was read in Congress. The Maryland act was laid before Congress Feb. 12, when Daniel Carroll attended as a delegate from that state, but as the act required the signatures of two delegates for ratification it was not until the coming of John Hanson, Feb. 22, that this could be effected. On that day accordingly Congress set Thursday, Mar. 1, as the day for the completion of the Confederation (see also the *Journals*, Feb. 24).

³ See nos. 623, 629, *post*.

⁴ See Lovell to Holten, Mar. 23, in the next volume.

⁵ Lovell is alluding to a letter from the governor of Massachusetts Dec. 22, read in Congress Jan. 8. Action was taken on the letter Feb. 15. Concerning John Allan, Indian agent, see the *Journals*, Jan. 14, 15, Apr. 24, 29, May 6, 1777. Besides the resolutions mentioned by Lovell (Jan. 8 and May 13, 1777), *cf.* the *Journals*, May 21, 1778, Apr. 7, 1779.

Resolves of all the years. We have some *cold* Weather at last, but it is more *wholesome* than the past wet warm Season. I hope you have Health. I wish you that and every Happiness.

Affectionately J. L.

617. JAMES MADISON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.¹

PHILADA. Jany. 23d, 1781.²

Dear Sir,

I have nothing new this week for you but two *reports*: the first is that very great discontents prevail in N. York among the German Troops for causes pretty similar to those which produced the eruption in the Pennsylvania line. It is further said on this head that a party of 200 have deserted from Long Island and gone to Rhode Island. The other report is that the British Minister either has or proposes to carry a bill into Parliam't authorising the Commanding officer in America to permit and promote a trade with us in British Goods of every kind except Linens and Woolens. This change of system is said to be the advice of some notable refugees, with a view to revive an intercourse as far as possible between the two Countries, and particularly to check the habit that is taking place in the consumption of French Manufactures. Whatever their public views may be it is certain that such a plan would open fine prospects to them in a private view.

We have recd. no fresh or certain information of the designs of F. and Spain in assembling so great a force at Cadiz. There does not appear to be any object in that Quarter except Gibraltar. Should the attempts be renewed agst. that place, it will prove that the former has not that absolute sway in the Cabinet of the latter which has been generally imagined. Nothing could have prevailed on the French to recall their fleet from the Islands at the time they did but the necessity of humouring Spain on the subject of her hobby horse. . . .

[617] ¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 125.

² Following are extracts from a letter of Ezekiel Cornell, recently a delegate from Rhode Island, but since Dec. 20, 1780, on the board of war as an outside member (see no. 566, *ante*). The letter, dated at Philadelphia, Jan. 23 (copied from the original, then in possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia), is addressed to Gen. Nathanael Greene:

"*Dear S'r*, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 29th. From the present appearances I think it is probable Dr. McHenry will soon be promoted in the Army, if not (as I am out of Congress) General Sullivan hath undertaken to get his affair accomplished agreeable to your wishes. . . .

"I am now one of the Commissioners of the Board of War, but do not expect to remain there long. Congress is about to put the Boards on a new footing, each Branch to be conducted by a minister who are to be great men. the publick expectations are raised high on the Occasion, I hope they may not be disappointed. Whither Congress can vest them with powers sufficient is a doubt with me.

"It appears to me the time is not far distant when a New mode of carrying on the War must be adopted, the present one is too expensive unless we had some more regular and effectual mode of raising money for publick use. . . .

"Congress are deeply engaged in Finance, Among which Imposts on Imported articles comes under consideration. It is proposed to lay a duty of four pr. Cent. how it will suit the genius of the several states I will not under take to say. I will say no more only add one sentiment of my Own which is that the united states as a publick Body are as poor as Job. But their Inhabitants are rich, more so then when the war commenced. While that is the case it is impossible they can be conquered."

618. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA January 24, 1781.

Sir,

I have been honored with your Letter of 15th Instant And am directed to acquaint your Excellency that the Line of Conduct you thought proper to adopt on receiving Intelligence of the late Disorders of the non Commissioned Officers and Privates in the Pennsylvania Line, and the Reasons you have assigned for remaining with the Army stationed at and near West Point, meet with the entire Approbation of Congress

Your Excellency's Sentiments relative to the Subject of removing the french Troops are such as might be expected from the Nature and Circumstances of the Case and seem to have given universal Satisfaction.²

619. THE BOARD OF WAR TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.¹

WAR OFFICE Jany. 25th, 1781.

Sir,

The board have been honored with a reference from Congress of the Memorial of the Officers of the five Companies of the German Reg't belonging to Pennsylvania, upon which they are directed to take order for causing three months pay to be paid to each of the Memorialists.

They would beg leave to inform Congress that there are now in Phil'a a great number of the discharged soldiers from the Pennsylvania Line, who have rec'd but one month's pay, and who are so clamorous for more, that great part of the time of the board is employed in quieting their complaints—the Office is scarcely ever clear of them, and yesterday, twenty or thirty Men of the German Reg't invested the doors in rather an hostile manner, and could not be satisfied, 'till they were assured that their Officers were in no better situation with respect to pay than themselves; indeed the board have more than once experienced the force of this Argument.

Under these circumstances the board are apprehensive that paying the Memorialists will be productive of greater clamour, and more riotous conduct in the soldiery, than they have yet exhibited in the City, and they have therefore ventured to suspend a compliance with the order of yesterday 'till they are informed of the sentiments of Congress, after this representation.²

[618]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 223.

² Washington's letter of Jan. 15 was read in Congress Jan. 23, but no action on it is recorded. The letter is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 110, (ed. Sparks), VII. 374.

[619]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 148, vol. I., f. 295 (signed by "Ben Stoddert, Secy.").

² Orders, countermands, resolves, and repeals in the case of the German regiment followed close upon the heels of one another. See the *Journals*, Jan. 13, 16, 20, 24, 25. The resolve of Jan. 25, approving the board's suspension of compliance with the order of Jan. 24, was transmitted by Richard Peters to General Irvine, Jan. 26, with the following note:

"I send for your private Information Copy of the Resolve just received relative to the Matter I spoke to you about." Hist. Soc. of Pa., Irvine Papers.

620. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE STATES FROM PENNSYLVANIA TO NEW HAMPSHIRE.¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 27, 1781.

Sir,

Enclosed is a Copy of a Letter from Colonel Blaine, Commissary General, which I am directed to transmit to the several States from Pennsylvania to the Eastward.²

By this you will be informed of the critical Situation of the Army respecting Provisions and other Supplies.

Congress have no other Means on which to place their Dependance at present to supply the Army but a Compliance on the Part of the States in furnishing their respective Quotas agreeable to former Requisitions for that Purpose.

It is therefore most earnestly requested that they use every possible Exertion in procuring the Provisions and Supplies requested of them respectively.

621. JESSE ROOT TO WILLIAM WILLIAMS.¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 29th 1781.

D'r Sir,

I refer you to my letter to his Excellency for Sundry matters which I shall not repeat in yours.

Congress have agreed to appoint a Minister of foreign affairs, a Minister of finance, and there is a report upon the table for appointing a minister of War, and a minister of the Marine. the two latter are to Supersede the board of war and of admiralty as the minister of finance is the board of Treasury.² the new Continental money makes its entrance into the

[620]¹ Mass. Arch., CCIII. 218; N. J. State Lib.; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 224 ("To the supreme Executives from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire inclusive"); *Clinton Papers*, VI. 598; *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 719.

² Blaine's letter, dated Jan. 19, is in *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 705. See the *Journals*, Jan. 27; cf. *ibid.*, Jan. 20.

[621]¹ Conn. Hist. Soc., William Williams Papers.

² See no. 514, note 3, *ante*, the *Journals*, Jan. 6, 10, 13, 17, 18, Feb. 6, 7, and nos. 623, 625, 627, 630, 637, 639, 642, *post*. A committee to report upon a proper arrangement of the department of foreign affairs had been appointed May 15, 1780, and had made a report June 12, but it was not until Dec. 15 that consideration of the report finds record in the *Journals*. See nos. 514, 552, *ante*. The resolution to create a department of foreign affairs, with a secretary for foreign affairs at the head of it, was adopted Jan. 10, but it was not until Aug. 10 that a secretary, Robert R. Livingston, was chosen. Livingston's acceptance, dated Sept. 17, was read in Congress Oct. 1. See also the *Journals*, Jan. 17, Feb. 9, June 13, 1781.

If Root is correct in his statement that Congress had at this time resolved to appoint a minister of finance, such a resolution was not given record in the *Journals*. The resolution creating the office of superintendent of finance, as well as those of secretary at war and secretary of marine, was adopted Feb. 7 (see also the *Journals*, Feb. 6) and the salaries fixed Feb. 9 (altered Oct. 1 following). Feb. 20 Robert Morris was chosen superintendent of finance, and, after much discussion in Congress over the conditions upon which he insisted, accepted May 14 (see the *Journals*, Mar. 14, 15, 20, 21, 29, 31, Apr. 20, 21, 27, May 14, and nos. 623, 661, *post*).

Feb. 27 Alexander McDougall was elected secretary of marine. He did not however accept, for the reason that Congress declined to agree to certain conditions which he stipulated with regard to retaining his rank in the army (see the *Journals*, Mar. 12, 29, 30; also the letter of the Virginia delegates, Apr. 17, in the next volume). An effort was made July 6 to set a date for the election of a secretary of marine, but failed. It was then proposed (July 18) to appoint an agent of marine, and on Aug. 29 that office

world under many disadvantages. Massachusetts has Issued theirs 1 for 40, Pennsylvania and Jersey have Issued theirs 1 for 75. the other day an application was made to Congress to exchange with the loan officer the money of other States for that of Pennsylvania as the money of other States would not pass in Pennsylvania—a Resolve passed accordingly. in less than 24 hours we were alarmed that all the money of massachusetts would be bro't in for Exchange Soon if the resolve was Continued, upon which it was rescinded as hastily as it passed.³ in short we know not what to do. the new money of the different States is neither equal to Silver nor to itself. Maryland has opened an Exchange at the treasury and offers one dollar of the new for 40 of the old but the people will not exchange at that rate. Newyork have represented to Congress that they have not the old Continental in their State to answer their quota, that the Commissary and Quarter Masters Certificates to a very large amount are in the hands of their people which must be taken in taxes, that although there are quantities of flour etc. in their State to Spare there is not money to purchase it.

is not this a wonderfull paradox—that there is in the States, for its so in this State, Such a plenty of money that it is worth nothing—at the same time a vast plenty of provisions and goods and yet no money to purchase them—and the people Complaining they Cant pay their rates. these things Cannot Stand together, too much money Certainly there is here in Circulation, and thats the source of the mischeff. Call that into the Treasury, and enable the public to pay their debts and the people Can then pay their rates. besides it would force people to bring what they had to market to get money to pay their taxes—in short it would make the money valuable and the prices reasonable and of Consequence more plenty for the plentifulness of money does not depend on the nominal amount in Circulation but on the real amount in value and the proportion it bears to other things. pardon this hasty Scroll and accept my respectfull Compliments to you and your lady and believe me to be, with much respect

Your most obedt. humble Servt.

JESSE ROOT

622. JESSE ROOT TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 29th, 1781.

Please your Excellency,

Virginia has ceded to the United States a large territory of country lying northwest of the Ohio, extracts of which I enclose to you. Mary-

was created. On Sept. 7, however, the duties of the agent of marine were vested in the superintendent of finance, chiefly because of the diminution of marine business.

Feb. 28 the election of a secretary at war was postponed until Oct. 1, but, while action was taken respecting the office on the day set, there was no election of a secretary until Oct. 30, when the choice fell upon Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. Nov. 26 Lincoln signified his acceptance.

The subject is treated at large by J. C. Guggenheimer, "The Development of the Executive Departments", in J. F. Jameson, *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States*.

³ See the erased resolve in the *Journals*, Jan. 22.

[622]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 190.

land, we are very credibly informed, has acceded to the confederation, tho no official accounts have yet arrived.²

every day's experience convinces us of the miseries that flow from want of system in government, of proper arrangement in our finances, and in almost every department, and of that ruinous policy which influenced Congress to divide out to the different States the prosecution of the war. The new money, so far as it is issued, has been issued by the States at different values. Some at 1 for 40, by others equal to silver, and passes under all the disadvantages of State emissions, one State refusing to take the bills of another, and the bills of Pennsylvania which were issued equal to silver, and have a tendry law to support them armed with dreadfull punishments, suffer a discount of 25 pr. cent. I wish we may grow wise by the things we experience; natural laws uniformly produce the same effects and to follow where reason and nature points is the perfection of humane policy. The greatest difficulties we have to encounter arise from measures, from having governed too much in particular matters, more than from any other cause, for many particular regulations have certainly increased the difficulties they were designed to prevent. Sir, my ideas of this business differ from most people. I consider the aggregate wealth of the individuals as the wealth of the nation, and would give full scope to their wishes and exertions to acquire wealth in a lawfull way, cautiously guarding against any illicit trade with the enemy, and would fix certain modes of calling into public use so much money as they were able to pay and the public wants required; this would be the best way of establishing funds, and as the resources of our country would be almost inexhaustable under the smiles of heaven, if properly encouraged and cultivated in this way, I think we should soon become formidable not only to our enemies but to all the world. Congress are about to recommend to the States to lay duties to the amount of four pr. cent on all articles of foreign growth and manufacture imported into these States for the purpose of a revenue. Although I like the thing I dislike the mode. I think that Congress alone can regulate the trade and with success can lay duties on imports for the purpose of raising a revenue, and I think they ought to be invested with powers for this purpose, and the States might grant to them the avails for any limmitted term of time, or for a particular purpose, as they should judge proper.³ Your Excellency will pardon the free manner in which I write, as it is in confidence, and proceeds from an anxious mind,

² See no. 616, *ante*, and nos. 623-629, 633, *post*. For the interrelation of these two facts see H. B. Adams, *Maryland's Influence upon Land Cessions to the United States*, pp. 22-38. For an account of the proceedings in Maryland see E. S. Delaplaine, *Life of Thomas Johnson*, pp. 361 *et seq*.

³ See nos. 608, 617, note 2, *ante*, and nos. 626, 628, 633, 636, 638, 641, 642, *post*.

623. JOHN SULLIVAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA Jan'y 29, 1781.

Dear General,

. . . . I know it is a Trying time with the Americans in General but above all I Lament The Tryals you are compelled to go Through. But I am Convinced we Shall Soon be in better Circumstances. our Political Disorder has in my opinion Come to a Crisis and the next Campaign we Shall See the Republick rising into Action with new vigor we are now making Some Arrangements which Evidence the Recovery of our Reason. A Minister of Foreign Affairs, one of Finance, a Minister of War and of Marine are to be appointed.² Maryland has Acceded to the Association. Virginia has granted Congress all the Lands west of the Ohio³ our Plan of Finance is Nearly Through we mean to try for a Loan of Coined Specie and Plate from Individuals in which I Doubt not we Shall Succeed as we Mean to Convince them that they will be repaid in Specie by this Means we Intend Establishing a Bank to Support Paper for though paper Bills may well Enough Represent Silver and Gold That really does Exist yet when they are used as a Circulating Medium to represent Silver and Gold which does not Exist and probably never may this medium is but the Shadow of a Shade.⁴ If the Loan, can be obtained and Colo. Laurens Should be Successful in France I am Convinced we Shall be in a very respectable Situation next year and Even if he is unsuccessful, in a much better than we have been for years Past. I promise myself much from our Present and past Distresses. I find that Congress and assemblies begin to Rouse from their Slumber and Individuals are now alarmed for the Publick Safety who have for years past been Employed in amassing wealth. America has undoubtedly abundant Resources but we Seem to have had neither Efficient Powers or skill to call them forth. I wish Your Excellency would be so oblidging (when you have Liesure to favor me with another Letter) as to give me Yr. opinion with respect to Colo. Hamilton as a Financier.

Your Excellencys Letter with a Flying Seal was Delivered to the President and immediately read in Congress and I think you may rest assured that Every Exertion will be made to prevent Similar Disturbances.⁵ I am happy to find that amidst all the Disorders in the Pensylvania Line they gave Such undeniable Evidence of their attachment to the Cause of their Country even if it answered no other purpose but those of preventing unfavorable Impressions in Europe. I have the Honor to be very respectfully

Dear General Your Excellencys most obedient Servant

JNO. SULLIVAN

[623]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.² See no. 621, note 2, *ante*.³ See no. 616, note 2, *ante*.⁴ See nos. 625, note 3, 626, *post*; also the *Journals*, *passim* (index, "Finance"). Washington's reply to this letter, Feb. 4, is in *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 131, (ed. Sparks), VII. 399.⁵ Washington's letter of Jan. 23, read in Congress Jan. 29. See no. 625, note 4, *post*.

624. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Jany. 29th 1781.

Dear Sir,

I find that the State of Maryland has acceded to the association and when this comes officially to Congress New Hampshire can be no longer represented by one member. Virginia has given to Congress sixty million Acres of land on the west side of Ohio River.²

The plan of finance as also the determination of the affair of Mr. Delatour³ have been delayed for many reasons one of which was my being sent to quiet the disturbances in the Pensylvania line. I hope they both will be compleated in a short time.

625. JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 29th Jan'y, 1781.

Sir,

The State of Mary Land have acceded to the Confederation, reserving to herself a Common Right on the Wild Lands. Virginia have ceded to the United States all their Claims west of the Ohio, including nearly sixty millions of Acres.² These Events will doubtless soon introduce the Principles of the Confederation in their fullest Extent; should that be the Case no State can be represented in Congress by one Member only, wch. will make it expedient for the State of Rhode Island to find another Delegate, or reinvest Genl. Cornell with their authority to take a Seat.³ To prevent

[624]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, IX. 60.

² See no. 616, note 2, *ante*.

³ See nos. 539, 559, *ante*, no. 635, *post*, and the *Journals*, Feb. 5.

[625]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 21; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 325.

² See nos. 616, note 2, 622, *ante*.

³ See no. 617, note 2, *ante*. Cornell himself wrote to Governor Greene the same day:

"Congress have for some time past been busily employed in a Committee of the whole on the affairs of our Finance. The subject of duty on Imported Articles have hither to ingrosed their chiefest attention. It is reported they are generally agreed to recommend to the several states that they pass Laws laying a duty of four pr. ct. on Imported Articles some few Excepted.

"Reducing the Commissioners at the several Boards to a Single Member each is much talked of in Congress. I believe it will take place. I hope it will be for the better. they are to be great Ministers of State, and ought to be men of the first abilities in the Nation, as much is expected from them.

"Congress have resolved to appoint a Minister to reside near where Congress shall sit, to conduct their foreign affairs. he is to have a Salary of four thousand specie dollars per annum exclusive of Office rent etc. Robert R. Livingston and Arthur Lee are in nomination both have their admirers, but I am not certain either of them hath sufficient in Congress to be appointed.

"A Resolution hath passed the Assembly in Maryland by a Majority of thirty-three to seven, Impowering their delegates to Confederate. It had not passed the senate, but it is supposed it will without much difficulty.

"Virginia hath passed a Law Ceding all her teritorial claim beyond the Ohio to the thirteen states, Upon conditions the whole shall agree to and sign the Confederation, and allot the Ceded Lands into Governments of a Moderate size." R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 22; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 326.

Misfortune, I shall take the Liberty of inviting him to join me, should it become absolutely necessary, till the Orders of the State shall arrive. The differences in the Pennsylvania Line are settled. Another Mutiny has taken Place in the Jersey Line, but has been quelled. The particulars I am not fully ascertained of.⁴ . . . Congress is very incessant upon the most important Objects, wch. If fully adopted and firmly executed, I hope will re-establish public Credit and give Consistency and Vigor to our future Operations. . . .

626. JOHN MATHEWS TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY
(WILLIAM LIVINGSTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 29, 1781.

Sir,

Congress have been for the last ten days seriously and *industriously* engaged in ways and means for establishing a permanent fund on which they might be enabled to build a future credit. It seems past contracts is here a secondary consideration. Perhaps you may say a previous and equitable adjustment of this point would have been as substantial a foundation on which to build a credit as any that could have been devised. This problem I leave for wiser heads than mine to solve. However after the most mature consideration Congress have agreed to call on the states to grant to the United States a duty of four per cent, to commence on the first day of May next, on all foreign commodities imported into the states, to be estimated on the vendible price within the states respectively; also a like duty on the sale of all prize goods, and one eighth of a dollar per ton on all shipping from foreign ports, This impost to continue until the debts already contracted or that may be hereafter contracted by the United States, shall be finally discharged. Thus far we have proceeded, but alas! what does all this amount to? It is computed to produce about 6 or 700,000 dollars specie per annum, when the interest alone of the debt already contracted amounts to two millions of dollars annually. Thus you will see, Sir a great deal remains to be done.² . . .

In a letter lately received by Congress from Mr. Dumas (a private agent employed by them in Holland) he says, the British Minister at the

⁴ See no. 623, *ante*. Washington wrote Jan. 21 to General Sullivan "or to a Committee of Congress" and Jan. 23 to the President of Congress respecting the mutiny of the New Jersey line. The letter of Jan. 23 was read in Congress Jan. 29, the day on which Varnum's letter was written. See also Washington to Gen. Robert Howe Jan. 22, and a circular letter of the same date to the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York (*Writings*, ed. Sparks, VII. 380, 381). Letters from Colonels Shreeve (Jan. 20) and Dayton (Jan. 24) and General Howe (Jan. 27) concerning the episode, together with the general orders to the army Jan. 30, are *ibid.*, pp. 560-566. A letter from Washington to Congress Jan. 31 (read Feb. 5) announced the suppression of the revolt.

[626]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 49, vol. III., p. 216.

² Concerning the committee to arrange the finances, etc., appointed Nov. 7, see nos. 514, note 6, 623-625, *ante*. The report is in the *Journals*, Dec. 18, but with the exception of some discussion Dec. 22, it was not actively considered on the floor of Congress until Jan. 18. From that time until Feb. 3 it was under almost daily discussion (see the further action Feb. 7). The rate of duty, first recommended at four per cent., was afterward changed to five. See the report of the committee of the whole Jan. 1. See also nos. 529, 623-625, *ante*, and nos. 627, 628, 633, *post*.

court of Petersburg has offered on the part of his master to accede to the Northern Convention, provided the United Provinces were excluded. This has alarmed their High Mightinesses not a little, and I fancy will produce an immediate recession in their demands of a guarantee of their East Indie possessions.

Be pleased to make my compliments of [*sic*] Mrs Livingston, and the young ladies.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect and regard

Your Excellency's most obedient Servant

JNO. MATTHEWS.

P. S. Maryland has a[t] length agreed to confederate. This may be relied on.

627. JAMES DUANE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA 29th January, 1781.

My dear General,

I had the Honour of writing to you last by our Friend the Marquiss de lafayette intending before this to have followed it by some Information on the Subject of cloathing for the army. I have taken pains to investigate it fully and you have the best Right to the fruits of my Enquiry: It does not appear that there has been any Inattention in the Body of Congress to this essential Article: that there have been faults and probably frauds in the Execution of their orders is too Justly to be apprehended: but the principal disappointment is to be ascribed to a series of real misfortunes. I have not time to enter into a detail of Facts. If the publick business sho'd permit I still propose to undertake the Task; if not it shall be reserved for a personal Interview. It will not, I flatter myself, be long before I enjoy that Satisfaction. There are some political Regulations of great Importance which I have exceedingly at heart and which are now drawn near to a Conclusion. My Anxiety to see them finished delays my Journey which General McDougald's presence here renders practicable. The principal Measures to which I allude are the Establishment of Executives or Ministers in the departments of Finance, War, the Marine and foreign affairs, the accomplishment of the Confederation: the procuring to Congress an augmentation of power and permanent Revenues for carrying on the War.²

The day is at length arrived when dangers and distresses have opened the Eyes of the People and they perceive the Want of a common head to draw forth in some Just proportion the Resources of the several Branches of the federal Union. They perceive that the deliberate power exercised by States individually over the Acts of Congress must terminate in the common Ruin: and the Legislature, however reluctantly, must resign a portion of their Authority to the national Representative, or cease to be Legislatures.

[627]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution*, I. 283 (extracts).

² See no. 626, note 2, *ante*.

The sufferings and the discontents of the Army, in the mean time, gives us infinite disquiet. Would to God it was in our power to provide an instant and adequate Remedy! but this as your Excellency will observe by our late address must depend on the Exertions of the States. The Insurrection of the Pennsylvania line, however deeply to be regretted, was accompanied by Circumstances which afford some Consolation. The Enemy at New York on receiving the Information were elated beyond all bounds, and gave way to the most extravagant Expectations: but when they learned that the Spies were executed, they were sunk into dejection; and sullen silence succeeded their short lived Triumph! This Information we have by a young man who left that City a week ago. It was with singular pleasure that we observed your Excellency's Resolution to remain at West Point which entirely corresponded with the opinion and the wishes of Congress. The weighty reasons which inclined you to that determination were presupposed: but the hazarding your Authority among a Soldiery who had suffered real grievances, and were enflamed by Incendiaries, would alone have been decisive at least untill every other means had proved ineffectual.

You will be pleased to hear that our worthy friend Mr. Jones of Virginia has resumed his Seat in Congress. That State has relinquished for the common benefit all her Claim to the Westward of the Ohio; and Maryland has acceded to the Confederation: At least I have read the Act or Resolution of their House of Delegates to that purpose only seven Members being in the Negative; and Mr. Jones was assured from good Authority that the Senate had concurred.³ These are Events of infinite Importance and will put a new Face on our Affairs at Home but much more so abroad; They will refute the Misrepresentations of our Enemies, and convince our Friends of our perseverance and fixed Resolution to maintain our Liberties at every Hazard. The large Cessions of Territory for the use of the Federal Union which will be yielded by the respective States must with wise management lay a foundation for reestablishing publick Credit. This subject, as it ought, employs our unremitted Attention, and it is become practicable to introduce System and Oeconomy since the national debt and the Expenditures of the War can be viewed on a specie Scale. The fluctuation of our paper money beggared all calculation—defeated all Estimate. I have endeavoured to make myself Master of this intricate Business. We can now form a Judgement of what we owe, and what we want, and it is my opinion that if we can draw from the States a solid and permanent Fund which will produce 2,000,000 specie dollars annually to be appropriated to the payment of Interest on the debts we owe and ten millions of Dollars which we propose to borrow: If the States will contribute in equitable proportions their internal Resources; and there is Oeconomy in the Expenditures: We may hope with the aids granted by our Ally, and expected from Spain and Holland, to carry on the war more effectually: But before these measures can operate such is the emergency of our Affairs that on a punctual Compliance with the

³ See no. 616, note 2, *ante*, and nos. 628, 629, 633, *post*.

Requisitions from the States the very Existence of the Army depends; and we feel with the utmost Concern the distresses which their backwardness occasions.

But let us quit this painful Topic and devote this day to Joy and Congratulation since by the accomplishment of our federal Union we are become a Nation. In a political view it is of more real Importance than a Victory over all our Enemies. We shall not fail of taking advantage of the favorable Temper of the States and recommending for ratification such additional Articles as will give vigour and authority to Government.⁴

Be pleased to present my most respectful Compliments to Mrs. Washington and the Gentlemen of the Family; and to believe that your Glory and your Happiness are among the Objects nearest to my Heart; for I am with the warmest Affection Esteem and Attachment

My dear General

Your Excellency's most Obedient and most humble Servant

JAS. DUANE

P. S.

628. JOHN MATHEWS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 30th, 1781.

My dear sir,

As the intelligence received yesterday may not be conveyed to you through any other channel at this time; and being well assured it will afford you much satisfaction to be informed of it; I have therefore taken the liberty of communicating it to you. Tho the information does not come officially from the state, yet it comes in such a manner that it is to be depended on—That Maryland has at last agreed to Confederate. We have the resolves as they passed the lower house, which have since passed the upper house.² This is a most important circumstance and comes very seasonably to our relief; for C— have been disputing for a long time past, what powers were necessary to enable them to prosecute the business intrusted to them, and were at this moment, as far from agreeing about it, as when we began. I hope now we have some certain principles to act upon, we shall be steady and decisive. Tho' the powers of the confederation are very inadequate to a vigorous prosecution of the present war. yet

⁴ Cf. no. 669, *post*.

[628]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 218.

² The Maryland act is in the *Journals*, under Feb. 12. The date of its passage in the lower house appears there as Jan. 30, the concurrence by the senate as Feb. 2. Cf. no. 616 (note 2), *ante*, and nos. 629, 633, 639, *post*. In Henkels, *Catalogue*, no. 969, item 87, is the following extract from a letter of William Floyd to an undesignated correspondent:

"It is with great pleasure I can inform you that the State of Virginia has Ceded to Congress for the use of the United States all those Claims to that Tract of Country to the westward of the River Ohio, And that the Legislature of Maryland has Agreed to Ratifie the Confederation. this we Consider as a most Capitol Event in favour of this Country and have Every Reason to Expect that many Good Consequences will Result from it."

we must endeavour to make the most of them we can, and it is better to have some authority to regulate us, than, (as for some time past has been the case,) to have none.

Virginia has agreed to a cession of their back lands, with some reservations.³ This is also a very important matter, our present circumstances considered. I flatter myself it will give us some credit, which we stand much in need of, and may possibly give a spring to our affairs.

Congress have been *seriously* engaged for the last ten days in a committee of the whole, considering of ways and means for defraying the expenses of the present year. They have agreed to call upon the states for a duty of four per Ct. on all goods imported, the like duty on all prize goods, and one eighth of a dollar per ton on all foreign shipping. This it is computed will produce about 6 or 700,000 specie dollars. This is but a trifle when compared with our wants, but however we are going on.⁴

629. THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADA. Jany. 30th, 1781.

Sir,

We were honored yesterday with your Excellency's favor of the 15th inst: inclosing Mr. Anderson's explanation of his letter to Capt. Trott, and that of the 18th enclosing instructions as to the Mississippi requesting sundry military supplies, in promoting which no exertions shall be omitted on our part. Your Excellency's letter to Congress on the subject of the Convention Prisoners and the unequal apportionment of the general resources with respect to the two great Departments was also received yesterday and referred to a Committee.² The Resolutions of the General Assembly ceding the Territory N. West of the Ohio to the United States was laid before Congress at the same time. Although nothing has been yet done declaratory of their sense of them and although they are not precisely conformable to the recommendation of Congress on the subject, we flatter ourselves that the liberal Spirit which dictated them will be approved and that the public will not be disappointed of the advantages expected from the measure.³ We have pretty good though unau-

³ See no. 629, *post*.

⁴ See nos. 622-627, *ante*, and nos. 633, 638, 641, 642, *post*.

[629]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., Misc. (signed by Jones, Madison, and Bland); *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 475.

² Jefferson's letter respecting Mr. Anderson and Captain Trott (see no. 541, *ante*) is in *Official Letters*, II. 276; *Writings* (ed. Ford), II. 420. That to Congress respecting the Convention prisoners, also dated Jan. 15, is *ibid.*, p. 413 (see also *ibid.*, pp. 391, 415). It was read in Congress Jan. 29. That of the 18th, transmitting the instructions of the assembly with regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, as well as requesting sundry military supplies, is *ibid.*, p. 424. The letters are also in *Official Letters*, II. 276, 278, 285.

The Virginia instructions, which authorized the delegates to waive the right of navigation of the Mississippi in the event that the interests of the United States demanded it, were adopted in response to a letter from the delegates Dec. 13, 1780. See nos. 521, 522, 533, 543, 548, *ante*, and no. 661, *post*; also the *Journals*, Feb. 15 (the motion of the Virginia delegates, presented Feb. 1 and postponed), Mar. 24, May 28, Aug. 11.

³ See nos. 422, 430, 443, 477, 486, 519, 521, 616, 623, 624, 628, *ante*. The resolutions of the Virginia assembly Jan. 2, 1781, ceding the territory northwest of the river Ohio on condition that the states should have ratified the Confederation, were enclosed in a

thenticated information that Maryland has already acceded to the federal Union.⁴

Since the extinguishment of the Mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, some commotions founded on similar complaints have taken place in that of New Jersey. But we have the pleasure to inform you that the prudent and seasonable remedies applied have re-established order and discipline among the troops.

630. THOMAS BURKE TO WILLIAM BINGHAM.¹

PHILADA. January 30th 1781.

D'r Sir,

I shall not fail to make the Enquiries Necessary for enabling me to answer the Question you ask me relative to the Minister for foreign Affairs, nor to communicate the result to you as soon as my own mind shall be satisfied. As in my Judgement you are the most proper person I can think of for that department, you may rely on my best endeavours to impress on other Gentlemen Sentiments Similar to my own.² Your Conduct in the departments you have hitherto filled gives every reason for relying on you in future, and has proved your abilities to be equal to the most arduous and delicate affairs. If you are appointed to this new office I shall consider it an acquisition [*sic*] to the public Service and believe me, Sir, it will give me much pleasure, Since at the same time that the public will be well served my private feelings will be gratified.

I am with sincere regard and Esteem

your very obt. Servt.

THOS. BURKE

letter to the President of Congress Jan. 17 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 423; *Official Letters*, II. 284), read in Congress Jan. 29. The Virginia cession, together with similar acts of New York and Connecticut, were referred Jan. 31 to a committee, to whom were also referred (Mar. 12, May 25, June 26) some memorials of the land companies. The committee brought in a report June 26, and a day was set for its consideration, but there is no record of any action until July 24, when, upon the appearance of another memorial (from William Trent, representing the Indiana Land Company; see also the *Journals*, July 23), a date was again set for the consideration of the cession. Nevertheless the matter does not appear to have been taken up until Oct. 2. See, further, Bland's letter of Mar. 5, 1781, and that of the Virginia delegates, Oct. 9, in the next volume; also Richard Henry Lee to Samuel Adams, Feb. 5 (*Letters*, ed. Ballagh, II. 213).

⁴ Cf. nos. 616, 622-628, *ante*, 633, *post*.

[630]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

² See no. 621, note 2, *ante*. On Jan. 17 the election of a secretary for foreign affairs was set for Monday, Jan. 22, and Robert R. Livingston and Arthur Lee put in nomination for the office. The election did not however take place on the day appointed. Feb. 7 Richard Law was placed in nomination, and Feb. 9 the election was set for Monday, Feb. 12, but if the question was brought up at all the *Journals* make no mention of it. In a letter to Bingham a few days later (see no. 637, *post*) Burke explains why he was not nominated. See, further, nos. 636, note 2, 639, 661, *post*.

631. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL (TIMOTHY PICKERING).¹

PHILADA. February 2, 1781.

Sir,

You will receive enclosed, a Resolve of Congress of the 25th Ulto, by which you are directed to procure a sufficient Number of Horses to remount such of the Cavalry as are destitute of Horses, agreeable to Directions to be given by the Commander in Chief, for the next Campaign, and Colonel Armand's Legion is to be furnished with its Proportion out of the Number so procured.

This Resolve would have been forwarded at an earlier Day, but hath been delayed on Account of a Motion before Congress proposing an Alteration which finally did not take Effect.²

632. JAMES DUANE TO THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK AND THE SPEAKER OF THE ASSEMBLY.¹

PHILAD. 3d February 1781.

Honorable Gentlemen,

We are duly honoured with your dispatches by Barclay and they are now under Commitment. There is no difficulty of convincing Congress of the distresses of our State and if it is in their power you may depend upon Relief. The want of money is the only impediment but that is a want which presses us hard from every Quarter. The Committee have not yet made their Report tho' they have had several meetings; As soon as Congress come to a determination it shall be forwarded. In the mean time is it not possible to obtain an Account of the money due to our State on Commiss. and Quarter Master's Certificates? Our Exertions and Sufferings could in that Case be stated in detail: at present unable even to conjecture the Amount, we are under great and evident disadvantages. We shall soon have the Honour of discussing this Subject and of stating the publick Affairs more particularly waiting the Event of your Representation to Congress.² . . .

With all possible Respect and Attachment I have the Honour to be
Honorable Gentlemen

Your most Obedient and very humble Servant

JAS. DUANE

Honorable Piere Van Cortlandt Esqr. Lieut. Governour and
Honorable Evert Bancker Esqr. Speaker of the Assembly

[631]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 228.

² The resolve referred to was adopted Jan. 23, not 25 as here stated. On the same day Congress approved a proposition of Armand that he go to France for the purpose of procuring equipment for his legion, and a further letter from Armand Jan. 24 brought some phases of the matter again under consideration. This no doubt accounts for the delay and the consequent probability of an alteration as mentioned by President Huntington. See the *Journals*, Jan. 23, 24, 25, 30, Feb. 6.

[632]¹ N. Y. State Lib., Legislative Papers, no. 598.

² See the *Journals*, Jan. 29, Feb. 14, 28, Mar. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9; cf. no. 639. *post*. The letter from the lieutenant governor and speaker, dated Jan. 17, is in *Clinton Papers*, VI. 580.

633. THOMAS MCKEAN TO THE SPEAKER OF THE DELAWARE COUNCIL
(THOMAS COLLINS).¹

Sir,

The General Assembly of Maryland have at length acceded to the Confederation and Perpetual Union of the United States of America; and the Delegates of that State, which has been unrepresented in Congress for months, are expected here every day with ample powers to compleat this business. Virginia has ceded to the United States all their pretensions to the lands on the West side of the Ohio: Cessions of the like kind have been made by New-York and Connecticut, and are expected from other States.²

On this occasion a new Aera will commence, and it is now become necessary that Delaware should have *two* Delegates at least in Congress, otherwise after the arrival of the Maryland Delegates it will have no voice there; and there never was a period when a Representation was more essential to it³ from that time, by the 8th Article, all the expences of the war and for the general welfare are to be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of the improved, granted or surveyed lands within each, which value is to be estimated and fixed by the United States in Congress assembled. . . .

Congress have agreed to make a requisition of the several States to grant them a duty not exceeding five per Centum from the first of May next on all imports Prizes and Prize goods ad valorem at the time and place of Importation, which they are to levy and collect in such manner as by experience from time to time shall be found most beneficial, or tend least to the discouragement of trade.⁴ This resembles the poundage-duty in England, France, Spain, Holland etc. but will be vastly short of the like duties imposed in any of those Countries. Any additional duties on Imports, as well as all duties on exports must be referred to the respective States. The credit which Congress may derive from this Grant, having the exclusive collection and appropriation of it, and also from the Confederation being compleated, added to the lands ceded to them, it is to be hoped will in a great degree retrieve the character of and give new confidence and importance [to] the United States. You may expect to receive this requisition in form in a few days. This Letter, I know, will of course be communicated to the hono'ble House of Assembly; and therefore I shall not write a Duplicate to them.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb'y 3d 1781.

[633]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., McKean Papers, I. 41 (draft).

² See nos. 616, 622-629, *ante*, and nos. 636, note 2, 639, 642, 643, note 2, *post*.

³ Cf. no. 648, note 4, *post*. Van Dyke wrote McKean Feb. 14 that he did not expect to attend Congress before March (Hist. Soc. of Pa., McKean Papers, I. 43).

⁴ See the *Journals*, Feb. 3, 7, Mar. 16, 22; also nos. 626-628, *ante*, 636, 638, 641, 642, *post*.

634. JAMES LOVELL TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

PHILADA. Feb. 5th 1781.

Dear Sir,

Your Favor of Janry. 31st reached me this Morning. I shall see Col. Miles, and will deliver to him what Journals he has not already recd. for your own Use. I will also endeavour to fulfil yr. Wish in regard to Col. Hughes, remarking, however, that the weekly Publications of 1779 are broken to Peices by the Spirit of those Times, some Members sending away Dozens of one Week while they cared not what became of the next.

Particular Classes are marked out by Congress to the Secretary, to whom he is to transmit the Journals. I do not think he can thereby send them to yr. Deputies: but I will endeavor to accommodate the matter.

I am particularly touched where you say you found at Hd. Quarters that the General had been *not a little agitated* with the Paragraph of my Letter published by Rivington in which I speak of Genl. W. You add "*He mentioned Col. Lauren's Explanation of it as given by you, but, thought it seemed far-fetched*"²

[634]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., Pickering Papers, XVIII. 73.

² Cf. no. 586, *ante*. Lovell's intercepted letter, Nov. 20, 1780, is no. 518, *ante*. Following is Gerry's explanatory letter to Washington there referred to. The text has been courteously furnished by Hon. E. A. Armstrong of Newark, N. J. The letter, which is entirely in Gerry's writing, is endorsed, "Copy of a Letter to G Washington on Mr. Lovell's intercepted Letter Feby. 7 1781".

"Dear Sir,

"Having lately seen an intercepted Letter of the 20th of Novr. last, written by Mr Lovell, and published in Rivington's Gazette, I wish to be indulged in making a few observations on the Subject.

"When General Knox was here, he informed me, that the paragraph, of the Letter which respected a person's being "Popular", was supposed by some to refer to your Excellency: but the Date of the Letter from whence Mr Lovells quotation was made, being a few days after the general Election of the Commonwealth, must, I think convince every attentive Reader, that the paragraph related to a civil officer who was then elected. This will more fully appear to every person acquainted with the Circumstances of the Election itself, the popularity of the officer mentioned, and the preference I publicly gave to his Competitor. If however I could conceive, that your Excellency viewed the paragraph in the Light first mentioned, I would desire Mr Lovell, as I have not a Copy of the Letter, to send you the original: but should be exceedingly mortified to find, that any Transaction of mine had produced in your Excellency's Mind a Doubt of my Friendship towards you

"Mr Lovell promised in a former Letter, to send me a curious Motion made by a Gentleman lately from the Army, whom I then supposed to be G Sullivan; but no mention was made of the purport of the Motion, or that it respected your Excellency.

"The Paragraph in Mr Lovell's Letter subsequent to the Motion, is so enigmatical, that I have no Idea of his Intention, whether favorable or not. indeed, I have no Reason to suppose the latter from his former Conduct, which has ever appeared to me both friendly and respectful to your Excellency; but admitting that he has otherwise expressed himself in the intercepted Letter, surely the Direction of it to a person unacquainted with the Contents should not infer a Suspicion of his Want of Friendship to your Excellency. And here a question may arise, whether it is inconsistent with Friendship to receive a confidential Letter containing Strictures on the Conduct of a Friend? the person in this Case who receives the Letter is in a delicate Situation, for by rejecting the Letter, he loses one friend, and by receiving it may disaffect the other. is it not the most eligible Mode of Conduct, under such unfortunate Circumstances, to hear confidentially what one Friend has to say against another, and to endeavour to cure the Animosity by a candid Consideration and State of the Facts? I must confess this has

Can such a Temper as mine prevaricate? I am perhaps too little disposed to a near fetched Explanation where Offence is unjustly or lightly taken against Me.

I cannot give you the *Print*, but you will believe I give an honest Copy as herein inclosed.

Present my affectionate Compliments to your Family as your and their Friend

JAMES LOVELL

635. JOHN SULLIVAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(MESHECH WEARE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 5th 1781.

Dear Sir,

I am honored with your favor of the 20th of Jany. with Governor Wentworth's Commission Inclosed I find you Send it without requisition at which I am much Surprized as repeated requisitions ought to have reached you months Since for I wrote you repeatedly on the Subject but my Letters (it seems) did not Come to hand. I am rejoiced to hear that you have Chosen two other Delegates and beg you will notify them both to Come on as I wish to be relieved immediately.

You know with how much reluctance I accepted the office you Entrusted me with. I assigned many reasons; I had many more which I did not think proper to Communicate at that time.

I find your People have been amused by a Colo. Olcutt ² to whom I paid very Little attention when here as I found, by a Secret Channel, he was much in favor of New York; and you may rely on his being Deeply in their Interest; but this time will Discover. I find that I am or have been Charged in your House of assembly, with not getting a Decisive answer respecting Vermont; that I said I was Sorry to Differ in opinion from those who Instructed me; and that I had much rather it Should be a Separate State than not; and that I had taken a grant of Land from Vermont as a Bribe. to all these I reply with that Spirit which "injured innocence Inspires": that they are all False and malicious. I rejoice Sir that no part of my Publick Conduct can Cause a Guilty Blush to possess my Cheek, nor have I Ever wished to Conceal my Publick Sentiment as to getting a Decisive answer respecting Vermont. I Ever Endeavored to do it; but in

been my practice, and it has frequently afforded me an opportunity of restoring the Confidence of contending Parties. if nevertheless any person however friendly to me, was publicly to reflect on the Character of another Friend, I should think it my Duty as publicly to resent such Conduct.

"I have been thus explicit on the Subject, because I should be exceedingly unhappy to find, that the intercepted Letter had produced in your Excellencys Mind any unfavorable Sentiments respecting myself; but should this be the Case, I shall still continue to maintain that disinterested Friendship and Respect, and that affectionate Regard, which I have ever entertained for your Excellency

"I remain sir with every Sen[timen]t of Friendship and Esteem your most obed. and very hum ser

"ELBRIDGE GERRY"

[635]¹ N. H. Hist. Soc., Weare Papers, IX. 64; Library of Congress, Force Trans., N. H. Records, Council Corr., 1780-1781; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XXXV. 121 (part).

² Peter Olcott. See the *Journals*, Feb. 7, Aug. 2, Sept. 19.

the way pointed out in the Confederation *viz* by appointing Commissioners. New York urged Congress to Decide upon it themselves. The Least attention to the Confederation will Show you, whether I was right. I moved repeatedly for the Commissioners to be appointed but did not then prevail. in the Course of the Argmt I urged the inconvenience of Congress undertaking Such a Lengthy tryal, at a time when the army was Dissolving, the Enemy making rapid Conquests and the Independance of America tottering to its Base and Even when a Decision was given it could not be binding as it would be Contrary to the Confederation and not warranted by the Acts of New Hamps'r or N: York. Instead of Saying That I was Sorry to Differ from my Constituents, I Said that New Hampshire did not Expect Congress to Decide on it as a Body; and Even if they did I should Differ from them in Sentiment. You must remember Sir that the Committee of Safety Informed me that they did not expect any thing further would be Done This time than to appoint Commissioners; So that I did not Differ in Sentiment from them as to the mode of Tryal. with respect to Saying That I would rather it Should be a State than not: I Deny it Totally in words I often Said I had much rather it Should be a Seperate State than Joined to New York. I also when Conversing with People who were intimate with Mr. Allen and others who were in town threw out Sentiments to Show that New Hampshire did not wish to persecute the people of the Grants with that violence, that the People of New York had done. you cannot forget Sir that in Conversing upon the matter The Committee Instructed me to Conduct myself with Such address, as not to appear violent agt. the People of the Grants, that they might when they found themselves unable to obtain their Claim of being an Independ't State throw their weight in the Scale in favor of N Hamps'r and that if it could not be Secured to New Hampshire, to use my Influence for its being a Seperate State, in preference to its being annexed to New York. How Injurious then must it be to receive a Censure for Complying with the Verbal Instructions I received. As To my receiving a Grant of Land from Vermont as a Bribe: I am happy in the reflection that no bribe of any kind Ever was received by me upon any occasion. I never Spoke to a man who belonged to the Grant Except Olcutt and a man that was in Company with him, Since I Left New Hampshire nor did I Ever hear of any grant of Land being made to me by them, and I will venture to assert that there is not a man on Earth, villian Enough to Say that I had Ever the most Distant hint of Such a Thing Allen and others when here³ avoided coming near me, or Speaking to me, and I thinking I had no Business to intrude on their Delicacy or unnecessary Caution never Spoke a word to Either of them. I shall now follow the Instructions you Inclosed me, one part of them I See is agreeable to the Sentiments of Colo. Olcutt which he Borrowed from the Delegates of New York This has been urged by them with violence namely for Congress to Determine first whether it Shall be an Independent State. I am Surprized that no man in the assembly has Discovered the Design of this.

³ See the *Journals*, Sept. 12, 15, 19, 26, 1780; also nos. 438, 452, 461, 473, 475, 513, 539, *ante*, and the letter of the New York delegates Mar. 11, in the next volume.

if this is first Determined, the Decision of the King and Council Takes place immediately and the Grants fall under the Same Jurisdiction they were by the Edict of 1764 they will then Delay a final Decision by Every possible artifice till they get the mind of the people reconciled to their Government—permit me Sir to ask you; if this Question was Determined to morrow, and Vermont Should Submit; under whose Jurisdiction, would they [be] previous to a final Determination? would they be at Liberty to Chuse for themselves? or come under the Jurisdiction that held them previous to the Decision of the King and Council? or would they be under the Jurisdiction which held them by the Last Judgment given between the Contending States? if the former was to take place the Judgment would have no Effect, Except that of producing Endless Confusion if the Second it would be to annull the Judgment of the King and Council without a Tryal and this cannot be Expected; then Sir the Latter must take place of Course, and the wish of New York will be Completed. This they have been aiming at from the beginning and I am Sorry to find that Colo. Olcutt has brought the assembly of New Hampshire to assist them. I never Supposed it could or ought to be made a Serious Question whether this Tract of Country had a right to be a Seperate State. now Let us Suppose for a moment that Congress were to try this Question and Determine it to be a Seperate State, are not New Hamps'r or New York or both Strip'd of their right by this Decision? Then Sir Examine the Confederation and See whether Congress have any Such power: you will find that they have no authority to Determine or to try but by Commissioners.

The regular mode in my opinion is this; as the Lands are Claimed by two States (to one of which it most assuredly belongs) Congress are to appoint Commissioners and if they Determine it to be within the Limits of Either There never can be a Question whether it is an Independant State.

I only mention those things for the Consideration of the assembly before whom I wish this Letter to be Laid for their information. I shall follow the Instructions I have received Let the Consequences be as they may.

Sir you cannot Suppose me Chagrin'd at being recalled from Congress as I Petitioned for it Long Since; but I feel myself hurt at being almost pressed to undertake in behalf of the State, and then to have a Tryal upon me and a Condemnation to take place without my being heard I have now given the motives of my Conduct to my Constituents; and I am assured they will approve them. I wish the Gentlemen appointed may Serve you with more abilities; but with more Integrity I am Sure they cannot. I Shall not however repine at the Effects of Art or malice; I am not the first man who has Suffered for being a faithful Servant to the Publick. I Shall (however Severely used or indelicately Treated) attend to its true Interests with that Disinterested openness, which I have Ever Done. Though my feelings may be wounded, my Integrity cannot be Shaken, and whenever my Country in General or New Hampshire in particular call for the Exercise of those inconsiderable abilities which I possess they Shall be Exercised with uprightness and Integrity. I want no post I

Solicit no office I never did and am Convinced I never Shall when my Country Demand my Services they Shall not be withheld, when they are not wanted I Shall be happy in retirement.

I Inclose you the opinion of Congress respecting Mr. Delatour,⁴ and am with much Esteem and respect your most obedt. Servt.

JNO SULLIVAN.

P S I will forward the Commission as Soon as possible.

Feby. 6th 8 o C A: M: The Secretary has this moment Informed me that he recd. your Letter and will forward the Commissions by this Days Post.

636. THEODORICK BLAND TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.¹

My dear S'r, PHILADELPHIA Feby. 6th 1780 [1781].²

. . . . Congress have come to a resolution to demand of the States, power to lay Duties not exceeding 5 p Ct. on all foreign Imports, to raise a fund for a loan for carrying on the war, the necessity of which is apparent, and, that it be general is not less so. tis for this reason Congress desire to have the power vested in them to avoid procrastination and partial impositions.³

637. THOMAS BURKE TO WILLIAM BINGHAM.¹

D'r Sir, [February 6? 1781].²

I find upon making my observations that the Election of A Minister for foreign affairs will probably fall upon Mr. Madison from Virginia.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Feb. 5, and nos. 539, 559, 624, *ante*.

[636]¹ Univ. Va. Lib., Lee Papers.

² A letter from Joseph Jones to Governor Jefferson the same day is in *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I, 492. Ezekiel Cornell wrote to Governor Greene of Rhode Island, Feb. 6, relative to Maryland's acceptance of the Confederation: "I have now the pleasure to inform you from undoubted authority that the Senate have concurred, the Law is compleat, their Delegates are on their way to Congress. immediately after their arrival I expect to see the Confederation compleated." He added: "I shall say nothing on the affairs of Congress, Gen. Varnum is able to give you a much better account than I can. The change in the several Boards I mentioned remains as it did. But every day seems to produce new Evidence that the Measure will shortly be adopted. There are many Gentlemen talked of to fill those great offices of state. As to their abilities, their [*sic*] is a great division of sentiment. I hope they may hit upon the best—they will have a large field before them, but not to stand still in. Either honor or disgrace will attend whoever undertakes." R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 28; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 325.

³ See the *Journals*, Feb. 3, 7, Mar. 22; *cf.* nos. 628, 629, 633, *ante*, and nos. 639, 642, 643, *post*.

[637]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Coll., M. O. C.

² This letter, evidently the result of the inquiries promised in Burke's letter to Bingham Jan. 30 (no. 630, *ante*), was doubtless written very shortly afterward. The date is conjectured to have been Feb. 6 because the nomination of Richard Law Feb. 7 suggests that that day may have been assigned for nominations, at least that Burke had reason for anticipating some action on the following day relative to the election of a secretary for foreign affairs, hence requested Bingham's decision "in the morning".

In *Arch. of Md.*, XLV, 317, is a letter from the Maryland council, Feb. 19, replying to a letter of Feb. 6 from Samuel Adams on behalf of a committee of Congress. It is not certain for what committee Adams was writing.

he is a young Gentleman of Industry and Abilities, but I fear a little deficient in the Experience Necessary for rendering immediate Service in that department. however his local Situation makes him more desirable to the Southern Gentlemen, and every one to whom I have spoken of you have expressed themselves handsomly, but objected to the chusing so many Officers in One State of the Union. this is the only objection, and in a New Jealous republic it is impossible to surmount such objections. I would not venture to Nominate you unless upon knowing my Opinion of your Success you may desire it, for tho it is my own wish that it might fall upon you yet I would not venture to make the experiment unless I had pretty clear ground to hope that you might be appointed.

If you wish to be Nominated let me hear from you in the morning.

I am D'r S'r your obt. St.

THOS. BURKE

638. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE SEVERAL STATES.¹

Circular

PHILADA. February 8, 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, two important Resolves of Congress of the 3d and 7th Instant

Recommending to the several States, as indispensably necessary, that they vest a Power in Congress to levy, for the Use of the United States, a Duty of five per cent, ad Valorem at the Time and Place of Importation, upon all Goods, Wares and Merchandize of foreign Growth and Manufacture, which may be imported into any of the said States, from any foreign Port, Island or Plantation after the first Day of May 1781, except Arms etc. as therein expressed. Also a like Duty on all Prizes and Prize Goods

The Monies arising from the said Duties to be appropriated to the Discharge of the Principal and Interest of the Debts already contracted or which may be contracted on the Faith of the United States for supporting the present War; and the Duties continued until the said Debts are finally discharged.

You will observe from the Tenor of the Resolves that if any one or more of the States immediately pass a Law vesting in Congress the Powers requested, it cannot take Effect or operate to any Purpose until all the States, that are not prevented by the Events of the War, shall have passed similar Laws. That is, at present, all the States except South Carolina and Georgia, and when all the States have passed the necessary Laws, the Monies arising from the Duties are to be applied to their Benefit, exclusive of the remaining States unless such States shall pass similar Laws the first Session after the Events of the War will admit of the assembling their Legislatures, and Congress have not the least Doubt of their Compliance as soon as Circumstances shall put it in their Power

[638]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 229. Texts of this circular are found in a number of different repositories.

The Necessity of the Duties and Imposts being raised under one general and uniform Direction, is an Idea that will readily suggest itself.

I am specially directed to urge the Necessity of immediately calling the Assembly, if not already convened, for the Purpose of vesting Congress with the Powers mentioned in the enclosed Resolutions

Although it may be improbable any Person not particularly acquainted with the daily Business in Congress should have an adequate Conception of the Difficulties and Embarrassments that arise for Want of some permanent Fund to support the national Credit and cement more effectually the common Interest of the United States; yet, I doubt not, the Wisdom, Knowledge and Penetration of the respective Legislatures will view those Embarrassments as very great.

It ought to be rememb[er]ed that Loans are not to be obtained without some certain and permanent Fund established at least to discharge the annual Interest punctually. That, in the present State of our Finances the Army must be in a great Measure supported by the States separately, in a precarious Manner and perhaps very unequally: and a Train of Embarrassments, too tedious to need Enumeration, must ensue which have already been felt in a Degree and must greatly increase

I have only to add that it will be of Importance to transmit to Congress the Acts that may be passed in Consequence of the enclosed Resolves as soon as possible.

639. WILLIAM FLOYD TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(GEORGE CLINTON).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Feby. 8th 1781.

Dear Sir,

. . . . Congress have, from a conviction of the impossibility of their doing the whole of the business of this Continent within themselves, agreed to appoint a person at the head of each great department; that is, a Financier at the head of all matters that relate to the Treasury, a Secretary of Foreign Affairs, a Secretary of War, and a Secretary of Marine; these officers are each to take the charge of their respective departments, and to be accountable. I expect we shall in a few days proceed to the appointment of men to fill these offices, and I fear we shall not be able to get persons who are properly qualified for the purposes. These are all very important appointments, and require men of great abilities, great integrity, and great industry, and they should be men who possess the fullest confidence of the people.²

The letter we recd. lately from the President of Senate and Speaker of the Assembly is with a committee who are endeavoring to devise ways and means for the relief of our State; and I am convinced that Congress, as they are fully sensible of our distressed circumstances will afford any relief in their power.³

[639]¹ Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., XII. 157.

² See no. 621, note 2, *ante*.

³ See no. 632, *ante*.

640. JAMES LOVELL TO SAMUEL HOLTEN.¹

Feb. 8, 1781.

Dear Sir,

. . . . The Speech of the King of Engl'd to his Parliament, and the narrative of Brigadier Morgan's Success shall be inclosed for your Information. At the latter you must rejoice with Fear. . . . As to the King of England's Speech it may be construed for War or Peace; for, the only Thing that can be gathered from it is that he thinks he had got a Parliament absolutely devoted to his Will. It is that which gives him *more than ordinary Satisfaction*.

Our Prospects as to Money do not brighten. You may be assured that 115 were yesterday given for 1 and this at a time when every Body complains of the Want of Old Bills. I think much of this Harm arises from the Tender Acts of this State. It is supposed that the next Publication of Exchange will be at 100 this is the Story propagated as the foundation of demanding upwards of 100 for 1. But, why should I say any Thing on this Head. You well know the People here and their vile Practices.

641. JESSE ROOT TO OLIVER ELLSWORTH.¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 8th 1781.

D'r Sir,

. . . . Congress have asked the States to impower them to lay duties and Imposts on imported articles to the amount of five pr Ct. the necessity of a revenue, the ease of raising a Small sum in this way, and the utter impracticability of its being effected in any other manner must Strike every person with Conviction of the propriety of the measure.

I dont think the rule proposed for laying on the duties is the best but it is the best Congress would do at present. I think the duties ought to be varied according to the nature and usefulness of the articles. Some articles will bear a very high duty while others will bear but little or none, but it is to be observed, that the duties of 5 pr Ct. will rise higher upon articles of luxury than others in proportion as they are dearer.² . . .

642. THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT (JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Feby. 9th, 1781.

Sir,

. . . . Congress have considered it to be indispensibly necessary that they have some established funds on which to depend, and among the ways and means of effecting this none appeared more natural, easey, and equitable than imposts and duties on articles imported into the country, provided

[640]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia; *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XIII. 226.

[641]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 623.

² Cf. nos. 633, 638, *ante*.

[642]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 198 (signed by Huntington, Wolcott, and Root).

they are imposed by one rule and take effect at the same time in all the States, and the avails are appropriated for a revenue to the United States. This will prevent any jealousy from arising between the States, all will be subjected to the duties alike, none will pay ultimately any more than they consume of the articles, and each will receive its quota of the avails; wherefore Congress have requested the States to invest them with a power of laying a duty of five pr. cent ad valorem on all prize goods and other articles imported for the purpose of revenue, to be exercised as soon as all the States, who are in a capacity, shall consent to the same. The reasons which shew the necessity and propriety of this measure are so obvious, we need not trouble your Excellency with a recapitulation of them, for a moment's reflection will evince that this is the only way in which the United States can derive any revenue from imposts and duties. This will be in aid of the taxes and a means of rendering the burden of the war more equal. We shall be happy to find that the measure meets with the approbation and ready concurrence of your Excellency and the General Assembly.²

Virginia has ceded her claim of territory lying northwest of the river Ohio with some savings, extracts of which have been transmitted to your Excellency. Maryland has acceded to the confederation; although no official accts. are recd., yet the fact is unquestionable.³

Congress have newly arranged their Executive departments and established the following offices (*viz*) Minister of Foreign Affairs, Superintendent of Finance, Secretary of War, and Secretary of Marine.⁴ . . .

643. THEODERICK BLAND TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 9th 1781.²

S'r,

The Delegates some time ago transmitted to Your Excellency officially an acct. of their application to the Minister of France to interpose his interest with Monsr. de Ternay to induce him to detach a frigate of the

² See nos. 633, 638, 641, *ante*.

³ See no. 628, 629, *ante*, and no. 643, *post*.

⁴ See no. 621, note 2, *ante*, and no. 661, *post*.

[643]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers; *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 500.

² Ezekiel Cornell wrote to Governor Green of Rhode Island Feb. 9:

"I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency two hand bills that were published yesterday. The intelligence from the Southward hath carried much joy in this place. It came to hand very seasonable, as our affairs were gloomy. Maryland have passed a Law directing their delegates to sign the Confederation. Mr. Carroll one of their delegates came into City last evening, and was so kind as to shew me the Act of the Assembly. Mr. Hanson is expected every Hour, when the Confederation will be completed." R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 27; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 328.

The handbills were probably the resolves of Feb. 3 and 7 relative to the impost. See Bibliographical Notes, in the *Journals* under Feb. 3.

Carroll first attended Congress Feb. 12, when he presented the act of Maryland directing the delegates of that state to sign the Confederation. Hanson did not attend until Feb. 22. Cf. nos. 616, 622-629, 633, 642, *ante*, and nos. 648, note 4, 659, 662, 663, 669, 672, *post*.

Fr: Squadron at Rhode Island, to convey the Arms belonging to our State which came in the *Comite*, thither in safety. Since which my Personal application, singly, has been unremitted to prevail by the same Channel, to have a line of Battle Ships and one or two frigates sent into our Bay, but I have redoubled these applications and enforced them with the strongest Arguments I could adduce ever since the Sailing of Arnold from New York, having been always apprehensive that his design was on our Country. I am now happy to inform your Excellency, that in Consequence of our Joint application the Arms are on boar[r]d a frigate intended to be sent as above mentioned; and of enclosing you a Copy of a letter from the Count De Rochambeau which was this day received by Congress, through Genl. Washington: besides which the Minister of France has communicated to me, and Charged me with Secrecy to every Soul, but your Excellency, with whom he wishes it to remain inviolate untill executed, that M'r Des Touches the Present Commr. in Chief of the French Fleet, has determined to put to Sea (in consequence of the disaster that has happened to the British Fleet, which gives him a Superiority) and either Give Battle to, or Block up the British fleet in Gardner's Bay in either of which cases he is determined to send one or two Ships of the line and two frigates into our Bay. an Express being about to set off tomorrow I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this Intelligence, that every preparation might be made by land, as well as that Pilots might be orderd with the Utmost secrecy and dispatch to attend at the Capes for their arrival, should fortune favor us in this Critical and interesting affair as we expect. Your Excellency will be not less aware of the importance of being prepared on land to co-operate with these vessels shd. they arrive, than of sending on board proper pilots and Conductors, with every necessary intelligence of the Situation, state and strength of the Enemy by land and Sea as also the most convenient stations and Harbors for the Ships of our Ally in Case of necessity.³

I cannot conclude my letter without taking notice how much we are indebted to his Excellency the Cheval'r de La Lucerne for the frankness with which he has Concurred and the cordiality with which he is inclined to promote every measure that we have Jointly, and I have individually had the honor to propose to him for the good of the common Cause, and for the particular benefit and relief of our States. I have the honor to be with the greatest Sincerity D'r S'r

Yrs. most affectionately

THEOP. BLAND

³ Feb. 10 Joseph Jones wrote to Governor Jefferson relating further news concerning the French and British fleets, particularly the disaster suffered by the latter. He added: "Whether *We* shall receive any assistance in consequence of this Event will soon be manifest. I could not avoid giving *you* this information that measures may be concerted on *our* part for cooperation if an opportunity shall be offered *us*" (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 503). Feb. 13 Jones and Bland transmitted definite information of the British loss, as obtained through General Varnum. "It is moreover added", they remark, "that on hearing the above the Enemy at N. York sent orders to Arnold to retreat from Virginia. Heavenly Storm" (*ibid.*, p. 511). Cf. no. 647, *post*.

644. JOHN MATHEWS TO NATHANAEL GREENE.¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 10th 1781.

Dear Sir,

I received your favor of the 23d ulto. by Majr. Giles,² for which I acknowledge myself very much obliged to you. The intelligence it contained was a most healing cordial to our drooping spirits. It was doubly welcome as it was so very unexpected. It seems to have had a very sensible effect on *some folks*, for as this is a convincing proof that something is to be done, in that department, which for some time past had appeared to be almost annihilated, and forgot, they seem at present to be well disposed to give it every possible aid, in order to restore it to re-existence, and vigour; and give it a fair chance to distinguish itself. I can assure you, that could we command the means, to put you in the most respectable situation you could desire, it would be done. But alas! the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak. Indeed the distresses of *every department* is at present past discription. A want of money totally unhinges every thing.

In the committees letter you will see what is sent, and sending forward, and this day Congress passed an order for £10,000 specie, for a variety of necessaries for your department, which I can assure you is stretching a point, the state of our coffers considered.³ Congress have lately passed an act for establishing a permanent revenue, to be at their entire command which if agreed to by the states, will certainly give us a tolerable credit—however, this will be a work of time.⁴ . . . The act is transmitted of [to ?] Govr. Rutledge, and as he is with you, I thought it unnecessary to send it, as he will of course communicate it to you. I am very happy to find you are not disappointed in the character I gave you of Mr. Rutledge, and I am convinced, the more you know of him, the greater reasons you will have for admiring his many amiable qualities, and extensive abilities. Both his heart, and his head are sound, and you will find him one of those characters, who improve on acquaintance.

The Minister communicated to me this day IN CONFIDENCE, and in the same manner I convey it to you, that a part of the french fleet will soon make their appearance in your quarter. They will first [ma]ke an attempt on Gardners bay. if nothing is to be done there, the next object will be the fleet in Virginia, and then to make a feint on Chs. Town. I give you the hint, you know how to improve it. That is to say, if you shd. be in capacity to take advantage of it. At any rate it will most probably draw of[f] a part of Cornwallis force towards C. T. which will give you a breathing spel [*sic*].

Rest assured My Dear Sir, that nothing, which can be done for your support, will be neglected.

[644]¹ William L. Clements Library, Greene Papers.

² Maj. Edward Giles, who brought the despatches of General Greene read in Congress Feb. 8. See, further, the *Journals*, Feb. 17, Mar. 9.

³ The committee on the letters of Generals Greene and Morgan, appointed Feb. 8, received additional instructions Feb. 9 and offered a report Mar. 8, which was acted upon Mar. 9. Another measure relative to the Southern army was reported Feb. 20, by a committee appointed Feb. 13. Cf. nos. 655, 656, *post*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Feb. 3, 7, and nos. 633, 638, 641, 642, *ante*.

I am sensible that your time must be very much occupied, by the important cares which have devolved on you, but whenever a leisure moment offers, believe me, none of your friends will receive more satisfaction in hearing of your welfare, than

Yr. most affect. and Obedt. Hmbl. Servt.

JNO. MATHEWS.

645. SAMUEL J. ATLEE TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
(JOSEPH REED).¹

PHILADA. Feby. 11th, 1781.

D'r Sir,

Every exertion in my Power has been employed in the important Office Council being pleased to entrust with me, I flatter myself with full Satisfaction to that Honorable Board. It will give me infinite pleasure to find any Gentleman Council shall please to appoint as my Successor in Office, shall perform the Duties with greatest Satisfaction to the Publick and to the Board for [from ?] whence he derives his Powers. . . .

646. A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS TO THE ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL (CHARLES PETTIT).¹

PHILAD. 12 Feby. 1781.

Sir,

Congress have appointed a Committee to state the publick debts. Those which are due in your Department, and especially on Certificates for supplies ought to be provided for, as the last are a great Obstruction in collecting the Taxes.

I am directed to apply to you for a general Estimate founded on the best materials and Information in your power, distinguishing the debts due on Certificates and to request it may be furnished as soon as possible. If you should be unable to comply you will be pleased to assign the Reasons for the satisfaction of Congress.²

I am Sir Your most Obedt. Servt.

JAS. DUANE

for the Committee

647. JAMES MADISON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.¹

PHILADA. Feby. [12], 1781.

Dear Sir,

I have your favor of the 5th instant by the post. Col. Harrison ² arrived here yesterday, and as he mentions no circumstance which indicated an

[645]¹ Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

[646]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Emmet Coll., no. 4184; William L. Clements Library (contemporary copy).

² See the *Journals*, Feb. 7, 17, 19, Apr. 18.

[647]¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers; *Writings* (ed. Hunt), I. 126.

² Benjamin Harrison, speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, who had been sent to Congress on a special mission. See nos. 540, 610, *ante*, and nos. 649, 652, 660, 661, *post*; also Jefferson's letter to him Jan. 29 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 438; *Official Letters*, II. 304). Harrison wrote to Governor Jefferson Feb. 12, "I arrived at this place late in the evening of yesterday" (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 509).

intended departure of the Enemy I am afraid your intelligence on that subject was not well founded.³ Immediately on the receipt of your former letter relating to an exchange of C. Taylor I applied to the Admiralty department, and if such a step can be brought about with propriety, I hope he will be gratified, but considering the tenor of their treatment of naval prisoners, and the resolutions with which it has inspired Congress,⁴ I do not think it probable that exchanges will go on easily, and if this were less the case, a mere passenger under the indulgence too of a parole, can scarcely hope to be preferred to such as are suffering the utmost hardships and even made prisoners in public service.⁵

648. DANIEL CARROLL TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

Dear S'r,

PHILADELPHIA February 13th 1781.

I did myself the honor yesterday to address a few lines to you by M. de Marbois, and the Counts Charlus and Dillon.² A vessel from Cadiz arrivd here the day before yesterday: The president received by this opportunity letters from Mr. Carmichael, the last dated the 24th of Decr. none from Mr. Jay.³ The difficulty about the navigation of the Mississippi remains: It will I believe be remov'd on our part in a few days. Preparations were making in England to send more troops, suppos'd to be destin'd to fix a Post at Portsmouth, and a part for Charles Town. He hopes our Ally will frustrate their design. I will endeavour to be more particular on this head by Col. Forrest who will leave us in a day or two.⁴

³ Pendleton's letter of Feb. 5 is in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, second ser., XIX, 122. See no. 643, *ante*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Jan. 5, 29.

⁵ Pendleton's earlier letter respecting Craddock Taylor has not been found. In the letter of Feb. 5 he wrote: "Our friend Craddock Taylor wishes to know if there are any hopes of his speedy exchange. There are some seamen at Winchester who would answer the purpose, if they can be applied to it, but that you know best."

[648]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 58.

² François de Marbois (secretary to the French minister), the Comte de Castries de Charlus, and Comte Robert Dillon.

³ Letters from Carmichael Nov. 28 and Dec. 19 (Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV, 164, 198) were read in Congress Monday, Feb. 12. That of Dec. 24 is not mentioned in the *Journals* and seems to have disappeared. See the letter of Jan. 4 (*ibid.*, p. 227); *cf.* nos. 649, 651, *post*.

⁴ Lieut.-Col. Uriah Forrest, then in Philadelphia to offer his resignation and obtain an adjustment of his half-pay allowance (see no. 666, *post*), wrote to Governor Lee Feb. 12:

"It is impossible to say how much Injury may arise from Maryland not being represented in Congress; besides the Capital Question of laying a duty on all imported goods (with some few exceptions only and then too meely to gratify the whim and Caprice of particular States). Congress have under Consideration the appointment of all Civil Officers, the different departments have all undergone an entire reformation, there is to be One Man only at the Head of the four great departments who are to Rank and be Stiled as follows—first the Minister of Finance, 2nd, the Minister at War, 3d Secy. of the Marine dept. and 4thly, Secret'y for foreign affairs. Now if Maryland was represented the Confederation could be signed which would prevent two Evils the first and most Capital is that it would exclude the Members of Congress some of whom are making Interest, or at least are named and expect the appointments, or some of them. The Second and perhaps lesser Evil is that three States are now Represented by One Member which Member has a vote, when Maryland and one other State have each a member who remain Cyphers." Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, XXVIII, 67.

The Mutiny which arose in part of the Jersey line has been properly settled two of them executed, which I hope will put a stop to that dangerous Spirit.⁵

649. THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADA. Feby. 13th 1781.

Sir,

By the Speaker Harrison who arrived here the day before yesterday we were honored with your Excellency's favor of the 26th Ultio. We shall communicate your answer to the Baron d'Arendt, and if his claim against the State be supported by proper evidence shall take the best steps in our power to discharge it.²

A Vessel just arrived from Cadiz has brought Congress two letters from Mr. Carmichael, from one of which dated Madrid Novr. 28th, 1780, the following is extracted:³

Private letters by the same conveyance add that the blockade of Gibraltar was continued with great vigor, and that the garrison began to be severely distressed.

650. JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM TO HORATIO GATES.¹

PHILADELPHIA 15th Feb'y 1781.

Sir,

I have the honor of inclosing you a Letter, which came under Cover to me from Governor Bowen.²

It is a very just observation of the Baron de Montesquieu, that in all democratical Governments the Manners controul the Laws. We find that Observation fully verified in the United States. The Manners are generally corrupt, and the Laws but feebly executed. In Times of War the Deliberations of senatorial, or republican Bodies, being influenced by a Variety of Objects, are seldom directed to energetic and decisive Operations. The Result is frequently Disappointment or Disgrace. The public Checks upon the reserved licentiousness of the People are too weak to suppress their Clamors, and their Resentment is commonly satiated by transferring the Odium upon executive Officers. Misfortune is construed into Wickedness or Weakness, and the shining Merits of Years are enveloped in the illfated Events of an Hour. How ungenerous is the human Heart when under the Controul of tumultuous Passions! So reluctant are Mankind at the dignified Station of their own Existence, that they assume every

⁵ See nos. 623, 625, note 4, *ante*.

[649]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers (signed by Jones, Madison, and Bland); *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 513.

² Jefferson's letter to the delegates Jan. 26 is in *Official Letters*, II. 302. Concerning the mission of Speaker Benjamin Harrison see nos. 540, 610, 647, *ante*, and nos. 652, 660, 661, *post*.

³ Carmichael's letter of Nov. 28, 1780, is in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 164. The passage quoted pertains particularly to Great Britain's preparations, financial and military, for carrying on the war during the year. See no. 648, *ante*, and no. 651, *post*.

[650]¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers, vol. XVI., no. 10.

² Jabez Bowen, deputy governor of Rhode Island in 1778.

kind of Allowance for their own Deviations, while they expect of others the Prescience and Omnipotence of Gods! You, my worthy Friend, have Occasion to realise these Reflections; And while many feel the greatest Inquietude at your present Situation, they expect, with increasing Satisfaction, your full Restitution to the Honors and Confidence of a Country, bound by every Sentiment of Gratitude and Affection, to hold you dear.

Permit me Sir, to wish you every possible Felicity in your present domestic Retirement, and a speedy Accession of increasing military Fame!

Be pleased to make my best Respects to your worthy Lady, and accept of the Sincerest Acknowledgements of Sir, your most obedient Servant, and Sincere Friend,

J. M. VARNUM.

651. SAMUEL JOHNSTON TO JAMES IREDELL.¹

PHILADELPHIA, 15th February, 1781.

Dear Sir:

. . . . By a vessel, which arrived last Sunday from Cadiz, we have letters as late as the 19th December. . . . Mr. Cumberland is still permitted to continue at the Court of Madrid—a *very suspicious circumstance*.² There is *great reason* to apprehend that the British mean to fortify and support their station at Portsmouth, or some other in that neighborhood, in order to shut up the navigation of the bay, and by making frequent incursions into the country, prevent the State of Virginia from sending aid to the Carolinas. Congress is every day engaged in a variety of matters, but under our present situation, it is probably best to say little as to the particulars. I hope to have some opportunity before long by which I may be more communicative.³

652. THEODERICK BLAND TO THE ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL (CHARLES PETTIT).¹

PHILADA. Feby. 16th 1781.

S'r,

I beg leave to inform you that a Motion was made by the Virginia Delegates to authorize Col. Harrison—Agent Sent by that state for a Particular Purpose—to exchange about four thousand Dollars of Continental Money of that state, of the new Emission at the treasury, which Congress readily assented to. But being informed by a Member, that there was a large Sum of money in the Hands of the Q'r Mast'r Genl. now in this City, which was to be sent on to the Southern Army, where the Money above mentioned passes Currently the motion was withdrawn and the Sense of Congress was taken thereon and it was their opinion that

[651]¹ McRee, *Life of Iredell*, I. 489.

² Sunday was Feb. 11. See nos. 648, 649, *ante*.

³ In a letter to Iredell Feb. 10 (*Life of Iredell*, I. 486) Johnston remarks: "I am now quite well, and attend Congress every day when the weather is good. . . . I long very much to be home again. I have no relish for politics."

[652]¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Gratz Coll., M. O. C.

Col. Harrison shd. Exchange the Continental Money Issued on acct. of the State of Virginia to that amount for like Bills Issued on acct. of this state—Col. Harrison being in immediate want of money for the purpose of forwarding necessary articles of Military Stores etc. to that State. I have no doubt of your accomodating him with such as will answer his purpose in this City, in pursuance to its being the Sense of Congress that you shd. do so.² I am with great regard, S'r

Yr. Most obedt. Sert.

THEO^RK BLAND

Delegate from the State of Virginia

653. DANIEL CARROLL TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 17th, 1781.

Dear S'r,

. . . . A Committee of Congress have under Consideration the removal of the Convention Troops. I hope soon to have it in power to inform you of the determination of Congress on that subject.²

654. SAMUEL ADAMS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS
(JOHN HANCOCK).¹

Sir,

The Delegates of Massachusetts in Congress desire your Excellency may be informd that the Resolution of the General Assembly relating to the Officers in the Department of the Quarter Master General etc. inclosed in your Letter of 18 Decr. was laid before Congress early after it was receivd. and a Committee has since made a favorable Report, the Consideration of which will be movd as soon [as] an opportunity offers. Notice would sooner have been given of this, but it was delayd in hopes of a final Decision.²

PHILAD. Feb 19 1781.³

² There is no record in the *Journals* either of the motion or of its withdrawal. Concerning Harrison's mission see no. 649, *ante*, and no. 660, *post*.

[653]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 57.

² This was one of the matters brought under consideration through a letter from Benjamin Harrison Feb. 13. See no. 647, *ante*, and no. 660, *post*; also the *Journals*, Feb. 20, 24, 26, Mar. 3, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, May 22, 23, June 12. See, further, President Huntington to Governor Jefferson Mar. 4, in the next volume.

[654]¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Samuel Adams Papers (draft).

² The Massachusetts resolutions were laid before Congress Jan. 5, but the committee's report upon them has not been found. This draft of Adams's reply to Hancock is written on the back of Hancock's letter of Dec. 18.

³ Ezekiel Cornell wrote to Governor Greene of Rhode Island Feb. 19: "Congress have passed a number of spirited resolves, for reinforcing and supplying the Southern Army, among which there is one ordering the Pennsylvania line to march to the Southward by detachments as fast as they can be equipd. More than half their men are enlisted and I expect they will soon be in motion. Robert Morris, Esq., was this day Elected Financier by the Unanimous voice of Congress. I think it is more than probable that General Sullivan will be elected to the head of the War Office, in a few days—I will not say unanimously. It is much talked and believed in this place that the next summer will be a busy one. I hope every state will joyn heart and hand in their exer-

655. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA February 20, 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, a Resolution of Congress of this Day, by which you will be informed that all the Continental Troops, from Pennsylvania to Georgia inclusive, are to compose the southern Army, except Moylands Corps and such of the Pennsylvania Line as are on Command on the western Frontiers.

Congress deemed themselves under a Necessity of adopting the Measure of ordering the Pennsylvania Line to the Southward without consulting your Excellency, from the late Intelligence received from that Quarter, and supposing you on your Journey to New Port: considering at the same Time that if the Plan suggested in my other Letter which accompanies this, which proposes sending the french Forces to the Southward, should take Effect or any other Circumstances should render it incompatible with the Good of the public Service to send the Pennsylvania Line Southward, your Sentiments might be known and the Orders countermanded before that Line could be put in Motion.²

Your Excellency's two Letters of the 13th have been duly received. The Paper you mention, addressed to President Reed, was inclosed through Mistake by my Secretary, but I do not find any Paper that ought to have been enclosed in Lieu of it

656. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

IN CONGRESS Feby. 20th 1781.

Sir,

You will perceive by the enclosed copies that a Reinforcement to the british Troops in the Southern department has arrived in North Carolina. Congress wish you to be well informed of some circumstances which render the Situation of that department peculiarly in want of Succour which can only be given by the troops of our Ally

The People of North Carolina in that part last invaded are destitute of arms and military equipments, and so great is the distance of that Country from the only magazines from which they could be supplied and so great and almost insurmountable are the difficulties of transportation, that there wants cannot be relieved in time to preserve them from the ravages of the Enemy. The people in the western Parts of that Country are fully

tions against the Common Enemy and that we may not deceive ourselves with the flattering hopes of peace before there is a better prospect than appears to me at present. . . .

"There is only one delegate in Congress from Maryland; therefore the Confederation is not yet complete." R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 25; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 329.

The *Journals* record Robert Morris's election as superintendent of finance Feb. 20. With regard to General Sullivan and the war office see Sullivan to Washington Mar. 6, in the next volume.

[655]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 233.

² See no. 656, *post*; also the *Journals*, Apr. 16, 28, and the letter of the Virginia delegates Apr. 17, in the next volume.

[656]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *ibid.*, President's Letter-Book, p. 236.

occupied in the arduous Opposition to the Forces under lord Cornwallis. The States of Virginia and North Carolina have it not in their power to cloathe and equip troops for the field, and the disappointments in receiving Supplies from Europe render it impossible for Congress to give them such aid as will be effectual

Congress wish you Sir to take into Consideration all those circumstances and many others which are peculiar to that department, and produce such weakness as the public resources are not able to remedy in time for their effectual protection and which are well known to you—and they desire you to urge all those Considerations to the Commanders of the fleet and army of our Ally, and if it should not very materially interfere with the general dispositions designed for those forces to take the speediest measures for their reinforcing the Army in the Southern department, or if this be not eligible to make such dispositions as may create a diversion

Congress hope that the damage sustained by the british fleet in the late storm has occasioned a change of circumstances so favorable to the forces of our Ally as to render them superior to the Enemy, and in condition to perform this essential Service to the United States without danger of being exposed to a Superior force. This measure is no less important than that of opposing the Enemy with a well appointed and well equipped force in place of a force composed of troops perhaps destitute of every thing requisite for keeping the field.²

657. JAMES LOVELL TO JOHN JAY.¹

February 20, 1781.

Sir,

The President sends you instructions passed in Congress the 15th.

Personally, I am mortified that no letters from you since September 16th have reached us.² We have not waited for the minute information wanted in yours of that date, nor have we received any notice of your receipt of our instructions of October 4th before we discussed anew the old subject. There has been unfair dealing with your despatches. I apprehend that we are allowed to see only sentiments somewhat different from yours. Perhaps the enclosed memorandum may be some clue to your scrutiny.

On the 10th of January Congress resolved to establish an office for foreign affairs, which I hope will make your station more easy and reputable. I wish most earnestly to have a choice made of the secretary, to whom I may deliver all the papers in my possession connected with his duty.

² This letter was drafted by a committee appointed Feb. 13. See also the *Journals*, Feb. 20. Washington replied Feb. 26 (*Writings*, ed. Ford, IX, 168, ed. Sparks, VII, 434). Cf. no. 655, *ante*, and nos. 660, 661, 671, *post*.

[657]¹ Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV, 261 (signed by Lovell "for the Committee").

² Jay's letter of Sept. 16, read in Congress Dec. 4, is in Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV, 59 (see also his letter to Vergennes, Sept. 22, *ibid.*, p. 63). The *Journals* record no other letter from him until Apr. 24, when his letter of Nov. 6 (*ibid.*, p. 112) was read. The letter of Nov. 30 (*ibid.*, p. 174) was read Apr. 25, and one of Jan. 28 on Apr. 27. A letter to Lovell Oct. 27 (*ibid.*, p. 105) is of particular interest as regards the matter of communication between Congress and its minister (see no. 494, *ante*).

658. JESSE ROOT TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT
(JONATHAN TRUMBULL).¹

PHILADELPHIA, Febr. 20th, 1781.

Please your Excellency,

Last Saturday Capt. Paul Jones arrived here from France, having been sixty two days on his passage; ² he has brought some military stores, but no cloathing. By letters from Doct'r Franklin 10,000 suits of cloaths, 15,000 stand of arms, a large quantity of powder and a great quantity of cloths were procured and ready to be shipped as long ago as last August. One vessel with 130 bales of cloth is taken and carried to England, the rest of the cloathing Capt. Jones says is to come with the second division of the French fleet, which were to sail this month for America. The delay of sending over the cloathing is yet a mistery, but it is put in a train of investigation, and by the help of Capt. Jones trust it will be effected.

.
The enemy build their hopes of success on the deranged and supposed exhausted state of our finances; if we disappoint them in this we shall tottolly defeat their prospects and induce them to reasonable terms of peace. It behoves us therefore to exert ourselves with spirit at this time, and I think it promises the most happy consequences, which I never so feelingly realized as I seem to at present. By an estimate that has been made of our national debt it doth not exceed 30,000,000 of dollars.³ The supplies called for are all indispensible for the next campaign. We must stop drawing bills on Europe for the present, the loss is too great to be born by any nation, being as 60 to 92. December Journals are not printed.

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659. DANIEL CARROLL TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby 20th 1781.

Dear Sir,

I did myself the honor of sending a few lines by Col. Forest, who left this place on Sunday morning. Capt. Paul Jones arivd in this City on Saturday night from L' Orient which he left about the Middle of Decr. We are cruelly disapointed in not receiving any Cloathis or Arms by him. A Vessel with Cloaths which saild with him, when he was oblig'd by a Storm to return to Port, Capt. Jones says, was taken and carried into England. The arms he had on board were damaged, and Landed, and could not be put in order agains[t] his departure. He has not brought any public Stores that I hear of, excepting abt. 400 Barrells of powder, and some lead. Cloathing for ten thousand men ready made up, besides a considerable quantity of Cloth and the arms remaind in France for other opportunity.²

[658]¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, seventh ser., III. 200.

² Saturday was Feb. 17. See the *Journals*, Feb. 19, and nos. 659-662, *post*.

³ See the *Journals*, Feb. 19, especially pp. 165-166.

[659]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 56.

² See no. 658, *ante*, and nos. 660-662, *post*.

On the first day of my appearing in Congress, I delivered the Act empowering the Delegates of Maryland to Subscribe the Articles of Confederation etc. It was read, and entered on the Journals. The presence of another Delegate is only wanting to compleat this important business; I find the hopes, and expectations of Congress very sanguine on this event.³

660. THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
(THOMAS JEFFERSON).¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. [20 ?] 1781.²

S'r,

Since our last³ in which we informed Yr. Exc'y of the Arrival of Col. Harrison in this City, his Applications to Congress have been referd to a Special Committee, and the necessary Steps are taking to Answer the wishes and wants of the Southern States, and of our State in particular as far [as] is practicable in the present Situation of affairs. we doubt not but that Gentn. will give you full Information of the Progress he has made in the Special Business for which he has been Sent.⁴

We are happy to Inform you of the Arrival of Capt. Paul Jones in the *Ariel*, from France. This event would have been a much more pleasing one had he brought the cloathing so long and anxiously expected. his Cargo is however by no means useless as it Consists of about thirty Ton of Powder.⁵

P. S. since writing the above we have authentic information that one seventy four with two Frigates and a Cutter sailed from Rhode Island on the eig[h]th for Chesapeake Bay

661. JOSEPH JONES TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

Dear S'r,

. . . . You will receive from the president a Copy of a Report which has passed in Congress in consequence of Col. Harrisons Communications.² You will also be informed of the arrival of Provost with a reen-

³ See no. 648, *ante*. Carroll attended Feb. 12; his colleague John Hanson Feb. 22. See, further, the *Journals*, Feb. 23, 24, Mar. 1, and nos. 662, 663, 669, 672, *post*.

[660]¹ Va. State Lib., Executive Papers (signed by Jones and Madison); *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 548.

² Mention of the arrival of John Paul Jones indicates that this letter was probably written not earlier than Sunday, Feb. 18 (see nos. 658, 659, *ante*, 661, 662, *post*); reference to the application of Benjamin Harrison suggests a knowledge of the action taken on the 20th; and, finally, the custom of the Virginia delegates to write on Tuesdays points definitely to Feb. 20 as the proper date.

³ No. 649, *ante*.

⁴ See the *Journals*, Feb. 13, 15, 20, 22, 24; also nos. 540, 610, 647, 649, 652, *ante*, and no. 661, *post*. In a letter to Washington Feb. 16 (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, I. 523) Harrison explains his mission. See also his letters to Governor Jefferson Feb. 12, 19, *ibid.*, pp. 509, 526. Other items pertaining to the mission are *ibid.*, pp. 492, 500, 503, 511.

⁵ See nos. 658, 659, *ante*, 661, 662, *post*.

[661]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 241; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 68.

² The resolves of Feb. 20. See no. 660, note 4, *ante*.

forcement to the Enemy in the South and of his progress since his arrival. . . . The arrival of Provost and the great want of Arms in the Southern States it must be confessed presents a rather gloomy prospect and under this temper of Mind you will receive a Letter reiterating what has I think been several times intimated, a desire that you will pay particular attention to the Southern department.³ I wish we could but content ourselves with a communication of Facts and any reflections upon them for illustration leaving the combination and execution of the various operations of a Campaign to those whose business it is to project and execute them.

P. Jones's arrival gives us no relief in cloathing or Arms, a disappointment the more to be regretted as our wants increase, yet we know not whom to blame. Jones will I expect unfold this dark and as yet mysterious business.⁴ I presume you must have been informed that Virga. has receded from her former instructions to her Delegates in Congress respecting the claim on her part to the free Navigation of the Mississippi wch. if approved by Congress, will probably bring abt. an alliance with Spain and an acknowledgm't of our Independence. No doubt this event if it takes place will give us more Credit in Europe but we pay dear for it.⁵

³ The reference is doubtless to the letter of Feb. 20 (no. 656, *ante*), drafted by a committee but signed by President Huntington.

⁴ Cf. nos. 658-660, *ante*, and no. 662, *post*.

⁵ See the *Journals*, Feb. 15; also no. 629, note 2, *ante*, and Bland's letter of Mar. 5, in the next volume. For an account of this episode see F. A. Ogg, *Opening of the Mississippi*, pp. 372 *et seq.* A letter which Madison wrote to the editor of *Niles' Register* in 1822 is pertinent here:

"MONTPELIER, January 8th, 1822.

"Mr. Niles, In Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution*, Vol. 2, pp. 300, 301, is the following passage:

"'Mr. Jay was instructed to contend for the right of the United States to the free navigation of the river Mississippi; and if an express acknowledgment of it could not be obtained, he was restrained from acceding to any stipulation by which it should be relinquished. But in February, 1781, when Lord Cornwallis was making rapid progress in overrunning the southern States, and when the meeting of the Pennsylvania line, and other unfavorable circumstances, depressed the spirits of the Americans, Congress, on the recommendation of Virginia, directed him to recede from his instructions, so far as they insist on the free navigation of that part of the Mississippi which lies below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, provided such concession should be unalterably insisted on by Spain, and provided the free navigation of the said river, above the said degree of north latitude, should be acknowledged and guaranteed by his Catholic majesty, in common with his own subjects.'

"In this account of the instruction to Mr. Jay, to relinquish the navigation of the Mississippi, below the southern boundary of the United States, the measure would seem to have had its origin with the State of Virginia.

"This was not the case; and the very worthy historian, who was not at that period a member of Congress, was led into his error by the silence of the *Journals* as to what had passed on the subject, previous to the fifteenth of February, 1781, when they agreed to the instruction to make the relinquishment, as moved by the Delegates of Virginia, in pursuance of instructions from the Legislature. It was not unusual with the Secretary of Congress to commence his entries on the Journal with the stage in which the proceedings assumed a definite character; omitting, or noting on separate and informal sheets only, the preliminary steps.

"The Delegates from Virginia had been long under instructions from their State, to insist on the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, and Congress had always included it in their ultimatum for peace. As late as the fourth of October, 1780, (see the *Secret Journal* of that date,) they had renewed their adherence to this point, by unanimously agreeing to the report of a committee to whom had been referred 'certain instructions to the Delegates of Virginia by their constituents, and a letter of the twenty-ninth of May, from Mr. Jay at Madrid', which report prohibited him from relinquishing the

We are abt. appointing the Officers who are to be at the head of our great Departments. yesterday Mr. Morris, without a vote agst. him [() tho' S. A. and his Colleague, Genl. W. declined to ballot) was chosen Financiere. I cannot say he will accept, but have some hopes he will. Our Finances want a Necker to arrange and reform them. Morris is I believe the best qualified of any our Country affords for the arduous undertaking. We shall in a day or two appoint the Officers for the foreign affairs and the Marine. I wish we had Men in these Offices as well qualified to execute them as Morris in the Treasury. Some however that are nominated if they can be chosen will do very well. We are under difficulties abt. the War Office, lest any person we could now put into it may [not] answer so

right of the United States to the free navigation of the river Mississippi, into and from the sea, as asserted in his former instructions; and on the seventeenth of the same month, October, (see the *Secret Journal* of that date), Congress agreed to the report of a committee explaining the reasons and principles on which the instructions of the tenth of October were founded.

"Shortly after this last measure of Congress, the Delegates of South Carolina and Georgia, seriously affected by the progress and views of the enemy in the southern States, and by the possibility that the interference of the great neutral powers might force a peace on the principle of *uti possidetis*, whilst those States, or parts of them, might be in the military occupancy of Great Britain, urged with great zeal, within and without doors, the expediency of giving fresh vigor to the means of driving the enemy out of their country, by drawing Spain into an alliance, and into pecuniary succours believed to be unattainable without yielding our claim to the navigation of the Mississippi. The efforts of those Delegates did not fail to make proselytes, till at length it was ascertained that a number was disposed to vote for the measure sufficient without the vote of Virginia; and it happened that one of the two Delegates from that State concurred in the policy of what was proposed. (See letter of the twenty-fifth of November, and extract of the fifth of December, 1780, from J. Madison to Joseph Jones.)

"In this posture of the business, Congress was prevailed on to postpone any final decision, until the Legislature of Virginia could be consulted, it being regarded by all as very desirable, where the powers of Congress depended so much on the individual wills of the States, that an important member of the Union, on a point particularly interesting to it, should receive every conciliatory mark of respect, and it being calculated, also, that a change in the councils of that State might have been produced by the causes producing it in others.

"A joint letter, bearing date the thirteenth of December, 1780, (which see) was accordingly written by the Delegates of Virginia to Governor Jefferson, to be laid before the Legislature then in session, simply stating the case, and asking instructions on the subject, without any expression of their own opinions, which, being at variance, could not be expected in a letter to be signed by both.

"The result of these communications from the Delegates was a repeal of the former instructions, and a transmission of different ones; the receipt of which, according to an understanding when the decision of Congress was postponed, made it incumbent on the two Delegates to bring the subject before Congress. This they did by offering the instruction to Mr. Jay, agreed to on the fifteenth of February, 1781, and referred to in the historical passage above cited.

"It is proper to add, that, the instant the menacing crisis was over, the Legislature of Virginia revoked the instruction to her Delegates to cede the navigation of the Mississippi; and that Congress seized the first moment, also, for revoking theirs to Mr. Jay.

"I have thought a statement of these circumstances due to truth; and that its accuracy may be seen to depend not on memory alone, the copies of contemporary documents, verifying it, are annexed.

"In the hope that this explanation may find its way to the notice of some future historian of our Revolutionary transactions, I request for it a place, if one can be afforded, in your *Register*; where it may more readily offer itself to his researches, than in publication of more transient or miscellaneous contents.

"With friendly respect,
"JAMES MADISON."

well as the present Commiss'rs. This may and I expect will postpone that appointment.⁶

With great esteem I am D'r S'r

Yr. aff. Servt.

JOS: JONES.

PHILA: 21st Feby. 1781.

662. JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND
(WILLIAM GREENE).¹

PHILADELPHIA, 21st Feby. 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency's Letter of the 6th Instant I have been honored with. When the Requisition was made to the States to advance six Months' Pay to the Troops, I foresaw the Act which the Legislature of Rhode Island has passed, and mentioned here, its probable Event, with the Reasons that would justify it; but a Discrimination could not be made with propriety, altho I am fully persuaded Congress are well pleased with the Measure.² It is astonishing to consider the Energy of the Small States, compared with the larger ones. If all the States had fully called forth their Resources, as one State has done, the War must have been finished long since: However, where everything dear and sacred is in Question too much cannot be done by any.

We are certainly informed that a body of troops from Great Britain or Ireland, have landed at Cape Fear, No. Carolina, said to amount to upwards of two thousand, under command of Gen. Prevost. This Event is convincing that the Seat of War is transferred to the Southward. Our total want of Money renders every Attempt to render the southern or any other Department respectable or efficacious. But very little of the four-Tenths is brot in—None from our State. . . . Capt. Jones has arrived from France in the *Ariel*, and brings no important despatches; has twenty Tuns of powder, but no Clothing. A strange fatality seems to attend that Article. I hope the Censure will soon be rightly placed, and that vengeance may follow upon its Heels. Inquiries of this kind are difficult, and where old Members have their Attachments and Aversions fixed, either through Cabal, Party intrigue, or honest or mistaken Bias, the Obstacles are proportionably increased.³

⁶ See nos. 621, 623, *ante*; also the letters of Sullivan to Washington Mar. 6, McDougall to Clinton Mar. 12, Houston to McKean Mar. 31, in the next volume. "S. A." and "Genl. W." are Samuel Adams and Artemas Ward. Sparks quotes (*Writings of Washington*, VII. 400 n.) the remarks of Luzerne in a letter Mar. 25 to Vergennes:

"Divisions prevail in Congress about the new mode of transacting business by secretaries of different departments. Samuel Adams, whose obstinate and resolute character was so useful to the revolution in its origin, but who shows himself very ill suited to the conduct of affairs in an organized government, has placed himself at the head of the advocates for the old system of committees of Congress, instead of relying on ministers, or secretaries, according to the new arrangement."

[662]¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors, 1780-1781, p. 26; Staples, *R. I. in Cont. Cong.*, p. 330.

² See the circular letter of Jan. 15 (the *Journals*); also Knox to Washington Feb. 7, *Letters to Washington* (ed. Sparks), III. 222.

³ Cf. nos. 659-661, *ante*.

We expect a few days will undoubtedly produce a Ratification of the Act of Confederation. I must therefore repeat the Necessity of two Members. Estimates are nearly finished of the Debts of the United States, as far as they can be precisely known, of the Expences necessary for the present Year, and the Ways and Means appropriated to meet them.⁴ I believe Copies will very soon be sent to the respective States. However, Rhode Island shall not want Information in that Respect.

I am, sir, with every Sentiment of Esteem,

your Excellency's most obt. servt.

J M. VARNUM

663. DANIEL CARROLL TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND
(THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA feby. 24 1781.²

Dear Sir,

Yr. favor by Col. Livingston, with 2 packets came to hand this morning: I shall endeavour to execute yr. orders in a few days. We are under a considerable degree of anxiety about the state of affairs in North Carolina. . . .

The Confederation will be subscribed (Mr. Hanson being here) on next Thursday and Congress having postponed it to that day, in order to announce it properly.³

664. THOMAS RODNEY, DIARY.¹

Philadelphia Monday Feby 26th, 1781. This day I took my Seat in Congress for the First Time—Munday Tuesday and wednesday was imploy'd in the usual business.²

⁴ See the *Journals*, Feb. 7, 17, 19, Apr. 5, 18.

[663]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, V. 51.

² Cyrus Griffin, now a member of the Court of Appeals, addressed a letter, Feb. 24, to the speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates with regard to the adjustment of his account as delegate to Congress the preceding year, which a committee of that body had declared to be extravagant. A copy of the letter (from the original, at one time in possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia) is in possession of the Carnegie Institution. Feb. 25 Meriwether Smith, who had taken his seat in Congress Feb. 20 (he had written to Governor Jefferson from Fredericksburg Feb. 4, "on the road to Congress"; Va. State Lib., Exec. Papers), was having even more serious trouble over his account for the years 1778 and 1779 (see vol. IV., no. 571, note 2). Feb. 25 he wrote a long letter to the speaker of the House of Delegates with regard to the matter. This letter was in the collection of the late James H. Manning of Albany.

³ See the *Journals*, Feb. 12, 22-24; also nos. 659, 662, *ante*, and nos. 669, 672, *post*.

[664]¹ Library of Congress, Rodney Papers.

² This is the only entry which Rodney made in his Diary in the month of February. Beginning Mar. 1 he kept extensive notes of proceedings for several days, until they were interrupted by an absence. On his return to Congress he resumed his elaborate note-taking; but, like most of his predecessors and successors who began to keep such records, he soon tired of it or found it impracticable.

665. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA (JOSEPH REED).¹

PHILADELPHIA, February 26, 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive enclosed a resolution of Congress of the 20th Instant, relative to the Recruiting and Destination of the Troops that are ordered to compose the southern Army, including the Pennsylvania Line, except such as are on Command on the western Frontier.

This resolution hath been accidentally mislaid in the Secretary's Office several Days, which hath occasioned a Delay in forwarding the same to your Excellency. It is hoped this Delay will not prove injurious.²

666. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND (THOMAS SIM LEE).¹

PHILADELPHIA February 26, 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, the Extract of a Resolve of the 23d Instant, requesting the State of Maryland to advance to Lt. Colonel Forrest, on Account of the United States, a Sum equal to seven Years half pay of a Lieut. Colonel, in Lieu of the half pay he might otherwise have been entitled to during his natural Life

Upon the Resignation of this Officer, Congress have thought proper, in Consideration of his past Services, and particular Misfortune of the Loss of a Limb in the public Service, to grant him the Benefits and Emoluments contained in the enclosed Resolution.²

667. THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO JOHN HANCOCK.¹

PHILADA. February 27, 1781.

Sir,

I am desired to transmit your Excellency the foregoing Duplicate with the Resolve enclosed, from the Apprehension that the Original had mis-carried having never been honored with any Advice on the Subject.

N. B. The Original is recorded—date November 11, 1779.²

[665]¹ *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 744; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 241.

² See Reed to the delegates Feb. 26, *Pa. Arch.*, first ser., VIII. 745.

[666]¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Red Book, VIII. 52; Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 241.

² The following note (in a different hand) is appended: "The enclosed Resolve sent to Colo. Forrest by Mr. Stoddert."

[667]¹ Library of Congress, President's Letter-Book, p. 242.

² The letter of Nov. 11, 1779, transmitted to Hancock the resolve of Nov. 8 preceding, requesting "that the late and former presidents of Congress, be desired to lodge, as soon as they conveniently can, in the secretary's office, copies of all public letters by them respectively written during their presidentships". If Hancock made any response to this second request it has not been discovered. After his death his letter-books as President of Congress came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Copies of these letters were made by Peter Force, when gathering materials for the *American Archives*, and these have since been in official possession of the government. In 1924 the Massachusetts Historical Society transferred to the Library of Congress the original letter-books.

668. THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNOR OF
MASSACHUSETTS (JOHN HANCOCK).¹

Sir,

We beg Leave to communicate to the honorable Senate and House of Representatives a Circumstance which for some Time past has kept us in a State of Anxiety.

The Secretary duely transmitted the Credentials of our Reappointment in the Month of October under the same Regulations for Attendance here and Voting in Congress as were our Rule the last year: But, he has since forwarded an Act passed November 21st by which not less than three of the Delegates can make a Representation of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

As we were informed that Oeconomy alone originated the latter Act we ventured to suppress it from being entered on the Records of Congress, where it would operate against the Interest of our Constituents, would not help the Reputation of our absent Colleagues, and would cast a comparative Stigma on our own. For, it would put the Vote of Massachusetts to a trebly increased Risque from our Sickness and other temporary Incapacity to be present *in* Congress; It would not repeal the former Order for a fourth to be *upon the Business of the Delegation*; and it would put the *whole Three* now here only on a par with *one* from New Hampshire Rhode Island and Delaware or with *two* from those and other States, when the Accession of Maryland shall be recorded here.

We satisfied ourselves with hinting this Matter to the Gentlemen who have lately returned Home from joint Duty with Us, and who are now in the General Assembly: But, we apprehend they may find more Difficulty in obtaining a new Act for regulating the Delegation than we shall in obtaining the Sense of the Assembly in a Letter from the Governor, to Sanctify our Continuance in the Suppression which began from our zeal to preserve the Opportunities of being the most useful to our Constituents.²

With Sentiments of the greatest Respect for the General Assembly we submit ourselves

SAML. ADAMS
JAMES LOVELL
ARTEMAS WARD

PHILADELPHIA February 27th 1781.

669. JOSEPH JONES TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILA: 27th Febr 1781.

D'r S'r,

I missed the opportunity by the Express of sending you the Letter of the 21st which is now inclosed² . . . I was concerned when I came to Congress to hear so small a favor was refused Genl. Greene then going

[668]¹ Mass. Arch., CCIII. 235 (in Lovell's writing; autographic signatures).

² See nos. 550, 573, *ante*; also Lovell to Gerry Mar. 20, in the next volume.

[669]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers; Harvard Univ. Lib., Sparks MSS., no. 66, vol. I., p. 291; *Letters of Joseph Jones* (ed. Ford), p. 70.

² No. 661, *ante*.

to his new Command as that of granting his request respecting Dr. McHenry. from my conversation with Gentlemen on the subject many think the Genl. sho'd have been indulged and if it can be done the question will probably be revived. This however the Dr. sho'd not be acquainted with, least the attempt sho'd be unsuccessful.³ Thursday next is appointed for the Maryland delegates to subscribe the Articles of Confederation, an event that cannot fail to produce happy consequences both at Home and abroad. the Articles it is certain are defective and amendments and additional powers are necessary and these will and must be speedily proposed to the States for their concurrence and no time perhaps [is] more convenient for their meeting the attention and approbation of the States than the present when they are generally convinced of the want of full powers and are disposed to grant them. Any defects that have occurred to you and no doubt many have from your situation and long service you will oblige me in pointing out when you have leisure to write a few lines on the subject. It is of importance to make the articles of our Union as compleat as may be and adequate to the great objects of the Confederacy or we shall suffer from internal divisions and foreign machinations.⁴ . . .

670. WILLIAM SHARPE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 27th 1781.

Sir,

Your thanks to me expressed in a letter which was read in Congress yesterday, for a few notes on the geography of the back parts of South and North Carolina was very flattering.

For your farther information I shall now add ² . . .

³ Greene's request to have Dr. James McHenry as an aide-de-camp had been presented to Congress Oct. 30, and a motion to grant it was made by Scott of New York and seconded by John Henry of Maryland. On the demand of Theodorick Bland the yeas and nays were taken, and the measure was negatived by a vote of seven states against five, the New England states and New Jersey voting solidly in the negative, while even Maryland and Virginia voted two to one against the motion. The affirmative votes in the delegations of these two states were by Henry and Madison, respectively. Motte of South Carolina also voted in the negative. The committee on Washington's letter of Dec. 20, appointed Jan. 1, reported Mar. 8 in favor of giving Dr. James McHenry a commission as major. The resolve was adopted May 25. See no. 571, *ante*; also Sullivan to Washington Mar. 9, in the next volume.

⁴ See no. 663, note 3, *ante*; also Bland's letter of Mar. 5, in the next volume; cf. no. 672, *post*. With regard to alterations of the Articles of Confederation see the *Journals*, Mar. 6 (p. 236, note 2), May 2, July 20, Aug. 22; also no. 627, *ante*, and the letters of Cornell Mar. 5, Varnum Mar. 16 and Apr. 2, in the next volume. A discussion of the problem, with numerous references, is in Bancroft, *Hist. Const.*, vol. I., ch. I. (especially pp. 21 *et seq.*). A letter (without date) from Washington to Jefferson, Pendleton, and Wythe on the subject is in *Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), I. 81. One dated Mar. 27 to Benjamin Harrison, speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, is in Va. State Library, Executive Papers.

[670]¹ Library of Congress, Washington Papers.

² The notes on the back parts of North and South Carolina had been sent to Washington Feb. 9, with a letter from President Huntington of that date. In this letter of Feb. 27 he gives additional information on the subject. The letter of Washington which was read in Congress Feb. 26 was that of Feb. 17, but as printed (*Writings*, ed. Ford, IX. 145, ed. Sparks, VII. 415) it does not contain the passage to which Sharpe alludes. That passage, which follows the reference to the "successful strokes upon Ferguson and Tarleton", is as follows, "Be pleased to return my thanks to Mr. Sharpe for his description of the Western parts of So. Carolina".

671. SAMUEL JOHNSTON TO JAMES IREDELL.¹

PHILADELPHIA, 27th February, 1781.

Dear Sir:

. . . . Our accounts from General Cornwallis are very alarming, but we hope it will not be long before both he and Arnold will repent of their rashness. Congress are not inattentive to the state of the Southern States, but the unfortunate mutinies in the Army, and other unavoidable accidents have prevented them sending on more Troops, and put it out of their power to make such ample provision for those that were sent as would have been wished. . . . General Washington will not neglect the relief of North Carolina, when circumstances will admit. I dare not be more particular, but hope before this reaches you, Arnold's fate will be decided.²

672. JOHN SULLIVAN AND JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM,
REPRESENTATION TO CONGRESS.¹*To the honorable the Congress of the United States*

The subscribers being the only delegates from the States of Newhamphshire and Rhode Island, beg leave to represent that untill the ratification of the confederation their States will be constitutionally represented, that by the same being ratified agreeably to the late determination of Congress those States will be unrepresented. That foreseeing this they moved in Congress to postpone the ratification in order that their States might be notified to complete their representation but did not prevail. They cannot however justify themselves to their constituents without representing to Congress the injury which will be done to their States by depriving them of a representation without giving them an opportunity of furnishing one agreeable to the articles of confederation. Three things remaining in the power of Congress. They in behalf of their States request that one of them may be adopted to prevent the injustice which will otherwise take place *viz.* postponing the ratification of the confederation, adjourning Congress and appointing a committee consisting of one member from each State to sit in the recess of Congress, or to resolve that time shall be given to their States to complete their representation, the articles of confederation notwithstanding.²

JNO. SULLIVAN
J. M. VARNUM

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 28th, 1781.

[671]¹ McRee, *Life of Iredell*, I, 490.² Cf. nos. 655, 656, 660, *ante*.[672]¹ Library of Congress, Papers Cont. Cong., no. 43, f. 187.² This representation was read in Congress Mar. 1. See also the *Journals*, Mar. 2, and Thomas Rodney's Diary Mar. 2, in the next volume.

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